

A STUDY ON THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF BHUTAN  
with a critical edition and translation of  
certain Bhutanese texts in Tibetan

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## ABSTRACT

The small kingdom of Bhutan in the Eastern Himalayas is perhaps the least well known of all the independent countries of Asia. The purpose of this study is to examine the cultural and political evolution which led to its creation as a unified state in the 17th century. Research is based on certain documents copied by the author during his stay in Bhutan, augmented by Tibetan records. The work falls into two parts, preceded by an introduction which tries to explain the ethnic and linguistic backcloth, as well as the sources, aim and scope of the study.

Part I is an analytical survey of 1) origin myths, 2) the evolution of Buddhist schools and 3) the creation of the Bhutanese theocracy in the 17th century. Later developments which led to the institution of the present monarchy in the early years of this century are briefly alluded to in the concluding section.

In Part 2 are presented five original texts relating to the subjects discussed in Part 1. These include the critical edition and translation of two works dating from the 18th century which reveal the ancient non-monastic units of rule in central and eastern Bhutan and their absorption into the theocracy during the middle years of the 17th century. The third text is the Bhutanese legal code of 1729 and the fourth is the 1627 account by the Jesuit Cacella of his stay in Bhutan and his close association with Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, founder of the Bhutanese theocracy. The final text is a ritual one, pregnant with historical associations, which continues to govern the conduct of a ceremonial militia during the official New Year. It is reproduced here in the form in which it was first presented by the author in BSOAS 39(3).

## PREFACE

The study of Bhutanese history has been greatly enlivened for me by virtue of the fact that I had the good fortune of spending five years in Bhutan from 1967 to 1973. It was through my friend Mr. Marco Pallis that I obtained a position as tutor to the Royal Family of Bhutan and it was the Spalding Trust which provided the means for the outward journey.

If I can claim any knowledge of Bhutanese and Tibetan languages and institutions, it is very largely due to the unfailing kindness and generosity with which so many people in Bhutan helped me under all kinds of circumstances. Of all these people, ranging from chance acquaintances in remote temples to members of the Royal Family, I would particularly like to mention the following kalyānamitra: Dingo Khyentse Rimpoché, Topga Rimpoché, Lobpön Nado, Lobpön Pemala and Lobpön Sonam Zangpo.

Throughout my stay in Bhutan and after, I have been most fortunate in the guidance of two western scholars who have done more to further my interest and knowledge in the field than any others: Mr. Hugh Richardson and Mr. Gene Smith.

While this work is based mainly on sources acquired in Bhutan, the whole of it has been prepared and written as a post-graduate student of the School of Oriental and African Studies, under the kind supervision of Dr. David Snellgrove, Professor of Tibetan in the University of London. I am particularly grateful to the School for the award of a Governing Body Exhibition and a travel grant which enabled me to do further work in India.

I should also like to record my gratitude to Mr. Phillip Denwood, Lecturer in Tibetan at SOAS, with whom I first read the legal

code presented in Part 2, and to Dr. Thomas Earle, Lecturer in Portuguese at the University of Oxford, without whose help I could not have included the Relacão<sup>5</sup> of Cacella. Thanks are also due to many friends and colleagues too numerous to mention.

I am indebted to Mrs. L. Belcher who typed the great bulk of the thesis with admirable fortitude and to Aris and Phillips Ltd., publishers, who tackled the Tibetan texts and Tables I and VIII. The maps were prepared by Mr. J. Kislingbury on the basis of material supplied by me.

Some minor and unavoidable inconsistencies in the spelling of place names, due to retention of general usage or of the use of quoted works will, I hope, be excused as innocuous.

This work would never have been begun, let alone finished, without the moral and practical encouragement of my beloved wife who not only looked after our children single-handed while it was in progress but also acted as midwife during my own protracted delivery.

MVA

ABBREVIATIONS

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| DS                 | Dousamdub (Zla-ba bSam-grub): Translation of <u>LCB I</u> in the British Library   |
| <u>Dukula</u>      | The autobiography of the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-82), Vol. <u>Ka</u>  |
| <u>rGyal-rigs</u>  | <u>rGyal-rigs 'byung-khungs gsal-ba'i me-long</u> by Ngag-dbang (1728)   |
| JD                 | 'Jam-dpal rDo-rdo  |
| <u>LCB I</u>       | <u>lHo'i chos-'byung</u> by bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal (1759)  |
| <u>LCB II</u>      | <u>lHo-phyogs nags-mo'i ljongs-kyi chos-'byung</u> by dGe-'dun Rin-chen (1972)   |
| LN                 | <u>Slob-dpon</u> Nag-mdog  |
| <u>Lo-rgyus</u>    | <u>Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long</u> by Ngag-dbang  |
| LP                 | <u>Slob-dpon</u> Padma-lags  |
| <u>MBTJ</u>        | The life of Pho-lha-nas (1689-1763) by <u>mDo-mkhar Zhabs-drung</u> Tshe-ring dBang-rgyal  |
| <u>PBP</u>         | The life of <u>Zhabs-drung</u> Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (1594-?1651) by <u>gTsang mkhan-chen</u> in Vols. <u>Ka</u> to <u>Ca</u> . Unless otherwise stated references are to Vol. <u>Nga</u> ( <u>lHo'i skor</u> ). |
| <u>Relacão</u>     | Cacella's account of his stay in Bhutan (1627)   |
| <u>bShad-mdzod</u> | <u>bShad-mdzod yid-bzhin nor-bu</u> by Don-dam sMra-ba'i Seng-ge   |
| <u>gTam-tshogs</u> | The 'miscellany' of 'Jigs-med Gling-pa   |
| TD                 | bsTan-'dzin rDo-rje  |
| <u>gTer-rnam</u>   | Kong-sprul's lives of the 'text-discoverers'   |
| Tōhoku             | <u>A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons</u>   |
| TR                 | sTobs-dga' Rin-po-che  |

# CONTENTS

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| Abstract  | 1       |
| Preface   | 2       |
| Abbreviations   | 4       |
| Contents  | 5       |
| Illustrations   | 6       |
| Introduction  | 8       |
| 1. The land and its peoples   | 8       |
| 2. The sources and the aim  | 22      |
| Notes   | 29      |
| <br>PART ONE From Remote Beginnings to Later Complexities             | <br>31  |
| I Origin Myths, Their Historical Associations and Development         | 32 }    |
| 1. The first Buddhist temples   | 32      |
| Notes   | 91      |
| 2. The 'Sindhu Rāja'  | 100     |
| Notes   | 131     |
| 3. King Khyi-kha Ra-thod and his 'hidden land'                        | 138     |
| Notes   | 180     |
| 4. Prince gTsang-ma and the secret history of his alleged descendants | 187     |
| Notes   | 240     |
| 5. The <u>gDung</u> and their legends                                 | 243     |
| Notes   | 283     |
| 6. Patterns and prospects   | 287     |
| <br>II The Emergence of Buddhist Schools                              | <br>294 |
| 1. Bon-po   | 296     |
| 2. rNying-ma-pa   | 298     |
| i) Ka-thog-pa   | 300     |
| ii) rDzogs-chen-pa  | 302     |
| iii) gTer-ston  | 306     |
| 3. bKa'-brgyud-pa   | 321     |
| i) lHa-pa   | 324     |
| ii) 'Brug-pa  | 329     |
| iii) 'Ba-ra-ba  | 340     |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| 4. lCags-zam-pa   | 345 |
| 5. gNas-rnying-pa   | 353 |
| 6. Sa-skya-pa   | 360 |
| 7. Some conclusions   | 362 |
| Notes   | 367 |
| III The Creation of Bhutan  | 386 |
| 1. <u>Zhabs-drung</u> Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the Founder  | 386 |
| 2. The secret of the 'retreat'  | 424 |
| 3. The succession   | 439 |
| 4. Looking ahead  | 456 |
| Notes   | 472 |
| PART TWO Five Important Sources   | 487 |
| Background to the texts   | 488 |
| 1. <u>rGyal-rigs 'byung-khungs gsal-ba'i sgron-me</u> (I728)                                    | 499 |
| Text  | 500 |
| Translation   | 531 |
| Notes   | 592 |
| 2. <u>Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long</u>  | 616 |
| Text  | 617 |
| Translation   | 630 |
| Notes   | 655 |
| 3. <u>bKa'-khrims</u> (I729)  | 669 |
| Text  | 670 |
| Translation   | 688 |
| Notes   | 727 |
| 4. The <u>Relação</u> of Cacella (I627)   | 741 |
| Translation   | 742 |
| Notes   | 766 |
| 5. <u>bKa'-bkyon rdo-rje tho-lum</u> (BSOAS 39(3) 60I-635)                                      | 779 |
| Glossary  | 817 |
| Appendix Chronological lists of the rulers, head abbots and<br>important incarnations of Bhutan | 840 |
| Bibliographies  | 847 |
| A) Bhutanese sources  | 847 |
| B) Tibetan sources  | 854 |
| C) Modern works and western editions  | 857 |

## ILLUSTRATIONS

### Maps

- |   |    |
|---|----|
| 1. General map of Bhutan  | 9  |
| 2. Sketchmap showing approximate position<br>of the major sites in the sPa-gro Valley     | 34 |
| 3. Sketchmap showing approximate position<br>of the major sites in the Bum-thang Province | 37 |

### Plates

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. A collection of prehistoric stone implements<br>from Bhutan  | 485 |
| 2. The <u>cong</u> of dKon-mchog-gsum lHa-khang in<br>Bum-thang | 486 |

### Tables and figures

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| 1. The <u>Ru-gnon</u> , <u>mTha'-'dul</u> and <u>Yang-'dul</u> temples  | 57  |
| 2. The concentric zones of China according to<br>the <u>Yü Kung</u>   | 59  |
| 3. The celestial animals of the four quarters in<br>China and Tibet   | 65  |
| 4. The <u>Ru-gnon</u> temples: Ascriptions  | 71  |
| 5. The <u>mTha'-'dul</u> temples: Ascriptions   | 72  |
| 6. The <u>Yang-'dul</u> temples: Ascriptions  | 73  |
| 7. The <u>Ru-gnon</u> , <u>mTha'-'dul</u> and <u>Yang-'dul</u> temples:<br>Summary of Ascriptions                           | 74  |
| 8. Genealogical table of the ruling families of<br>eastern Bhutan claiming descent from <u>lHa-sras</u><br><u>gTsang-ma</u> | 213 |
| 9. The numerals I to IO in the languages of Bhutan<br>and Kameng  | 254 |
| IO. Origins of the <u>gDung</u> families: the U-ra tradition  | 260 |
| II. Origins of the <u>gDung</u> families: the Ngang tradition   | 279 |

## INTRODUCTION

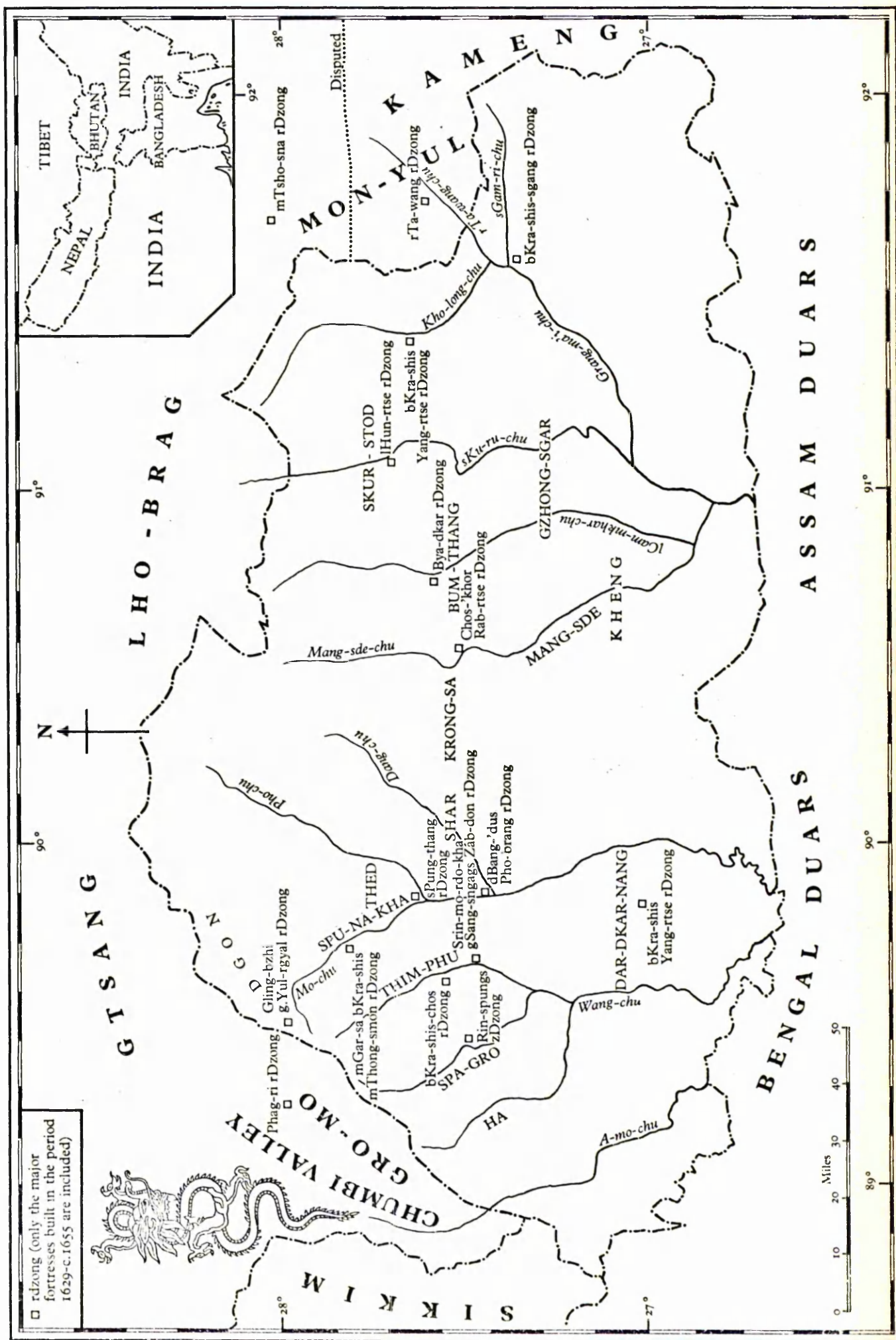
To call this a mountainous country merely would not sufficiently distinguish it from others of a like denomination, nor give a proper impression of its true character, when that term is understood to imply an intermixture of hills and valleys. But if a country of mountains be an intelligible phrase, it may with great justice be applied to Boutan, or at least to that part of it through which I have travelled. (Davis 1830:517)

Thus of the whole enormous area which was once the spirited domain of Tibetan culture and religion, stretching from Ladakh in the west to the borders of Szechuan and Yunnan in the east, from the Himalayas in the south to the Mongolian steppes and the vast wastes of northern Tibet, now only Bhutan seems to survive as the one resolute and self-contained representative of a fast disappearing civilization. (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968:271)

### I. The land and its peoples

The above quotations form the concluding remarks to works by British writers who travelled in Bhutan. Together they may serve to introduce the present study for while the first conjures up the physical appearance of the country, the second suggests something of its wider significance. The Kingdom is probably the least known of the absorbed or independent states of the Himalayas and it is sometimes said that Bhutan was, and even still is, far more closed and secret than Tibet. It is also reputed to be the one independent country which preserves intact the ancient traditions of Northern Buddhism. While there is a danger in overemphasising these facts and claims because of our western preconceptions of what a lost Himalayan kingdom ought to be, Bhutan is certainly a unique survival, even if it might appear little more than a peculiar anachronism to some. No serious study of the country can begin, however, until its history has come to light for there can be very few countries left in the world





today whose present institutions are so faithfully derived from an unbroken continuity with the past. The aim of this study is to dig beneath the romantic facade which the country presents to visitors in search of Shangrila by exploring the process of evolution which led to its emergence as a unified country in the 17th century. It makes no claim to be definitive or authoritative, but insofar as this corner of oriental history has remained unexplored it may perhaps be said to represent the first stumbling effort.<sup>I</sup>

One feature of a thesis is that it discusses a chosen topic against the background of some recognised body of knowledge but in the case of early Bhutanese history there is almost no literature in any western language around which the present work could develop. Instead we have to rely solely on a number of primary sources from Bhutan and Tibet<sup>and</sup> the only body of knowledge relevant to my topic is the study of Tibetan language and culture as refined in the West during the last century or so. Indeed all the Bhutanese sources available to me (not counting oral traditions) are themselves written in literary Tibetan and so the whole scope and framework of this study is 'Tibetological'. But here we run into a basic difficulty for the Bhutanese have never considered themselves Tibetan in the sense we give the term. They undoubtedly write in Tibetan; they speak in a medley of different tongues which can be considered local or archaic forms of Tibetan; they have in the past been proud to regard themselves as part of the general area over which Tibetan Buddhism held sway; and even today the Bhutanese look upon Tibet as their lost spiritual homeland. But the Bhutanese have such a strong notion of their own identity as a separate people that they could never consider themselves Tibetans. In my view the whole history of the country has to be understood to explain satisfactorily the reasons behind this combination of a strong pride in a common cultural heritage and a fierce assertion of racial distinctions. However in immediate terms the geographical and ethnic factors are cogent enough.

Bhutan has to be seen in the broad context of that whole area which has the 'Tibetans' (Bod-pa) in the central region of the high plateau, surrounded by a number of peripheral peoples to the west, south and east all of whom fall within the sphere of 'cultural' Tibet, either inside or outside 'political' Tibet. None of these people on the fringe consider themselves Bod-pa and many of them have in the past developed their own polities and institutions while still forming part of the Tibetan cultural hegemony. Thus they all share in common the experience of Tibetan Buddhism in its many aspects as introduced and adapted from India and, to a lesser extent, from Central Asia and China. After the collapse of the early Tibetan empire in the 9th century the religious experience became so intensely developed that it provided the one unifying force underlying the ethnic and linguistic diversity. Over much of the area, furthermore, there is a certain uniformity of lifestyle which contributes to the sense of a cultural empire. The basic pattern of settled agriculture interspersed with nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism which is found in the central heart-land of the gTsang-po valley is repeated with infinite variety all over the plateau and even beyond.

If sufficient records had survived from the period of the Tibetan royal dynasty and after, the early history of the area would largely be written in terms of the shifting relationships between indigenous clans, the central monarchy and foreign intruders. Much effort has been expended in trying to reconstruct this picture from the relevant scraps found by Stein and Pelliot at Tun-huang, from pillar inscriptions and from the very few documents of the early period which have come down to us in the writings of later Tibetan historians. The difficulties are compounded mainly by the fact that to a great extent society in central Tibet ceased to be clan-based and later historians were more interested in singing the eulogies of their own monastic or semi-monastic principalities than in tracing the vestiges of the old clans which were still surviving in their day. Much of the outline of

Tibetan history as depicted by these monastic historians can be proved to stem from valid traditions but with rare exceptions the whole tone is legendary. The growth of historical legend is a fascinating field of study in its own right but it often tells us more about the day and age of the chronicler than of the period about which he writes. The historical value of his text will depend on how he uses or adapts early traditions, oral or written, into his own work. These are the most basic considerations which the student of early Tibetan history has to bear in mind in approaching his subject, and this is no less true for anyone attempting to write the early history of Bhutan. The latter endeavour has its own peculiar problems and pitfalls which will soon become clear, but there is an important one it shares with the broader field: the texts alone do not give us a clear enough picture of the ethnic, linguistic and geographical backcloth to the historical drama.<sup>2</sup>

The Kingdom occupies 18,000 square miles in the eastern Himalayas and is bounded on the north by the Tibetan provinces of gTsang and lHo-brag, and on the south by the Indian states of West Bengal and Assam. To the east lies Sikkim (now fully annexed to India) and to the west the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh (formerly the North-East Frontier Agency). The population of Bhutan today is said to be just under one million.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps the only independent country in South Asia free of the problem of over-population. Broadly speaking the country divides naturally into three lateral zones, each one having a quite different ecology. In this respect it conforms to the general pattern of the Himalayan ranges to the east and west. Forming the long northern border with Tibet there lies the main watershed of high peaks reaching heights of up to 24,000 ft. crossed by about six major passes leading to the very thinly populated areas of northern Bhutan. These are inhabited by groups of pastoralists known to the western Bhutanese as 'bzhop' and to other groups in the east as 'brokpa', both forms clearly deriving from Tibetan 'drokpa' ('brog-pa'). In addition to the herding of yaks these

people also cultivate a few grain crops and potatoes. Like all the high altitude populations of the Himalayas they are heavily dependent on a regular barter trade with the south to supplement their own produce. Particularly interesting are the communities of the 'Lingshi-Laya' (Gling-bzhi La-yag) area who live north-east of the great peak of 'Chomolhari' (Jo-ma lHa-ri) who preserve a very distinctive language and dress of their own. Elsewhere in this high altitude zone (known to the westerners as 'Gön', spelt dGon) the peoples are very similar to those living in the next lateral zone to the south, an alpine area of vertical valleys running north-south at latitudes ranging from about five thousand to nine thousand feet.

It is here in this central zone that the main population of the country is concentrated and nearly all the cultivated land is given over to the production of wet rice and other grain products such as barley, buck wheat, maize and potatoes, depending on the altitude. Rising from the floors of these valleys, forests of pine, rhododendron and other species give way to pastures where small herds of cattle are led in the summer. This region is the economic and cultural heartland of the country and is bounded on the east and west by two corridors of what used to be Tibetan territory: the valley of Chumbi (Gro-mo to the Tibetans) in the west and the so-called Mon-yul corridor to the east, now part of Arunachal Pradesh. Both Chumbi and Mon-yul represent the southernmost extension of Tibetan power, cutting through the main Himalayan range. Between these corridors lie the principal Bhutanese valleys, inhabited by a medley of peoples whom we can broadly classify according to the language they speak.

The six western valleys of 'Ha' (Had), 'Paro' (sPa-gro), 'Thimphu' (Thim-phu), 'Punakha' (sPu-na-kha) and 'Wangdü Phodrang' (dBang-'dus Pho-brang) (the last in fact a complex of valleys forming the Shar district) are peopled by the 'Ngalong'. The term is thought to mean 'The Earliest Risen' and is often spelt sNga-slong, that is to say the first converted to Buddhism and thus civilised. Whatever the truth of its etymology, it is

a term as much used by themselves as applied to them by their neighbours. It certainly reflects the dominant political role won by the western Bhutanese when the country was united in the 17th century. The Ngalong, of all the Bhutanese peoples, it is generally agreed, are most like the central Tibetans even though their language is incomprehensible to an ordinary Tibetan. It is particularly marked by the contraction of two Tibetan syllables into one (viz. bla-ma 'lam', rkang-pa 'kāmp', shog-shig 'shosh' etc.) and by a variant set of verbal complements. The consonant clusters containing a subjoined ya are treated very differently from standard spoken Tibetan. Within this Ngalong group further variations are discernible not only from valley to valley but even from village to village. This pattern is in turn repeated throughout the country and could no doubt be said to derive ultimately from its geographical fragmentation.

East of the Ngalong live a number of sub-groups whose speech can be considered dialects of the language spoken in Bum-thang. These people live in the district surrounding Bum-thang, that is to say in 'Tongsa' (Krong-sar), 'Mangdelung' 'Mang-sde-lung), Kheng and 'Kurtö' (sKur-stod). The Bum-thang language seems to preserve the most archaic features of all the Bhutanese languages. Besides the retention of certain consonants that are otherwise unpronounced in standard Tibetan, there survive items which local scholars insist belong to the obsolete forms of the 'old language' (brda-rnying), such as the word for 'stone' (gor), the colloquial use of the current literary word for 'all' (thams-cad), the word for 'moon' ('la' = zla), for 'four', 'five' and 'six' ('ble', 'yanga', 'grog' = bzhi, lnga, drug) etc. No study of this interesting language has even been undertaken.

Moving east again from the Bum-thang group we find the third language, that of 'Tsangla' (perhaps rTsang-la). This is spoken in a variety of forms by the people known as the 'Sharchop' (= Shar-phyogs-pa, 'The Easterners'), by far the most populous group in the country. Although unquestionably one of the Bodic languages, Tsangla bears few traces of its Tibetan origins. Some of its vocabulary and

syntax can be found in the little known publications of Stack (1897) and Hoffrenning (1959). The somewhat anomolous position it occupies in its relation to the other two main languages of Ngalong and Bum-thang has led to the feeling in Bhutan that this is the oldest or 'original' language of the country, but this many derive from nothing more than the common tendency to equate distinctness with autochthony.

It must be realised that these three main languages are mutually incomprehensible and that it takes a long time for, say, a Ngalong-speaking person to gain familiarity with the other two languages. Since the 17th century unification of Bhutan there has, however, developed an official idiom known as 'Dzongkha' (rDzong-kha, 'the language of the fortress') which is based on a polished form of the village patois of the Ngalong people. This is spoken among government officials and monks from all regions of the country, and the idiom is so developed that often one can find people from the central and eastern parts of the country who speak it better than someone from the western region where the idiom first arose. The policy of the present government is to advance the status of Dzongkha further by making it obligatory study in all schools throughout the country. To that end the local scholars employed by the Education Department have had to take brave and difficult steps towards adapting the ancient literary language to accomodate the spoken forms of Ngalong, the first time that any of the Bhutanese languages have been written down in Tibetan script.<sup>4</sup> (The script mainly used in Bhutan is in fact their own cursive hand known as rgyug-yig.) The only material on Dzongkha available in a western language is the almost unobtainable study by Byrne (1909). The Gro-mo dialect spoken in Chumbi is quite close to some of the western Bhutanese forms and some of it is recorded in Walsh (1905). Serious study of the Bhutanese languages, however has yet to begin despite these pioneering efforts which depended on their authors' chance encounters with Bhutanese in India.

The tripartite division of Bhutanese speech suggested above does tremendous injustice to the host of minor dialects which fall outside the major groupings. While travelling in Bhutan one constantly meets with small pockets of people whose speech is totally baffling to their neighbours. Some of these will perhaps turn out to be very ancient survivals bearing little or no connexion with the larger groups. If one were to apply the label 'indigenous' to any peoples in Bhutan in the same way as it is applied to the Lepchas of Sikkim, one would be tempted to focus on the very small communities of jungle-dwellers who practise shifting cultivation on the fringe of the major groups. Like the Lepchas themselves, who are reckoned to have long preceded the Tibetan migrations, they are known to the Bhutanese predictably as Mon-pa. As is well known, this is a term universally applied by Tibetans to most of the alien but older groups living in or near their own territories. Significantly, it is a term formerly used in reference to the whole of Bhutan by the Tibetans but one which the Bhutanese themselves now only apply to these small groups living in Mang-sde-lung, Kheng and gZhong-sgar. Small groups of similar people are also found in the west. They are known as the 'Toktop' and live in two permanent villages south of sPa-gro called Upper and Lower 'Toktokha'. They are probably related to the people living in 'Taba-Dramten' and 'Loto-Kuchu' in the area of southern Bhutan west of the border town of Phun-tshogs-gling. All these minute western groups (numbering a few hundred at the very most) come under the authority of an official appointed from sPa-gro formerly called the gDung gNyer-pa ('The Steward of the gDung'), now the gDung Rab-'byams. The name gDung is pregnant with meaning for the lost history of the country but, anticipating the argument presented in Ch. I Section 5 below, it is suggested that the gDung were once a people who appear to have been spread over the whole country and who have now all but disappeared under the impact of fresh migration or military defeat from the north.



To my knowledge the only people still calling themselves gDung are those living in the villages over which the ram-'byams has direct authority, but the other groups at 'Toktokha', 'Taba-Dramten' and 'Loto-Kuchu' over whom the rab-'byams's jurisdiction is said to extend may perhaps be branches of the gDung. The 'Toktop' males wear a peculiar garment woven from nettles called a 'pakhi', crossed over the chest and knotted at the shoulders very much like the dress of the Lepchas. The other connexion one might suggest is provided by the 'Toto' people living in the Jailpaguri district of West Bengal, often thought by anthropologists to be an ancient immigrant group from Bhutan.<sup>5</sup> Whether it would be possible to demonstrate that all these groups are the vestigial fractions of a single broken tribe resident in the country before the later Tibetan migrations began, it is too early now to say.

To complete the picture it should be said that the western and eastern borders formed by the southerly extensions of Tibetan authority in both cases cut across the ethnic boundaries. Thus the 'Tromowa' (Gro-mo-ba) people inhabiting the Chumbi valley and some of the people of northern Sikkim are very closely related to the inhabitants of the Ha valley of western Bhutan. The pastoral people of the eastern borderlands are kith and kin with the so-called Mon-pa tribes of the Kameng district of Arunachal Pradesh. Bhutan is otherwise both geographically and ethnically self-contained. While the northern border is formed by the natural boundary of the Himalayan watershed, the southern border begins where the foothills rise from the Indian plains. These foothills constitute the third of the lateral zones. They are inhabited by Nepalese settlers, by various offshoots of the main northern groups and by pockets of the 'aboriginal' groups noted above.

From this rather crude outline emerges a complex picture which stands in direct contrast to those afforded by the adjacent Himalayan territories to the west and east. In Nepal and Sikkim the

complexities of the ethnic map are occasioned primarily by the interactions of the various Indian and Tibetan peoples not only with each other but also with more or less 'indigenous' groups. To the east of Bhutan, in Arunachal Pradesh, the complexities are more the product of 'tribal' contiguities. With the absence of any Indian groups in Bhutan apart from the descendants of Indian slaves, we can see that the Kingdom represents a transitional area between its western and eastern neighbours, one in which Tibetan groups predominate over greatly fragmented 'tribal' groups.

those of

The only discipline besides/anthropology, ethnology and linguistics which may one day help to clarify the historical picture is archaeology. The potential in this field is very rich but can only be touched upon here. In the accompanying plate/ <sup>(No. I)</sup> I draw attention to a group of prehistoric stone implements forming part of the private collection of HRH rNam-rgyal dBang-phyug (Namgyel Wangchuk). They were all discovered as random surface finds in the central valleys of the country and until they passed into present ownership they were kept as talismans. In many households such objects are placed in a receptacle called a g.yang-khang ('house of prosperity') in connection with the ritual performed to bring wealth to the family (g.yang-khug). The local term for a stone axe or quadrangular adze is gnam-lcags sta-re ('sky-iron axe', 'meteoritic axe') and the legend holds that these were the weapons of the gods and demi-gods (devas and asuras; lha, lha-ma-yin) which fell to the ground in the course of their battles. (Much the same story used to be told about such artifacts in rural England, and indeed all over the world.) Tucci (1973:34) has supplied the words thog-rde'u ('little lightning-stone', my translation) and mtsho-lding ('high-flying', his translation), but unfortunately he was never able to see any examples in Tibet or elsewhere. The examples presented here are sufficient to show that Bhutan once possessed a developed lithic culture

of some sophistication. The highly polished tools were clearly manufactured for a wide variety of purposes and from various types of stone. The single specimen in my own possession is a quadrangular polished stone adze, 80 mm in length, made from Sillimanite. It was kindly inspected for me by Mr. Sieveking of the British Museum who commented:

It is immediately recognisable as a member of a common class of artifact first recognised as characteristic of the "Late Stone Age" by R. Heine-Gledern in the 1920's and normally found distributed between Yunnan, and the Hanoi Basin of Vietnam and Indonesia. It has since been recognised that similar artifacts are found without cultural associations in Burma and India (Assam, Bihar and Orissa). The context of the distribution of this type in the Himalayan foothills and similar highland regions is unknown. Though one or two specimens come from northernmost Burma, in general the western distribution has been recorded near to present population centres and is therefore lowland in character. This may well be an artefact of the extent of present day archaeological research. In Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia such adzes are common, and have been found in cultural association with decorated pottery and other forms, mostly in burial places. They are probably characteristic of an agricultural people whose culture at least in the central region appears to be fairly distinct. Few reliable radiocarbon dates are acceptable for this phase. On general grounds I would suggest a date of 2000-1500 BC for the major period of use of such adzes.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from these stone tools, I have also seen a number of standing megaliths in the central region of the country in positions which might suggest they were used for the purposes of border demarcation and ritual. (These are introduced in Sections 2 and 3 to Ch. I below.) Furthermore, I heard a number of independent

rumours that old graves have been unearthed in the Mang-sde-lung valley. (Except in the most exceptional circumstances the Bhutanese today cremate their dead.) Could it perhaps be that the scattered 'tribal' groups referred to above are the successors to the prehistoric people who left these traces? If this eventually turns out to be the case it might then be concluded that they were displaced from the central agricultural regions by the later migrants and so came to the outer jungle fringes where some turned to shifting agriculture while others became more permanently settled. Much research will have to be completed before this suggested model can be fully accepted. Until then all we have at our disposal in unravelling the Bhutanese past is the written material.

This introduction to the land and its people would not be complete without some notice of the names given to the country at different times. The modern 'Bhutan' derives from 'Bhotanta' which is an old Indian term for the whole of Tibet. The earliest European traveller to enter the country in 1627 described the country as "the first of those of Potente" (Relação, f. 8), that is to say the first 'Tibetan' state one enters on the journey north from India. After various anglicizations (Bootan, Bhotan, Boutan etc.) the name became fixed towards the end of the last century as Bhutan and it is now accepted by the Bhutanese as the official name for their country. Among themselves the term is never used except in government correspondence when this is conducted in English. Following the unification of the country in the 17th century by one branch of the 'Brug-pa school of Northern Buddhism, the term 'Brug-yul ('Land of the 'Brug-pa') has been in use within the country but it is not easy to date the adoption of the term with precision. Particularly in writing, the Bhutanese also use an older expression, 'The South' (lHo), in various combinations (lHo-yul, lHo-ljongs, lHo-rong, lHo'i sMan-ljongs etc.). It is primarily a Tibetan expression denoting the area's

position in relation to their own country but the Bhutanese rarely take exception to using it themselves. In Tibetan texts there can sometimes be ambiguity in the use of the term because the area of the central plateau south of the gTsang-po is also broadly termed lHo (or lHo-kha). When they want to be precise, Tibetan writers of the past usually combined lHo with Mon (viz. lHo-mon) in speaking of the area now occupied by Bhutan. As already noted, the expression Mon has an extremely broad application in referring to old 'non-Tibetan' peoples on the fringe of the plateau and indeed the form lHo-mon is also given occasionally to groups in the western Himalayas. Although the term can carry strong pejorative overtones in Tibetan usage, some of the people to whom it is applied seem quite content to use it in referring to themselves. This is true, for example, of the great Bhutanese saint Padma Gling-pa (1450-1520). Today, however, the Bhutanese never refer to themselves as Mon-pa, but local scholars will often call their country by the old and crucial term lHo-mon Kha-bzhi ('The Southern Mon Country of Four Approaches'). This is uniquely and specifically applied to the area of Bhutan in the sense of a corporate entity, because the 'approaches' (kha, lit. 'mouths') are situated at its four extremities of 1) Kha-gling in the east, 2) Cooch Bihar or Buxa Duar in the south, 3) brDa-gling-kha (near Kalimpong) in the west, and 4) sTag-rtse-kha on the northern border.<sup>7</sup> As might be expected, the term finds most frequent mention in the texts of the 17th century and later, that is to say after the unification, but it also appears much earlier as lHo-kha-bzhi in a Tibetan source which may perhaps be dated to 1431.<sup>8</sup> There appears to be a mystery here because the evidence, if it is correct, would suggest a sense of unity developing in the area long before the actual creation of the unified state. This contrasts with the complex picture of fragmentation which it is hoped this study will partly reveal. A complete history of the term is very much a necessity because

the country's past is mirrored in the history of its names. In this study I have allowed myself the simple convenience of referring to the area as Bhutan, or occasionally 'proto-Bhutan'.

## 2. The sources and the aim

One of the commonest conceptions of Bhutanese history is the one which underlines the vicissitudes of the theocratic state established in the 17th century. For a long time there was a good deal of confusion surrounding the origins of this state. Although Waddell (1894:242) compiled a list of its theoretical rulers (the Dharmarājas), it was almost totally wrong. Claude White (1909:101-2) tried to establish a rough chronology but confused the sexagenary cycle and so placed the origins of the state in the 16th century. All that these writers had to draw on were the earlier British records concerning relations with Bhutan which had begun in the 18th century, one or two texts rather doubtfully rendered into English by their Tibetan clerks and assistants, and also a certain amount of misunderstood or misleading local information. The picture thus formed, especially by White, suggested that Bhutan had once had a strong Indian connection in the person of a king of 'Sindhu' (said to be a contemporary of the 8th century Indian saint Padmasambhava) who founded a kingdom in Bhutan; that after him Tibetan hordes invaded the country and settled; and that all the subsequent history of the country is bound up with the origin and spread of the 'Brug-pa school, culminating in the founding of an independent state under Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. To his credit, White realised the tremendous importance of this latter figure and even if the dates he provided were all wrong, his brief synopsis of the Zhabs-drung's life can still hold in most respects. A generation later Sir Charles Bell made occasional use of the important history known as the lHo'i chos-byung (my abbreviation: LCB I) but not in any way that greatly altered the picture formed

by White.<sup>9</sup>

The semi-official tone of these early British writings was more the product of political endeavour than of independent scholarship. Anglo-Bhutanese relations had begun under Warren Hastings in the last half of the 18th century and had formed part of his cautious and conciliatory policy towards the Himalayas, a policy which was occasioned more than anything else by a desire for trade. The intervention of the East India Company in a quarrel between <sup>Bhutan and</sup> Cooch Bihar in 1772 heralded a number of British missions led by Bogle in 1774, Hamilton in 1776 and 1777, and Turner in 1783.<sup>10</sup> Their accounts yielded a good deal of accurate information on Bhutanese life and customs, most sympathetically recorded in the fine prose of the 18th century. Not only were strange social customs explained in an objective manner but the main features of the Bhutanese theocratic government were clearly discerned. The brevity of their visits and the lack of a common language unfortunately militated against a deeper understanding of Bhutanese religion and history. These potential obstacles to happy intercourse became greatly exacerbated in the next century by a steady deterioration in political relations. The chief bone of contention was the strip of the Indian plane along the southern border over which Bhutan had gained territorial rights of some complexity in preceding centuries. Continuous internal strife within the country throughout the 19th century and an overbearing and high-handed attitude on the part of most British officials at this time combined to create a situation of total misunderstanding and disaccord. The Anglo-Bhutan War of 1865-6 ensued and led to the appropriation of the entire strip of lowland plain by the British. The strong man in Bhutan at this time and the most resolute opponent of the British was the Governor of eastern Bhutan called 'Jigs-med rNam-rgyal. The fortunes of his family, descendants of the great 'text-discoverer' (gter-ston) Padma Gling-pa, seem to have been little affected by the defeat of 1866 for it was his son U-rgyan dBang-phyug, who was installed

in 1907 as the first King of Bhutan, thus replacing the traditional theocracy founded in the 17th century by an hereditary monarchy. In 1910 a treaty was signed between Bhutan and Britain according to whose provisions the Government of Bhutan agreed to be guided by the advice of the British in regard to its foreign affairs but retained complete control over its internal affairs. The treaty was renewed by India on its gaining independence in 1947 and is still in force in 1978 during the reign of the fourth hereditary monarch who came to the throne a year after the country was admitted to the United Nations in 1971.

The history of the relations between India and Bhutan from the time of the East India Company to the present have recently been summarised most competently by Kapilshwar Labh (1974) who used all the source material available in the British records. Unavoidably, his account has tended towards a rather one-sided picture because the Bhutanese records were not available to him. The only scholar to have made any use at all of the latter is Professor Luciano Petech who has written a short preliminary paper seeking to establish "... the succession and chronology of the heads of the Bhutanese state during the first hundred years or so of its existence." <sup>11</sup> This most valuable study was based on three Bhutanese sources, <sup>12</sup> supplemented and clarified with the evidence contained in certain Central Tibetan and Chinese works. It has been of the greatest help to the present effort. }

It must be emphasised at this point that whereas we have noted in the case of early Tibetan history there exists a solid core of evidence in the form of contemporary manuscripts and inscriptions, no such material is ever likely to come to light for the same period in Bhutan. There exists a solitary exception in the form of a fragmentary inscription on a broken bell preserved in Bum-thang which may be safely dated to the 8th century AD and this I shall introduce in Ch. 1 Section 1 below. It is an amazing fact that the only written



material of unquestionable Bhutanese origin which is known to me and which can with certainty be dated to the period before the unification of the 17th century is the long and fascinating autobiography of Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521). Between the bell-inscription and the autobiography there is a total blank as regards contemporary Bhutanese records. This however is the period on which I have chosen to concentrate. Leaving aside for a moment the reasons for my choice, it should be pointed out that the period is actually quite well documented: firstly, many texts from Tibet contemporary with this period dealing with events in Bhutan have survived and secondly there is a mass of material in Bhutanese works composed after the unification which relates to events in the early period (c.800 to c.1600). Still more important, a few of these latter incorporate material from earlier Bhutanese texts now lost.

The material on the period after the unification exists in such profusion as to overshadow all that went before. At an approximate guess, there survive at least fifty separate biographies and autobiographies for the period of the theocracy (1651-1907). The later records strongly reflect the triumph of an official ideology over all the disparate races, sects and lineages which were absorbed into the new state created by the 'Brug-pa rulers. The political unification itself was accomplished very quickly in the middle years of the 17th century and the centralising and unifying functions of the state naturally ran counter to local history and local sentiments. The measure of the new state's success can be partly gauged from the fact that the historical consciousness of the Bhutanese as a people today does not seem to extend back much further beyond the arrival in 1616 of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal , the founder of the theocracy. Although it is conceded in the literature that the Buddhist religion was introduced to Bhutan long before his arrival, the early history is

mythologised in such a way as to fit the official doctrine. In LCB I<sup>13</sup> therefore, a bare six folios out of a total of one hundred and fifty one are devoted to the pre-theocratic period in Bhutan and of these six folios, five are taken up with the history of the 'Brug-pa school prior to the arrival of the Zhabs-drung. In a far more balanced account (LCB II) completed in 1972, dGe-'dun Rin-chen has written a new religious history (chos-'byung) not so much as an apologetic for 'Brug-pa rule, but rather as an ordered eulogy for the whole course of Buddhism in the country. At least five official histories concentrating on more secular matters have been written in the last thirty years but none has met with the seal of government approval and consequently they only survive in manuscript form. I had the opportunity of reading four of them but have not used them here. At present the Director of the National Library, Slob-dpon Padma-lags (LP), is preparing the definitive official account and it is very much hoped this will soon be published.

The beginnings of Bhutanese history as frequently described in popular works today<sup>14</sup> clearly stem, with a few modifications, from the earlier British accounts discussed above. My first interest was to discover the sources on which the latter were based. This led me to the world of 'rediscovered texts' (gter-ma), particularly to those credited to Padma Gling-pa. Through great good fortune I also discovered two works written in the 18th century (the rGyal-rigs and the Lo-rgyus) which form the only material dealing with ancient units of non-monastic rule. In order to assess the historical value of this material it became necessary to probe the traditions around which the legends had developed. All these legends served to link the Bhutanese past with the early dynasty of Tibet and, in one case, with India. It soon became clear that there were two approaches a historian could develop in examining what are undoubtedly a set of origin myths. He could by dint of hard labour search for historical

fact embedded in the myths or he could study the myths themselves to appreciate the psychological attitudes of the society for which the myth acts as a statement of truth. In Chapter 1, I have arranged each of these myths in chronological order of the historical events to which they relate; it also happens, probably fortuitously, that this is the same sequence in which the myths were recorded in writing. When useful, I have also brought in the present day versions of the myths as they were recited to me in Bhutan. Each section of the chapter therefore represents an extended essay which, it is hoped, will stand on its own right. In the concluding section I point to some of the underlying themes. I hope to show that after criticism has done its utmost with these stories there will still be a modest residuum from which important historical deductions can be made. The other advantage to be gained from this dual approach to the study of myths is that it helps to explain the ambivalent attitude of the Bhutanese to their position as part of the Tibetan cultural empire that has now disintegrated, a theme touched upon earlier in the introduction. The place which the Bhutanese assign to themselves in the northern Buddhist world goes far towards explaining their character and ideals as a people.

In Chapter 2 the picture changes when we come to assess the historical evidence for the emergence of Buddhist schools and monastic principalities, mainly in Western Bhutan. Here the material is thoroughly diffuse and each unit has to be considered separately to get a clear picture of the complex network of affiliations. I hope eventually to attempt a more organic approach to the subject.

Chapter 3 contains a preliminary study of the founding of the Bhutanese state in the 17th century. The historical attitudes of the Bhutanese for this period are just as structured as those which determine their view of their distant past but the body of closely related biographies surviving

(cōntd. on next page)

from this period permit a detailed and dated chronological sequence. The creation of Bhutan is studied in terms of the life of its founder who, at the risk of the obvious, may be said to be the key figure in Bhutanese history. The biographies of his successors, in my view, yield the best results when studied in close relation to each other to obtain a clear picture of the greatest difficulty of all: the problem of legitimate rule. This takes one to an old skeleton in the Bhutanese cupboard, namely the secret of the founder's final 'retreat'. In searching for the solution to this problem I have tried to probe beneath the structure imposed on Bhutanese history in the arrangement of LCB I. The chapter concludes with a brief glimpse at the issues raised by a study of later developments in the theocracy.

In Part 2 which carries its own introduction, I present five texts relating to subjects discussed in Part I.

There is a strong temptation to concentrate on the period of the 17th century and later because of the wealth of material so far made available but to give in to such a temptation would be premature. Every month sees the appearance in Indian facsimile editions of vital new sources for this richest of periods and in my estimation, the supply from Bhutan is not likely to be exhausted for some years to come. I have chosen therefore to go back to the foundations. The institutions and aspirations of the monarchy established in the early years of this century can only be fully understood with reference to the theocracy of the previous three centuries. I believe by the same token that the key to a full understanding of the society which became a unified nation under Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal lies in the misty days of its semi-mythological past. I hope this study will serve to clear some of the mist to afford a glimpse of the mountains which lie behind.

Notes to Introduction

- I. Mr. John Ardussi of the University of Washington, Seattle, has also been engaged on a thesis devoted to Bhutanese history. While in this study emphasis is placed on the early period before unification, I understand Mr Ardussi has chosen to concentrate on the period of the theocracy.
2. Some of the following paragraphs in this section and the next one are partly based on Aris 1977:6-II.
3. An abstract of the 1969 Census may be found in Rose 1977:41.
4. Some Christian missionary tracts have been written in Dzongkha but their distribution in Bhutan is minimal.
5. Hoffman (n.d.:7) has suggested that Toto bears affinity to the ancient language of Zhang-zhung but I have not seen the evidence for this claim.
6. Letter dated 18/7/77.
7. The lists vary slightly from text to text. See Aris 1976:627 Note 63.
8. See Ch. 2 Note 78 below.
9. See especially Bell 1931:213-214.
10. Their accounts can be found in Markham (1879) and Turner (1800). See also Davis (1830).
11. Petech 1972a:203.
12. LCB I, and the biographies of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (1638-96) and bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal (1700-67).

I3. There is a detailed analysis of the contents of LCB I in Yamaguchi 1965:159-162.

I4. See Rahul (1971), Das, N (1974), Labh (1974) and Mehra (1974).

PART ONE

FROM REMOTE BEGINNINGS TO LATER COMPLEXITIES

## CHAPTER ONE

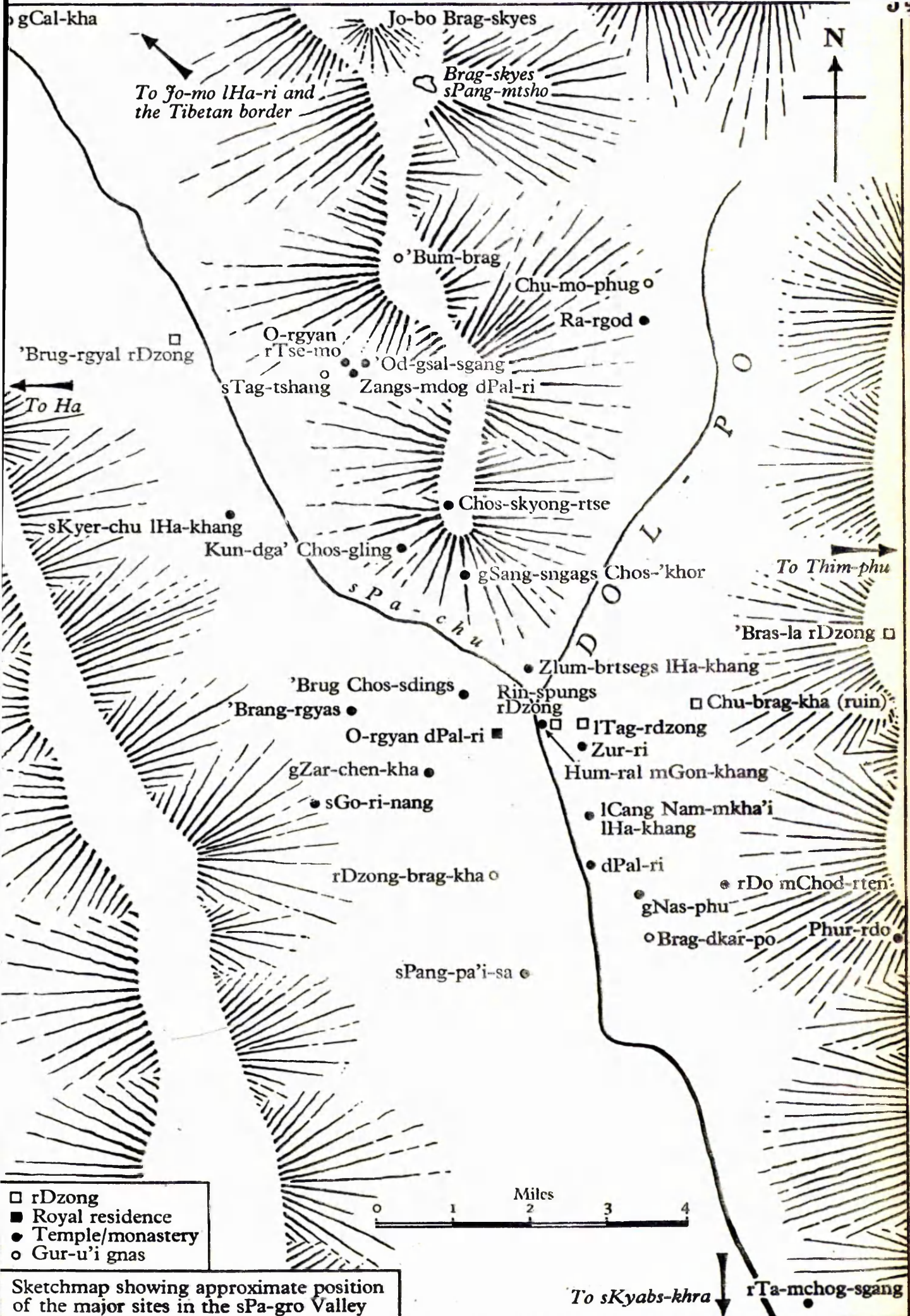
ORIGIN MYTHS, THEIR HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS AND  
DEVELOPMENTI. The first Buddhist temples

It is a fact that almost the only testimony to the earliest period of history in Bhutan consists in the presence of two Buddhist temples, sKyer-chu lHa-khang in the sPa-gro valley and Byams-pa'i lHa-khang in the Bum-thang province. Not only do they conform to the known character of the most ancient Tibetan temples but many of the literary sources place them within an elaborate system of temple construction devised by King Srong-btsan sGam-po who ruled Tibet from c. 627 to 649. This system is associated with certain geomantic principles said to have been introduced by his Chinese queen to assist in the conversion of Tibet to the new religion. Although, as we shall see, its operation came to have a powerful symbolic value in the minds of all later historians for its strongly territorial implications and for its physical depiction of Buddhist conversion, neither the scheme itself nor the accompanying story have yet been subjected to critical analysis. Any attempt to determine the possible historicity of this potent myth requires a survey of all the available references to it in the surviving literature. It must be said at the outset, however, that while this literature of Tibetan provenance recounts the story as a token of politico-religious domination, for the Bhutanese themselves the prestige of having within their territory two of the twelve temples which constituted the scheme naturally derives more from association with a venerable past than with any coercive plan of its powerful northern neighbour.<sup>1</sup>



Before examining the historical treatment to which this idea has been subjected let us consider the actual locations of the two temples in Bhutan. Generally speaking we shall not have much occasion to deal with the contents of these and other early Bhutanese temples but instead shall be concentrating on their external aspects and on the literary sources which provide significant references to them. To try to separate the few original statues and wall-paintings from all the later work of restoration and refurbishment would be a difficult and perhaps profitless task. A single exception is provided by the case of the dKon-mchog-gsum temple in Bum-thang whose antiquities are of extraordinary interest. Another important feature of these temples which will be omitted because it contributes nothing to our knowledge of their origins is that fascinating movement whereby the autochthonous deities associated with each locale were brought into the temples to act as their protective divinities.

The temple of sKyer-chu (pronounced 'Kichu') is situated towards the top end of the sPa-gro valley in the hamlet of the same name. It lies at some distance from the west bank of the sPa-chu river which cuts the valley down the centre, roughly halfway between the two fortresses (rdzong) of Rin-spungs and 'Brug-rgyal. The compact group of one-storied temples lies among paddy fields which rise behind the temple until they merge into the mountainside forming the watershed with the adjoining valley of Ha to the west. The principal temple, to which the others must



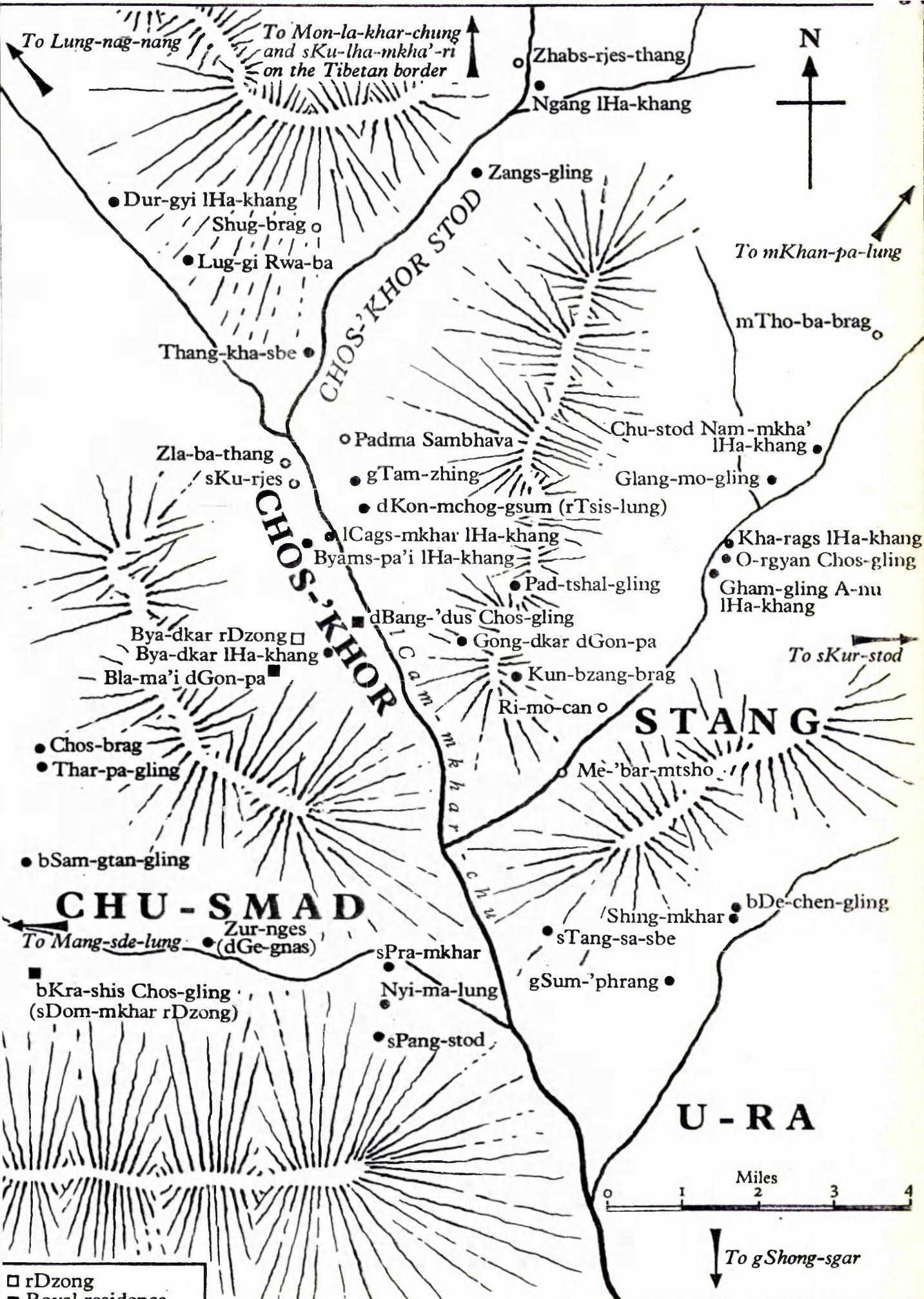
have been joined at later dates, contains a fine south-facing image of the Crowned Buddha known as the sKyer-chu Jo-bo which is surrounded by standing images of bodhisattvas and which is locally considered to be the equal of <sup>the</sup> famous lHa-sa Jo-bo. It does not seem possible to attribute this figure to any particular period and the most that may be said is that the general style precedes the highly ornamented one which developed under the late 'Brug-pa period and which is now found in almost every temple throughout the country. Local traditions hold that the present building and its contents are not the original structure attributed to Srong-btsan sGam-po but later refurbishments. Given the fact that the principal shrine is still of very modest proportions and that subsidiary temples have been added to it we can safely assume, however, that the dimensions of the original building were preserved throughout later works of restoration. If we are to accept the unlikely statement made in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long (f.60a) which is taken up by dPa'-bo gTseg-lag (Vol. Ja, ff. 39b-40a) these dimensions were laid down by an architect from Tho-gar or Tho-dkar (Tokharistan?). We shall be returning to this question later but suffice it to say here that no such architect is known to any Bhutanese tradition. That the temple is one of Srong-btsan sGam-po's appears to have been accepted without question by a whole line of 'text-discoverers' of the Bon and Buddhist faiths and indeed by countless generations of saints and pilgrims who went there. The restoration of the temple is alluded to in the rGyal-po bka'thang (f.75a) where we read that some of the 'material treasures' (nor-gter) hidden there were intended to be used for the repair of the temple.

When we turn to consider Byams-pa lHa-khang ('The Temple of Maitreya') in Bum-thang we are immediately struck by how closely its site and structure resemble those of sKyer-chu lHa-khang in sPa-gro. It is similarly situated on the floor of the upper part of the Chos-'khor valley quite close to the west bank of the south-flowing Bum-thang river (also known as the lCam-mkhar Chu), about two miles north of Bya-dkar rDzong, with the side of the valley rising up behind. Again, the principal shrine is joined to a number of other ones which would have been added during later periods. The similarity of their external aspects is not, however, so closely matched by their interior disposition. The principal image of Byams-pa lHa-khang, from which its name clearly derives, is a large east-facing Maitreya. The Tibetan sources for the legend never mention the temple by name but simply refer to "the temple of Bum-thang". There are in fact several candidates for antiquity among the temples of that province and apart from the unanimous assertions of the local traditions today and its 'classical' location there do not seem to be any independent and positive means of confirming the ascription of Byams-pa lHa-khang to Srong-btsan sGam-po. The first historical reference to it by name can be dated to 1355, the year in which the great Klong-chen-pa wrote his eulogy of the Bum-thang province. The relevant passage, cryptic to the point of ambiguity, reads:

bar-na thang yangs chu-bo'i shar-phyogs-la //  
bsam-yas me-btsa' chos-'khor lha-khang dang //  
nub-na byams-pa sgrol-ma lha-khang gnyis //  
lha-sa 'u-shang-rdo-yi lha-khang bzhengs //

(Bum-thang lha'i sbas-yul-gyi bkod-pa me-tog skyed-tshal,  
 f. 24a)





Sketchmap showing approximate position of the major sites in the Bum-thang Province.

This would seem to mean: "On the eastern side of the river, on the broad plain in the central part of the valley is Chos-'khor Temple; to the west, the two temples of Byams-pa and sGrol-ma, and there also exists the 'U-shang-rdo Temple in lHa-sa -- all these were built as the foci (me-btsa') of bSam-yas." This places the temple of Byams-pa in a simplified version of the geomantic system having the lHa-sa Jo-bo at its centre, here replaced by the monastery of bSam-yas founded by Khri-srong lDe-brtsan in c.754. The sense of the passage depends on the interpretation of me-btsa'. I follow Das (Tibetan-English Dictionary, p.971) in taking it as sa-yi lte-ba or sa-gnad che-ba, "any important place excellent in position and free from the depredations of malignant spirits, and on such places Buddhist viharas are enjoined to be erected". The quotation he gives in support of this definition (from f.153 of an unidentified biography of Atiśa) although unclear, would confirm the opinion that me-btsa' (or me-tsa) is a geomantic term referring to places which act in a strange way on other places, just as in acupuncture one or several points in the body relate to the operation of its vital organs.<sup>2</sup> Here it is bSam-yas which was in some way 'activated' by the construction of these other temples. The temple of Chos-'khor (which is also the name of this particular valley in Bum-thang) is placed on the east bank of the river but the name has not survived elsewhere. The only temple of undoubted antiquity on that bank is rTse-lung (or rTsis-lung, now called dKon-mchog-gsum, on which more later) and this may be another old name for that foundation. On the west bank, we are told, are the twin temples of Maitreya and Tara, of which now only the Maitreya still exists.

However, the passage could be interpreted as referring to a single building containing both these temples.

'U-shang-rdo near lHa-sa is known to be a famous foundation of Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan (Ral-pa-can) 815-c.836; its mention alongside these distant temples of a 'barbarian' region does not engender much confidence in the story.

It seems likely that Klong-chen-pa simply repeated a local tradition he heard during his exile in Bum-thang, probably an expression of that widespread movement by which Padmasambhava (whose name is so closely linked with the founding of bSam-yas) came to surpass even Srong-btsan sGam-po as the true progenitor of Buddhism in the area.

A single generation after Klong-chen-pa his Bhutanese incarnation Padma Gling-pa gives us a 'prophecy' <sup>by Padmasambhava</sup> on all the old temples of Bum-thang.<sup>3</sup> Although we shall be anticipating some important themes which require separate discussion it is worth hearing the story at this point. In reply to King Khri Srong-lde-brtsan's request that he should foretell the "ups and downs" of Bum-thang, Padmasambhava explains that "in previous times when there were no lha-pa" (this, unless the text is corrupt, seems to mean simply "religious persons") the King Sendha Ra-tsa (see Section 2 below) acted as patron for the construction of Byams-pa lHa-khang. The Guru then tells the King: "Now you too must build a temple with three kinds of roof-tiers (dbu-rtse) at a place where the demons (dam-sri) and spirits (lha-'dre) are forgathered on top of the left foot of a mountain shaped like a demoness (srin-mo) reclining on her back in the centre of Bum-thang. If you do that it will in general benefit the teachings of Himavat and in particular [the temple] will become the life-force

(srog) of the teachings of bSam-yas and Bum-thang." The King therefore sends Ba-mar Khri-zheng (also spelt Ba-mi Khri-zhir) of Yar-lung to Bum-thang. (His name must be a corrupted form of that of the minister sBa [= dBas] Khri-bzher Sang-shi-ta in sBa-bzhed, p.50.) The temple of rTse-lung is built by him with "the Indian King dByugs-ston" acting as patron. At that time the Guru also comes to give directions and so the temple of A-nu is built in the sTang valley "to subdue the border" (tha-'dul, i.e. mtha-'dul) and the temple of Rin-chen dGe-gnas is built in the village of Zung-nge (in what is now called the Chu-smad valley) "to subdue the area beyond the border" (yang-'dul). There follows a long list of stūpas and images which were built at different places in the province on the Guru's advice. Now the principal interest of this story lies in the way Byams-pa lHa-khang is reckoned to have been built at a date prior to the main sequence of events and this must have aligned with a local belief, still expressed today, that it is indeed the oldest temple in the province. The notion of a demoness srin-mo lying on her back and the idea of temples built to subdue the outlying areas are directly borrowed from the principal myth concerning Srong-btsan sGam-po's construction of his twelve temples with the Jo-khang of lHa-sa in the centre. As in the case of Klong-chen-pa's account, we are faced here with a transposition of the chief protagonist's role from the King to the Guru and of the location of the chief temple from lHa-sa to bSam-yas. Another parallel can be found in the chronicles of Zangs-dkar where at the beginning we read that the Guru built a set of three temples on the head, heart and feet of a demoness whose spread-eagled body encompassed the whole region (Francke 1926: 152).



A further hint at the antecedence of Byams-pa lHa-  
 khang is suggested by the fact that although in the 'prophecy'  
 quoted above the 'Sindhu Rāja' was supposed to have built it,  
 when we turn to Padma Gling-pa's own account of that figure's  
 life<sup>4</sup> there is no reference to its construction. Rather it  
 is suggested that the temple already exists, the Guru leaving  
 butter for its lamps and a guardian to look after it. This  
 took place after he had cured the King and before he left for  
 India to mediate a settlement with King sNa'u-che. Both texts  
 foretell how the fate of the temple constitutes one of the  
 thirty 'evil times' (dus-ngan) that will befall the province.  
 The 'prophecy' says the temple-keeper's family will die out<sup>5</sup>  
 and the King's biography says that its fabric will be restored,<sup>6</sup>  
 events which we can probably safely assume took place within  
 the memory of Padma Gling-pa's contemporaries. The attribution  
 to the 'Sindhu Rāja' can probably be explained by the temple's  
 close proximity to the supposed site of his nine-storied palace  
 of lCags-mkhar and to the 'tomb' of his son, sTag-lha Me-'bar,  
 less than a mile to the east on the west bank of the river.

While, therefore, we have the inconsistencies of  
 Padma Gling-pa's visionary treatment of the oral legends as  
 tending to discount their veracity, there is on the other hand  
 no solid evidence in support of later claims that Byams-pa  
 lHa-khang is indeed the one founded in Bum-thang in the 7th  
 century by Srong-btsan sGam-po. But Padma Gling-pa's own ref-  
 erences to it do suggest an historical precedence over all  
 other candidates,<sup>7</sup> we have the absence of any convincing ex-  
 planation other than the one afforded by the story of the  
 Srong-btsan temples, and as noted above, its site in the  
 Chos-'khor valley approximates very closely indeed to the

site of sKyer-chu in the sPa-gro valley, a fact which at the most could be taken to imply its being part of the same scheme of temple construction and at the least suggests a contemporaneity of style and origin. Both temples, it should be remembered, lie in districts immediately contiguous to central Tibet, separated from it in each case by a single pass — districts which certainly had the most abiding contacts with the main currents of Tibetan history in all ages. Finally, there is the ancient sgrub of Byams-pa lHa-khang, a festival which, it has been argued elsewhere (Aris 1976 : 609-610) appears to bear vestiges of the old Agricultural New Year which falls at the time of the winter solstice and which has now almost disappeared in this part of the country. The celebration of this ancient festival within the precincts of the most ancient temple in the district would be in the fitness of things. The transfer of these rites, which cannot have had a Buddhist origin, into a Buddhist setting does not cause surprise. The same process took place over many centuries in the celebration of the official New Year in lHa-sa.

The argument so far has tended to suggest that if there were temples built by Srong-btsan sGam-po in the area we now know as Bhutan these could, according to present tradition, only be Byams-pa lHa-khang and sKyer-chu lHa-khang. But did that king in fact implement this famous scheme of temple-building ? How is it structured ? Do the Bhutanese temples figure consistently in the lists ? Where, and on what evidence, does the story first appear ?

There are ten sources which deal with the matter in detail and which may be listed in what would appear to be

their chronological order as follows:

- I) Ma-ni bka'-'bum of the 12th to 14th centuries ?  
(Punakha edition in two volumes. See Vol. E, f.137a = p.273).
- II) Chos-'byung of Bu-ston, 1322 (lHa-sa edition, f.124b;  
translated by Obermiller, Heidelberg 1932 Vol. I, p.185).
- III) rGyal-po bka'-thang, c.1350 (dGa'-ldan Phun-tshogs-gling  
edition of 1674, Ch. IV, ff.40b, 76b and 77a. Anne-Marie  
Blondeau (1971 : 42) suggests this was 'discovered' by  
O-rgyan Gling-pa (1323-?) prior to 1368).
- IV) rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long of Sa-skya-pa bSod-nams  
rGyal-mtshan, 1368 (Ed. Kuznetsov, Leiden 1966 : 120-122. .  
I have been unable to check Kuznetsov's spellings, often  
faulty or wrongly corrected, against the editions of either  
lHa-sa or bDe-dge).
- V) rGya-bod yig-tshang of Śrībhūtibhadra, 1434  
(Mr. Richardson's copy, f.97b. See A. Macdonald (1963) on  
this work).
- VI) Chos-'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston (lHo-brag chos-'byung)  
of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'Phreng-ba, 1565 (Sata-Pitaka Series,  
Vol. 9(4), ed. Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1962. See Vol. Ja,  
39b-40a).
- VII) Chos-'byung bstan-pa'i padma rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed of  
Padma dKar-po, 1575 (Sata-Pitaka Series, Vol. 75, ed.  
Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi 1958. See ff. 159a-b).
- VIII) Gangs-can yul-gyi sa-la spyod-pa'i mtho-ris-kyi rgyal-blon  
gtso-bor brjod-pa'i deb-ther rdzogs-ldan gzhon-nu'i dga'-ston  
dpyid-kyi rgyal-mo'i glu-dbyangs of the 5th Dalai Lama, 1643  
(Ed. Ngawang Gelek Demo, New Delhi 1967. See p.23.).
- IX) dPag-bsam ljon-bzang of Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dPal-'byor,  
1748 (Ed. Das, Calcutta 1908. See p.168).
- X) gSung-'bum of Klong-rdol Bla-ma Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang 1719-  
1805 (Ed. Dalama, Mussoorie 1964. See Vol. 'A, pp.334-335).

It is apparent from this list that the story of Srong-btsan's temples would seem to have its origins in the early gter-ma literature, that there are no contemporary accounts dating from the dynastic period and, most interestingly, that the story was accepted uncritically by the late dGe-lugs-pa historians who were usually sceptical of these 'revealed' texts. As shall be seen, the story forms a vital sub-plot in the narrative of Srong-btsan's relationship with his Nepalese and Chinese queens and their activities directed towards the Buddhist conversion of Tibet. Although there seems little doubt that this most 'orthodox' account stems from a strongly manifested desire on the part of early historians to link their Buddhist heritage to the period of Tibet's greatest power, the very materials they drew on can in many instances be shown to be of ancient provenance, albeit thoroughly doctored to their aims. To what extent this reworking of old material was a conscious process is most difficult to determine. Wilful forgery and other kinds of literary skulduggery are not things which can be readily associated with the main spirit of Tibetan writing in any period. Half-remembered fragments of remote traditions (which on occasion might just approximate to something that actually happened) can be interpolated imaginatively into a story without this offending the native idea of textual propriety. Rather they tend to bolster the authenticity of the story in the eyes of its readers. In the Tibetan world notions of 'fact' and 'fiction' often seem to disappear into something altogether different and removed. To try to separate the two is often an unrewarding task where the 'fact' is itself part of a visionary scheme. The historian has to tread very warily here, fully aware of the enormous pitfalls

open to him on a path which might in the end bring him to valuable results or, more likely perhaps, none at all.

In the case of the Ma-ni bka'-'bum there seems little certainty yet about the origin of its contents or the circumstances of its compilation. Fortunately, however, the preambular index (dkar-chags) to the splendid Punakha edition (Vol. E, ff. 5a-12a) supplies enough information to suggest a few tentative conclusions. The work divides into three parts, namely: 1) mdo-skor ("The Section on Sūtras"); 2) sgrub-skor ("The Section on Sādhanas"); and 3) shal-gdams-kyi skor ("The Section on Testaments"). A certain mahāsiddha dNgos-grub is said to have first discovered the sgrub-skor from the Jo-khang in lHa-sa and passed this on to mNga'-bdag Myang who in turn recovered the 150 "testaments" similarly hidden by the king. Myang bestowed both of these onto Mi-skyod rDo-rje of La-stod who passed them to rJe-btsun Shākya bZang-po. The latter then discovered the Gab-pa mngon-phyung-gi skor and the "Section on Sūtras", thus completing the whole cycle of texts in this collection which was passed in its entirety to lHa-rje dGe-'bum from whom they were transmitted in a long line of eighteen masters down to the first 'Dharmarāja' of Bhutan, Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. This account of the compilation and transmission of the Ma-ni bka'-'bum conforms in most of its particulars to the information given in the Blue Annals and the lives of the 'rediscoverers' by Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas. Grub-thob dNgos-grub and mNga'-bdag Myang (or Nyang; his full name is Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'Od-zer) are said to have been contemporaries of the great Karma-pa Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (1110-1193) and Phag-mo Gru-pa (1110-1170).<sup>8</sup> Although dNgos-grub's dates

are not given by Kong-sprul he does give us those of Nyang: 1124-1204. But these do not seem right since he is said to have died at the age of 69 and these would make him 80. Stein, on what evidence it is not clear, gives the dates 1136-1203/4 which would fit better.<sup>9</sup>

Although Nyang seems to have been a far more important figure than dNgos-grub<sup>10</sup>, it is the latter whom Kong-sprul specifically says must be remembered as the one responsible for the Ma-ni bka'-'bum, even though it represents the gter-chos of three quite different persons. dNgos-grub is also known to the Bon-po as gZhod-ston dNgos-grub ("The Teacher from gZhod") for his recovery of certain texts behind the image of Vairocana in the mKho-mthing temple of lHo-brag. That the sādhanas devoted to Avalokiteśvara which he is said to have discovered were his own and not later incorporations in the cycle is clear from the Blue Annals where he is found bestowing them on Rog Shes-rab-'od (1166-1244) when the latter was about nineteen in 1184.<sup>11</sup> There seems less certainty about the remaining sections which Kong-sprul describes as "tributary rivers" (chu-lag) to the sādhanas. The "testaments" of the king are said to be the recovery of Nyang and no doubt more can be learnt about this in the Nyang family chronicles, the mNga'-bdag yab-sras-kyi skye-rabs rnam-thar which Kong-sprul (gTer-snam, f.50a) says are located in the sNga-'gyur /≡ rNying-ma/ rgyud-'bum. But it is the "Section on Sūtras" which most concerns us here because it is in this that we find a strange collection of narrative works devoted to the life of the great Srong-btsan sGam-po himself. Most authorities attribute their discovery to rJe-btsun Shākya bzang-po who received a prophecy about them after

he had constructed many water dikes and completed works of restoration in lHa-sa.<sup>12</sup> He is reputed to have got them from the gNod-sbyin Khang-pa ("The House of the Yakṣas") inside the Jo-khang, which can probably be identified with the little temple marked No 16 in Richardson's plan of the ground floor, on the north side of the main entrance passage.<sup>13</sup> The actual content of this 'historical' section is a considerable muddle. The first item is the so-called Lo-rgyus chen-mo ("The Great Chronicle") which relates the lives of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the Buddha Śākyamuni. The editor of our Bhutanese edition says in an interlinear note to the dkar-chags that while most sources maintain this should be in 41 chapters, the examples known to him actually contain only 36. The remaining two works listed as forming this section (but which are in fact omitted from this edition as in most others<sup>14</sup>), are famous canonical texts relating to the cult of Avalokiteśvara which Shākyā bZang-po or one of his successors decided should be included. We are then left with a further four works constituting a quite separate sub-section finding no mention at all in the original dkar-chags. It is here that the principal biographical works on the king are all situated and which it must be surmised are all later additions. This in itself need not be taken to discount their antiquity. It only affirms their later inclusion in the whole corpus. The problem, however, does not end there. To justify their inclusion the editor explains in another interlinear comment that it was most certainly the king's command that the following works should obtain to the "Section on Sūtras":

- 1) Me-tog rgyan-pa'i zhing-bkod
- 2) bKa'-chems mthon-mthing-ma
- 3) rGyal-bu 'jig-rten dbang-phyug-gi skyes-rabs

4) rGyal-po'i mdzad-pa nyi-shu-rtsa-gcig-pa

5) bKa'-chems ka-bkol-ma

Alas, the list corresponds only partially to what we actually find in this or in any other surviving edition of the Ma-ni bka'-'bum known to us. It is particularly disappointing in respect of item 5 to which there exist several enticing references in other historical works and which may yet prove to be of great antiquity. Instead what we are presented with in this 'biographical sub-section' is:

1) Sangs-rgyas shākya thub-pa'i bstan-pa-la mdzad-pa'i lo-rgyus, ff. 97b-140a. ("The Account of Źrong-btsan sGam-po's Deeds in Regard to the Teachings of the Buddha Śākyamuni").

2) Sangs-rgyas gzhan-gyi bstan-pa-la mdzad-pa'i lo-rgyus, ff. 140a - 167b. ("The Account Źof Srong-btsan sGam-po's Deeds in Regard to the Teachings of Other Buddhas").

3) rGyal-bu 'jig-rten dbang-phyug-gi skye-rabs, ff. 167b - 183b. ("The Jātaka of Prince Lokeśvara").

4) rGyal-po'i mdzad-pa nyi-shu-rtsa-gcig-pa, ff. 183b - 211a. ("The Twenty-one Deeds of the King").

The first two items are referred to as mdzad-pa lo-rgyus-kyi skor ("The Section Containing the Chronicle of Deeds") and the last two as gsung-gros man-ngag-gi skor ("The Section Containing the Precepts on Counsels"), a somewhat arbitrary classification which bears little relevance, if any, to their actual content. It may be significant that items 3 and 4 correspond to the same numbers given in the dkar-chags list given above. If we put to one side the two middle items (2 and 3) which represent the ten jātaka stories of King Srong-btsan sGam-po's previous lives, we are left with item 1 in 12 chapters (hereafter referred to as A) and item 4 in 21 chapters (hereafter B). They are very close redactions



of the same traditions which from here passed into the main stream of Tibetan historical writing. They deal firstly with the legendary arrival of Buddhist texts in the time of lHa-tho-tho-ri gNyan-btsan and a brief (but, in the case of A, well-founded) genealogy of the early kings; the conception and birth of Srong-btsan sGam-po; his youth and consecration; his introduction of religious laws; his obtainment of Buddhist images; his marriages to the Nepalese and Chinese princesses; the building of temples; the introduction of civil laws; the translation of scriptures and the concealment of gter-ma; and finally, the king's apotheosis. Why should such a duplication of material occur within a single collection such as this? Evidently several hands were responsible for this 'biographical sub-section' and apart from Shākya bZang-po one is tempted to look to lHa-rje dGe-'bum (or dGe-ba-'bum) as taking a prominent part. Kong-sprul (gTer-rnam, f. 41b) mentions him in place of Shākya bZang-po and it is more than possible that his activities extended beyond simply passing down the completed corpus as the dkar-chags would have us believe. It may be that in dGe-'bum we have the final redactor of the Ma-ni bka'-'bum and this might, if his dates can be established, entail a later date for the whole work than the one suggested by Haarh (1969 : 20): 1160 - 1240. But, unless it is entirely apocryphal, the biography of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po (1184 - 1251) provides strong evidence that the Ma-ni bka'-'bum already existed in that saint's youth; it is specifically mentioned among the teachings received by him in Tibet before he came to Bhutan where later he bestowed its 'authorisation'.<sup>15</sup> This must be the earliest independent reference to the Ma-ni bka'-'bum and considerably antedates those noticed by

Stein<sup>16</sup> in the biography of Tsong-kha-pa and in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long.

These thoughts on the problem of dating the work, however, do not help us in the matter of deciding why A and B should exist almost side by side. Of the two, A is far more detailed than B although it contains much the same material. Should we surmise that the author of A decided that B did not contain sufficient material and therefore used it as a basis upon which he could introduce the more extensive legends known to him ? Or did the author of B decide that A was too long and complicated and therefore required shortening ? Or else did he decide that much of the information contained in A was fanciful and should be excised in an attempt to produce a purer version ? Or finally do both accounts derive immediately from a common ancestor unknown to us ? The methodology of many Tibetan historians tends towards a contraction of original source material, a selective process which reduces complex subjects into simple ones according to the author's natural bias. Difficulties are glossed over or reshaped to fit the accepted structures. On the other hand we also find certain outline schemes being expanded to encompass the material known to the historian, a process in which imagination has full rein when dealing with events of the remote past. In our case detailed textual analysis might provide clues as to the relationship between A and B but since the central elements of our story are contained in both versions we can, having underlined the existence of these problems, leave them aside and turn at last to the story's substance. Since of the two A seems the sharper and would appear to have the greater internal logic it is used below to retell the story in a greatly condensed form.

Among the parting gifts which the Princess Kong-jo requests from her father before leaving China to marry Srong-btsan sGam-po (in 640 AD) is mentioned a divination chart described as "a striped scroll of trigrams in 34 sections" (par-thang khra-bo sum-cu-rtsa-bzhi, f. 121a). What she in fact receives is called "a divination chart in 300 sections executed according to the Chinese divinatory sciences" (rgya-yi gtsug-lag gab-rtse sum-brgya-po, f. 122b). It is this object which she later uses in her geomantic reckonings to determine the most favourable sites for her temples and on f. 127b there is some unconvincing speculation on the etymology of the word gab-rtse. The practice of divination during Srong-btsan's reign was a complex amalgam of Indian, Chinese and Tibetan forms, as can readily be seen in Arianne Macdonald's analysis of the important Tun-huang document, Pelliot No. 1047 (A. Macdonald 1971:272-309). She claims this text was redacted during the reign of Srong-btsan himself, and it is interesting to note that some of the divination charts mentioned there contain the element par in their names (as in skang-par, ryu-phar-thun, etc) which I have assumed derives from par-kha, 'trigram'.

On arrival in lHa-sa the wheels of the chariot transporting the famous image of Śākyamuni which Kong-jo is also taking with her get stuck in the sand and despite the efforts of the two champions lHa-dga' and Klu-dga' who are accompanying the party as bodyguards (and from whom, incidentally, the rGya clan of the 'Brüg-pa school claim descent) the chariot cannot be moved. Kong-jo wishes to examine the cause of this and having layed out her "striped scroll of trigrams" and worked out "the reckonings according to the divinatory sciences" (gtsug-lag-gi rtsis, f. 129b)

she perceives that the whole of Tibet "is like a demoness (srin-mo) fallen on her back". The Plain of Milk in lHa-sa is the palace of the king of the klu spirits and the lake in the Plain of Milk is the heart-blood of the demoness. Of the three peaks rising from the plain two of them are her breasts and the third is the vein of her life-force. It is the evil conjunctions of all these which explains "the evil behaviour [of the Tibetans] including brigandage and so forth". But besides these bad configurations the place has certain good qualities which are duly listed. She perceives that if a temple is built on the Plain of Milk<sup>17</sup> the natural good qualities (rang-bzhin-gyi yon-tan, f. 130a) of Tibet would come forth and flourish. Further calculations establish that in order to activate these qualities the following sites have to be disposed: 1) "a place where many people foregather, the king's site"; 2) "a place where many monks foregather, the site of a temple"; 3) "a place where many r̥ṣi foregather, the site of a monastery"; and 4) "a place where happiness is pursued temporarily, a site for the common people". In order to establish the last of these first, five impediments have to be removed: 1) "the palace of the klu"; 2) "the cairn of the 'dre"; 3) "the bed of the ma-mo"; 4) "the habitual path of the btsan"; and 5) "the sa-dgra of the elements" -- in fact all those locations associated with the autochthonous deities of Tibet's centre. The klu palace is itself countered by the famous image of Śākyamuni which is set up in temporary fashion under a canopy supported by four pillars and guarded by the two champions.

Kong-jo is then admitted to the king's presence and a great public festival ensues. Meanwhile the Nepalese queen Khri-btsun who is in the palace of Sog-po-mkhar notices all

this. Seeing all the commotion and noting the fact that Kong-jo has brought this precious image with her she thinks: "Kong-jo too will build a temple and since she is expert in Chinese geomancy (rgya-nag-po sa'i dpyad, f. 131a) she will build other temples too. Since I am the senior consort my memorials should be greater. I must not let her build temples until I have built a temple." Peremptorily summoning Kong-jo she explains this to her. Kong-jo does not dispute but suggests to Khri-btsun that she builds her temple on the lake. Khri-btsun is furious and refuses to let Kong-jo see the king for a whole year. Later they appear to make up and a long verse dialogue ensues at the end of which Kong-jo repeats her advice, saying it is not intended as a joke. (End of Ch. 9)

Khri-btsun then receives permission from the king to build Buddhist temples wherever she pleases so she lays the foundations of 108 temples in Yar-lung and other places. What she builds by day, however, is destroyed at night by the malignant spirits. She resolves to consult Kong-jo because of her skill in Chinese geomancy and sends a maid servant to her with a measure of gold powder. Kong-jo lays out her "striped scroll of trigrams". Her calculations once again reveal all the favourable conditions and evil impediments in the lie of the land where she says the following must be established:

- 1) "a place where many laymen foregather, the site of the sa-bdag rgyal-po;
- 2) "a place where monks foregather, the site of a temple";
- 3) "a place for those who pursue temporary happiness, the site for laymen";
- and 4) "a place for a monastery for those who reside for a short time".

This list is a slight elaboration of the previous one and items 3 and 4 have been interchanged. As we shall see, Kong-jo is in fact referring to one single site which possesses all these attributes —

the future site of lHa-sa's Jo-khang 'Cathedral'. She gives further details concerning how the impediments to its construction are to be removed: firstly, the cairn of the 'dre and the the-brang in the Garden of Musk Deer is to be destroyed and lastly the lake in the Milk Plain is to be filled in with earth. Besides these, many injunctions are given such as the pointing of Śiva's liṅga at the srin-mo's pubic hair in order to suppress the 'earth-demon' (sa-dgra) of the east.<sup>18</sup> Kong-jo insists that she has already explained these instructions but they have been misunderstood. The maid, however, in conveying them to Khri-btsun gets the order muddled and says the first injunction is to fill in the lake (in fact the last). Earth is carried on the backs of goats which alone have the ability of getting through a forest which is in the way. (This is widely thought by Tibetans to be the origin of the capital's name; Ra-sa, "Goat-Earth", became lHa-sa, "God-Place"). This activity only serves to muddy the lake and the king advises Khri-btsun to consult Kong-jo once more. A different maid is sent who in turn receives the same injunctions, only this time it is made very clear that the "terrestrial modifications" (sa'i bcos-kha-rnams, f. 133b) have to be performed before the lake is filled in, adding that these modifications involve an azure dragon to the south, a red bird to the west, a black tortoise to the north and a striped tiger to the east. (See p.64 below and Table III.)

Khri-btsun is now positive that Kong-jo is deceiving her out of jealousy and goes to the king with her problem. The king consults a sandal-wood image which he had obtained in a previous episode. A ray of light issues from it and

settles on the lake in the Milk Plain, filling it with light. The king rides down to the lake and the sound of his horse's hooves is magnified so many times that the local populace think there is a horse race in progress. Each person according to his karma sees the king in a different manner. (This is a theme which recurs throughout the text.) The next day Khri-btsun is told to accompany him to the lake and on arrival the king commands her to build a temple wherever his ring falls. He throws it into the air, it strikes her saddle and bounces into the lake. She is convinced the whole affair has been stage-managed by the king under the jealous influence of Kong-jo and she bursts into tears. Drawing her attention to the rays of light, the king comforts her and promises to build her temple. She is overjoyed. There follows a most difficult passage describing first the erection of a palace for the king by the side of the lake and then the temple itself. Nepalese stone-masons are employed to copy the luminous outline of a magical stupa which has appeared in the lake (see Note 17 above). Timber and "imperishable mud" from the realm of the klu come up from the bed of the lake. Foundations are gradually laid out using all sorts of different materials on the plan of "a tall Chinese mansion" of middling height (rgya'i ldem-mkhar, f. 135a).<sup>19</sup> The plan consists of 1) "a square foundation in accordance with the [common] people; 2) "a chequer-board foundation for a temple in accordance with the monks"; and 3) "a site shaped like a swastika in accordance with the Bon-po".<sup>20</sup> But even these efforts are wasted because the malignant spirits once again destroy by night what is built by day. At last the king gains a spontaneous understanding of all the geomantic configurations on which the fate of

the temple depends so closely and on which Kong-jo has been insisting for so long. Before these are put in order and the temple finally completed, however, he conceives the plan which produced the two border temples in Bhutan. (B explains that it is part of Kong-jo's original scheme.)

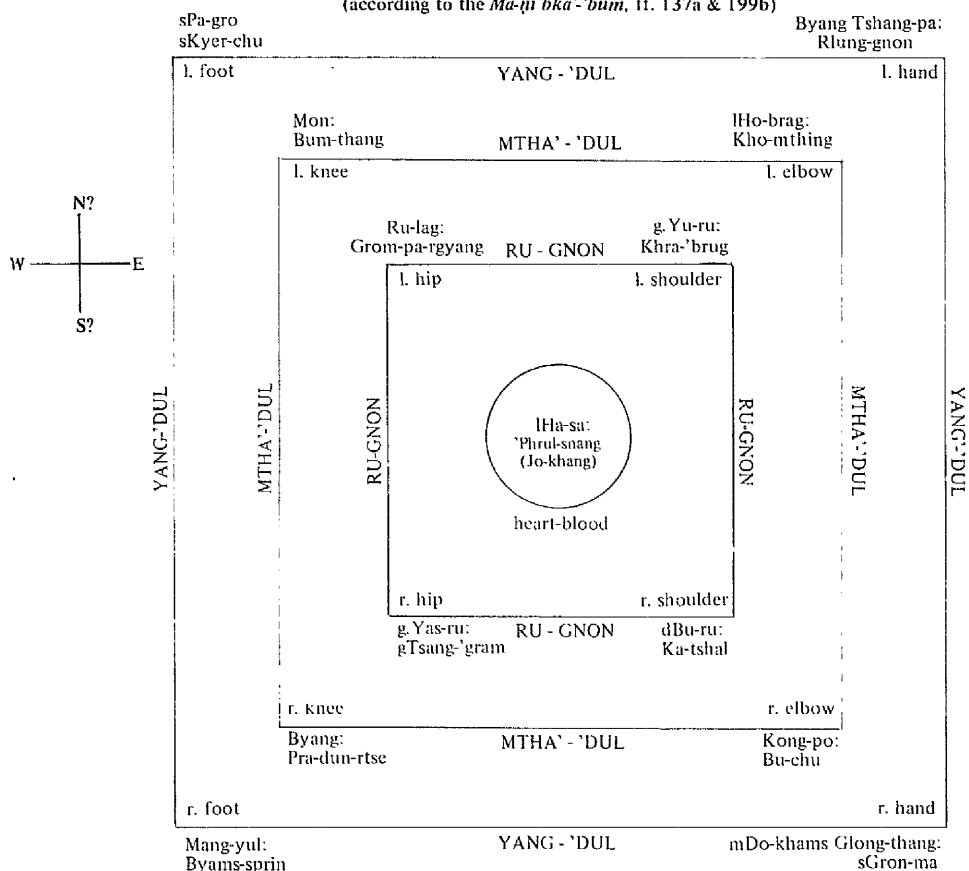
Srong-btsan sGam-po perceives that the demoness which encompasses the whole of Tibet is striking out with her arms and legs. In order to pin these down he builds four temples in the central regions of the country known as "The Four Great Horn-Suppressors" (Ru-gñon chen-po bzhi). Then he constructs a further four temples to "tame the border" (mTha'-'dul) and finally a set of four to "tame the area beyond the border" (Yang-'dul), each temple pinning down part of a limb. At that time the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas see the king as Avalokiteśvara building "palaces of the dharma" for the sake of Tibet. The common people of the four ru and the four borders of Tibet all see a figure of the king at the same time coming to give them orders for the building of temples. The "inner and outer retinue" of the king see him as refusing to build Khri-btsun's temple until he has built temples elsewhere to suppress the malignant spirits.<sup>21</sup>

The entire plan of these temples is illustrated in Table I and matches Stein's conception of the scheme which he seems to accept without reservation as reflecting historical reality: "The conquering and civilizing function of the first king, once he was established at the centre, was performed in accordance with Chinese ideas: in square concentric zones, each boxed in by the next and extending farther and farther from the centre" (Stein 1972: 39).

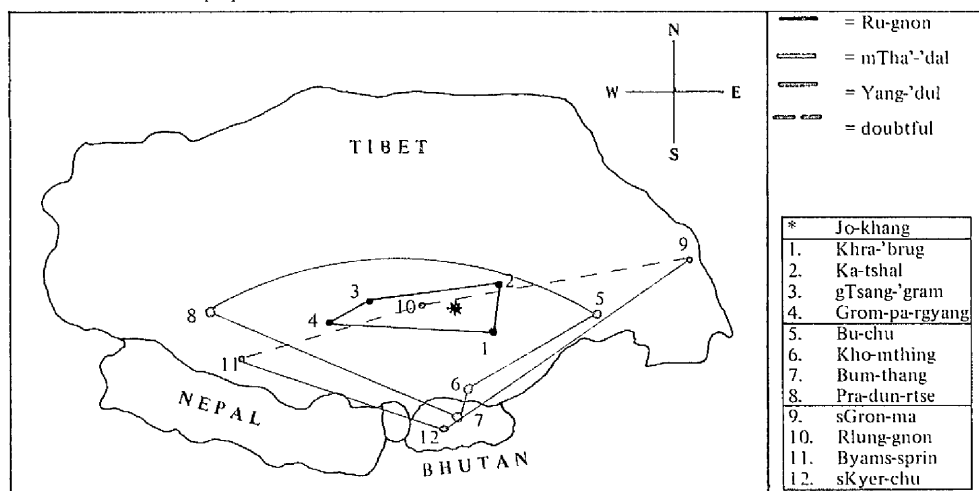


Table I

The Ru-gnon, mTha-'dul & Yang-'dul Temples  
(according to the *Ma-pi bka-'bum*, ff. 137a & 199b)



Reproduced courtesy of Aris & Phillips Ltd., Warminster from the author's forthcoming work, *Bhutan—The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, in preparation for 1978.



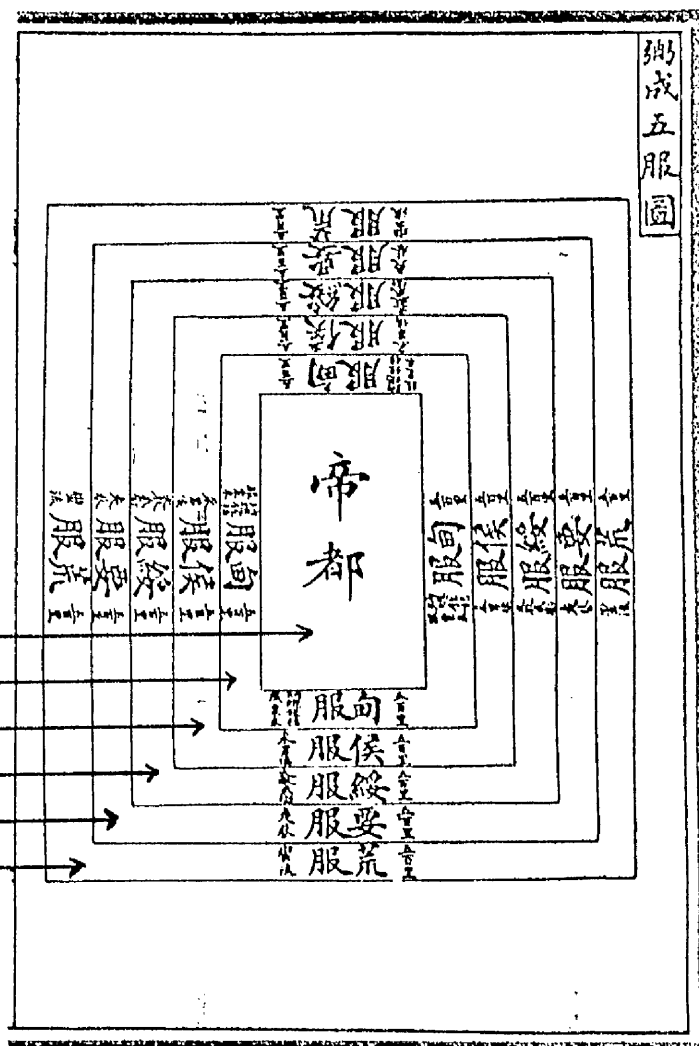
Although the details of the Chinese scheme and its relation to the Tibetan one have not been worked out by Stein, there seems every reason to accept it as the chief source of influence. The Five Zones of Control are described in the Yü Kung ("The Tribute of Yü", forming a chapter of the Shu Ching), a text now thought to belong to the 5th Century BC. These zones (fu, lit. 'subdue') are made up of concentric squares expanding from the metropolitan area of the imperial centre and are enumerated by Needham as follows: (1) the 'royal domains' (tien fu), (2) the 'princes' domains' (hou fu), (3) the 'pacification zone' (sui fu), (4) the zone of allied barbarians (yao fu), and lastly (5) the zone of cultureless savagery (huang fu).<sup>22</sup>

(See Table II) The Tibetan scheme must surely have been a contraction of this or similar schemes in which zones 1, 4 and 5 may perhaps have been selected as most appropriate to the Tibetan world — a world which, let it not be forgotten, the rulers of the 7th and 8th centuries certainly held to be the equal, if not on occasion the actual superior, of China. Nothing meaningful can yet be said on the important question of when the basic Chinese plan was accepted by the Tibetans but the idea of Tibet being surrounded by 'degrees' of barbarism which we find strongly expressed in many early sources must have accorded well with this scheme. The term which is semantically most relevant to the conception of mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul is that of mTha'-'khob Yang-khob, "Barbarians of the Border and Barbarians of the Area Beyond".<sup>23</sup>

This is reminiscent of attitudes to the various kinds of K<sub>lo</sub>-pa south of the Tsā-ri region, tribal peoples with whom the central Tibetans, however, appear to have made contact rather later than the period under discussion.

Table II: The Concentric Zones of China according to the Yu Kung  
(From Needham 1959:501)

- I) Imperial centre \_\_\_\_\_
- 2) Royal domain zone \_\_\_\_\_
- 3) Zone of the princes' domain \_\_\_\_\_
- 4) Pacification zone \_\_\_\_\_
- 5) Zone of allied barbarians \_\_\_\_\_
- 6) Zone of cultureless savagery \_\_\_\_\_



The Chinese scheme has undergone a characteristically Tibetan process of adaptation: whereas the original Chinese version is structured on a north-south axis (with the emperor in the middle facing south) the Tibetan one lies on an east-west axis as indicated by the alignment of the srin-mo's limbs on the chart. Significantly, the temples shown on the chart as east or west of the Jo-khang do so in the sketch-map of locations; the same does not hold for the temples seen on the north-south axis. All this accords well with the common Tibetan notion of their country lying up in the west (sTod mNga'-ris) and down in the east (mDo-smad Khams). It may also betray a Buddhist influence in that the srin-mo who represents Tibet on the point of conversion has her head pointing to the east. A further correlation with Buddhist ideas may lie in the fact that the basic structure of the scheme resembles that of a maṇḍala, whose cosmological significances were never lost on the Tibetans. If these overtones were present in the mind of the scheme's architect, however, he is more likely to have lived in the 8th century or afterwards, during a period when the new faith had its roots well established. The four ru which form the central zone (the shoulders and hips of the srin-mo) are themselves part of a south-orientated scheme. They constituted the basic units of military and economic administration but only reached their final form at the start of the 8th century, long after Srong-btsan sGam-po's death: the first three ru (left, right and centre, looking south) find their earliest mention in 684 while the fourth 'supplementary' horn (the ru-lag of gTsang or Sum-pa) first appears in 709 (Uray 1960: 54-55).<sup>24</sup>

In addition to the Chinese notion of concentric zones,

another probable source for the Tibetan scheme appears to be the great cosmic tortoise, an important idea in Chinese cosmology. The bShad-mdzod (f. 210a) relates how the whole of China was subdued by a female tortoise lying on her back. Although she is still on a north-south axis as in the scheme of Chinese zones, her four limbs are stretched out to the four half-points (mtshams) of the compass, exactly as in the Tibetan scheme. If we accept her as the prototype for the Tibetan srin-mo then the latter's character becomes more apparent for she is not just a common demoness but, more pertinently, the female version of the male srin-po, the red-faced demons who so often represent the old Tibet (gdong-dmar srin-po bod-kyi yul); lying on her back she is the ancient yet virgin territory waiting to be subjugated and civilized. In the bShad-mdzod the female tortoise is, in this particular context, the special emanation of Mañjuśrī but no doubt possesses some of the qualities of her cosmological counterpart who is female "because all beings are born of the female", is lying on her back "to support beings by means of compassion", has her head to the south "because the pure land of Jambudvīpa lies to the south", beats essences (bcud) "to teach patience to beings" and (normally) lives in the ocean "so that beings will foregather there". (ff. 221b - 222a) These qualities represent a correlation with Buddhist tradition, just as the 'astrological' signs (the par-kha, sme-ba etc.,) on her body are also harmonised with certain numerical categories of the Buddhists. In this source the female tortoise also represents the whole science of astrology: an earlier passage (f. 207a) explains how India is subdued by religion, China by astrology, Zhang-zhung by Bon, Khrom Ge-ser (sic) by war and sTag-zigs (sic) by wealth. Tibet,

surrounded by these countries, is a notable omission from the list and it would be tempting to suggest that the story of the demoness lying on her back and being subdued by temples is an attempt to fill the gap. The bShad-mdzod is thought to be a late 15th or early 16th century compendium but it draws on a great deal of material that would have been available long before. The converse argument, namely that the story in the bShad-mdzod is an adaptation of the one in the Ma-ni bka'-'bum, does not seem very plausible.

Can we give any credence at all then to the colourful story narrated above, so revealing of the Tibetan capacity for historical hindsight ? Of the two principal consorts mentioned here only the Chinese is attested to by the Tun-Huang Chronicle, the Nepalese probably being a later invention to create a theological rapport with Padmasambhava's two wives (Tucci 1962: 124). Even the Chinese queen was probably superseded in importance by the Jo-mo Mong-bza' Khri-lcam (mNyen-ldong-steng), the mother of Srong-btsan's heir (see Note 21 above). She is specifically mentioned in the Chronicle. The recent and most thorough researches of Arianne Macdonald have shown beyond doubt that the king, far from being the great propagator of Buddhism as all later sources insist, was instead the codifier of all those indigenous beliefs known as gtsug-lag, a word misappropriated of its meaning by the first Buddhists in Tibet along with several other key terms in order to convey Buddhist concepts (A. Macdonald 1971: 387). gtsug-lag in the Ma-ni bka'-'bum, as we have seen, is a term used to denote the divinatory sciences of the Chinese among which geomancy seems to have been considered extremely important. Later gtsug-lag took on a much broader sense and we find it often used in

reference to 'sciences' in general. The temple became the gtsug-lag-khang, "the house of the gtsug-lag".

All traditions seem to affirm the Chinese origins of Tibetan geomancy. The interesting commentary, apparently by a disciple of the 5th Dalai Lama but unfortunately full of serious mistakes, which Vidyabhusana presented in 1917 as accompanying the Srid-pa-ho ('chart of auspicious combinations') indicates that the chart derives from a tradition known as the gTsug-lag spong-thang lugs first introduced by Srong-btsan's Chinese queen (Vidyabhusana 1917: 9). The spong-thang here must surely be the par-thang ("scroll of trigrams") of the Ma-ni bka'-'bum Version A of our story. Version B (followed by the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long<sup>25</sup>) has instead spor-thang which would provide the link to spong-thang, assuming the latter is not just a scribal error. It does at least discount Vidyabhusana's idea that this is the name of a monastery. It might also imply that the whole notion is mere wishfulness. One might even be able to trace the idea of Kong-jo's reckonings to those of the Indian pandit Śāntirakṣita's geomantic siting of the first monastery at bSam-yas: its destruction each night by the spirits of the soil is an exact echo of what occurs in the story of the Jo-khang above. On the other hand sBa-bzhed (Stein 1961: 2), which is thought by many scholars to preserve more than a modicum of credibility and which is far older than the Ma-ni bka'-'bum, says that : Kong-jo's father, the Chinese emperor, had in his possession "a divination chart in 360 sections" which must surely be the one in 300 sections she receives from him in our story. Clearly a great deal more research will have to be done before any certainly is gained on the subject of China's contribution to the Tibetan nag-rtsis of which geomancy is a part. Some

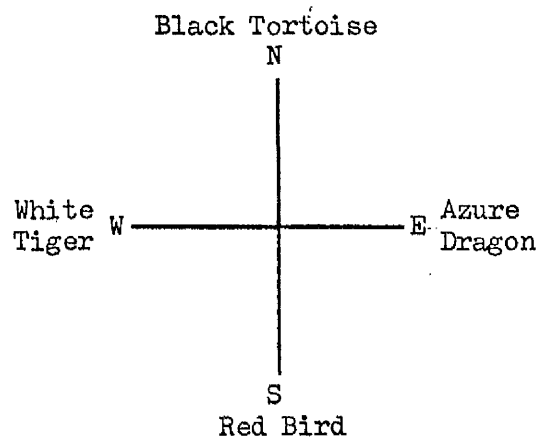
would argue for a greater Indian contribution but at least one feature of Kong-jo's reckonings noted above is a direct adaptation of a central feature of Chinese geomancy: the role of the celestial animals of the four quarters, known as the "Four Protectors" (srung-bzhi). These are correlated by the Chinese with the operation of the four seasons, the four elements and the four directions and, like the stars and the planets, are manifested in various ways on earth (Feuchtwang 1974 : 151-158). Whether the shift which has taken place in their alignment (as illustrated in Table III) reflects a genuine Tibetan re-interpretation of these symbols or whether it has arisen out of simple error cannot be decided without a great deal of further enquiry. What seems to be sure, however, is that the geomantic theory widely prevalent in Tibet that a building is best sited with the land "open" (phye) to the east, "heaped" (spungs) to the south, "straight" (drang) to the west and "curtain-like" (yol) to the north originated from an interpretation of these and other allied symbols of Chinese provenance. The Ma-ni bka'-'bum holds that "all the [traditional] sciences of China without exception" (rgya-nag-po'i rig-pa ma-lus-pa, f.194b) were introduced by Kong-jo; but while it has been argued by Arianne Macdonald (1971: 386) that elements borrowed from Confucianist doctrines may have been superimposed on the indigenous beliefs concerning gtsug during Srong-btsan sGam-po's reign, it seems probable that the arrival of a second Chinese princess in 730 bringing books with her had a more lasting effect on the absorption of non-Buddhist ideas and techniques from China. Some of the Tibetan nobles had learnt Chinese in the meantime and this could also have assisted the process of absorption.

A more positive approach to the whole myth can rest on

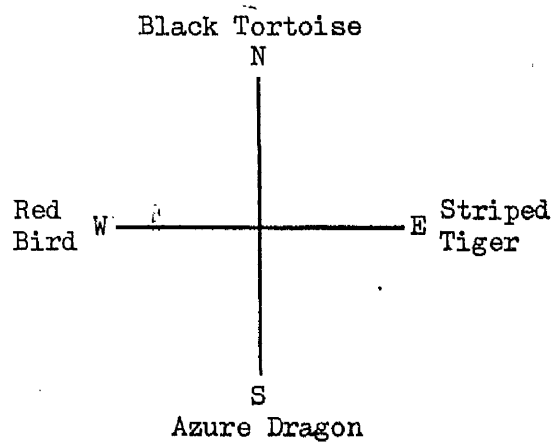


Table III: The Celestial Animals of the Four Quarters  
in China and Tibet

CHINA



TIBET



the fact that the Jo-khang — the building which Richardson (1977a : 159) describes as "the Tibetan Holy of Holies" and which lies at the centre of the entire scheme — was undoubtedly the foundation of Srong-btsan sGam-po. Not only does the sKar-cung pillar inscription of Khri lDe-srong-btsan (804 - 816) affirm this but it indicates clearly that there were other temples built by him too.<sup>27</sup> Two edicts of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan place the foundation of lHa-sa's 'vihara' in Srong-btsan's reign.<sup>28</sup> The evidence of the early records suggests that for three generations leading up to Glang-dar-ma the god-kings gave with the greatest impunity public testimonies to their attachment to principles irreconcilable with Buddhism, principles pertaining to the highly structured politico-religious system of gtsug-lag, while at the same time propagating the new religion with varying success. These tremendous tensions can no doubt help to explain the final collapse of the dynasty and very likely go back to the time of Srong-btsan if we accept his foundation of the Jo-khang. If, as it is suggested, we do then there is no particular reason to reject the authenticity of his other foundations. Conclusive evidence either way is lacking but the mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul theory itself must surely rest on the fanciful notion which the Ma-ni bka'-'bum expresses by saying that during Srong-btsan's reign "all the border peoples too were united under the dharma to Tibet" (mtha'-mi thams-cad-kyang bod-du chos-la 'du-ste, f. 208b). This in turn would suggest that the twelve temples associated with the demoness's limbs are nothing more than a reflection of the Tibetan love for numerical categories. It is these categories which give order to several of their myths and which lead the attention away from their composite nature. Thus the mTha'-'dul

Yang-'dul paradigm seems to be a device which fitted several of the earliest temples built under successive kings into a dexterous scheme credited to their illustrious ancestor who used it to subjugate both Tibet proper (the four ru) and its frontier marches to the civilizing (literally "taming") influence of Buddhism. It would be an easier matter to argue in favour of the scheme's historicity if it were credited to Khri Srong-lde-brtsan: the Tun-huang Chronicle says that "he built temples in all the regions at the centre and on the border" (dbus-mtha' kun-tu gtsug-lag-khang brtsigs-te, Bacot et al. 1940: 114) and, most revealingly, this is repeated in the sKar-cung inscription: dbung-mthar gtsug-lag-khang brtsigs-ste (Richardson 1949: 54 line 14). The Blue Annals (p.44) records that "During the king's reign twelve great monastic colleges were established, as far as Khams."

Turning now from the muddled waters of quasi-historical myth, does the operation of the scheme accord with geographical reality? Apart from a few reservations, the answer must generally be yes. The 'four Ru-gnon temples, corresponding in our scheme to the 'Royal Domain Zone' of the Chinese, are all situated in central Tibet and form a rough square. Fortunately, Klong-rdol Bla-ma's notes on the location of all these temples enable us to be fairly sure about the site of those foundations not otherwise known to us. Khra-'brug (1) and Ka-tshal (2) in the Ru-gnon group are very famous. The former, which the Ma-ni bka'-'bum Version B of the story says is the first Buddhist temple of Tibet, is situated in the Yar-lung district of the Left Horn (g.Yu-ru = g.Yo-ru) and is "the largest and most

important of the surviving royal foundations in that area" (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968 : 74). Ka-tshal is in the Central Horn (dBu-ru) close to lHa-sa and is "the most convincing of the old religious foundations" (loc. cit.). For the remaining two in this group we are dependent on Klong-rdol. gTsang-gram (3) of the Right Horn (g.Yas-ru) is "on the banks of the Pha-ri gTsang-chu River in the district of Thob-rgyal in gTsang".<sup>29</sup> Finally, the temple of Grom-pa-rgyang (4) in the Supplementary Horn (Ru-lag, which corresponds to the south-western part of the province of gTsang) is said by Klong-rdol to be near lHa-rtse.<sup>30</sup>

The four mTha'-'dul temples are the least problematic. The temple of Bu-chu (5) in the Kong-po province is "six miles up the Kongbo Giamda (Kong-po Rgya-mda', or Nyang-chu) from the bank of the gTsang-po" (Wylie 1962: 176). The biography of rGyal-dbang-rje describes this temple as "the golden temple of Bu-chu, a temple built by the Dharmarāja Srong-brtsan sGam-po as the me-btsa' (see p.38 above) of lHa-sa."<sup>31</sup> Of the mTha'-'dul group the best known is Kho-mthing (6) in lHo-brag, just north of Bum-thang in Bhutan.<sup>32</sup> Then we have the first of our two Bhutanese temples, that of Bum-thang (7), identified above as the Byams-pa'i lHa-khang of the Chos-'khor valley. Finally there is Pra-dun-rtse (8) west of Sa-dga' rDzong in the mNga'-ris province of western Tibet, a temple where I have established elsewhere a branch of the old royal dynasty came to settle.<sup>33</sup>

The four Yang-'dul temples present some difficulties, but not in regard to the first, the temple of sGron-ma (9) in Khams, which Stein (1959b : 72 - 73) has clearly identified and which lies in an area very far removed from the centre.

Unfortunately the temple of Rlung-gnon (10) is too near the centre to fit convincingly into this group. Glong-rdol places it close to sNye-thang Chos-rdzong which lies on the right bank of the sKyid-chu river near lHa-sa.<sup>34</sup> Most sources place it in a district called Tshang(-pa) which is in the north (byang), though the latter might refer to a myriarchy or clan-district. The Ma-ni bka'-'bum Version B has Klu-gnon ("Nāga-Suppressor") instead of Rlung-gnon ("Wind-Suppressor"). Until further evidence comes to light we shall have to accept Klong-rdol's location, the only one which seriously upsets the symmetry and logic of the scheme as a whole. The temple of Byams-sprin (II) lies in Mang-yul and is the 'Jamding' marked on the pundit's map just north of sKyid-rong, an important town near the Nepalese border (see note 33 above and Thang-yig, f. 282a). All ten sources are unanimous in placing this in the Yang-'dul group. To complete the list there is the second of our two Bhutanese temples in the scheme, that of sKyer-chu (12) in the sPa-gro valley.

Let us consider now as briefly as possible the fortunes of the scheme as revealed in the later material available to us. Besides the ten sources listed in order above which contain (or permit a reconstruction of) the list, there are several other texts (such as the Blue and Red Annals) which provide the almost obligatory reference to the scheme but which omit any list of temples. The bShad-mdzod (ff. 160a - 161a) has an extremely muddled version based, it would appear on bSod-nams sGyal-mtshan's rGyal-rabs; so deviant is it (even introducing a temple called lCang-ra sMug-po in Khotan), that it can be mostly ignored. The tables (IV to VII) illustrating the various ascriptions supplied by the ten principal sources

show that in the course of time the demoness representing the old Tibet has become a contorted knot with all her limbs out of joint -- an apt symbol indeed for the fate of the old traditions. It is, however, a knot that can in this instance be unravelled without much difficulty.

Bu-ston's history is the first to pick up the story almost intact from the Ma-ni bka'-'bum, simply introducing the unidentified temple of sKa-brag into the mTha'-'dul group and relegating the temple of Bum-thang in Mon-yul (i.e. Byams-pa'i lHa-khang) to a group of five specified temples where it is joined with sKyer-chu in sPa-gro on the left sole of the srin-mo. Because this upsets the basic scheme of 4 x 3, Bu-ston deliberately omits to call this last set "the four Yang-'dul". This pattern is later followed by Srībhūtibhadra and Padma dKar-po who otherwise hold to the Ma-ni bka'-'bum. However, the former contracts the two Bhutanese temples on the left sole into one (i.e. Mon Bum-thang sKyer-chung). The latter drops sKyer-chu from the list, but retains Mon Bum-thang. Thus order is restored to the Yang-'dul group, though it is still not given its name.

Although Klong-rdol is the latest authority, he seems to have done his homework and gone right back to the Ma-ni bka'-'bum as representing the oldest authority, to which he added his valuable notes on the location of these temples. Meanwhile the rGyal-po bka'-thang Ch.14 has a section clearly deriving from the same stratum of tradition as the Ma-ni bka'-'bum but omits mention of the scheme itself. The list of twenty temples it attributes to Srong-btsan starts with the four Ru-gnon and follows with a further ten of which eight belong to the scheme as we know it; we can therefore gain a very tentative idea of how these eight might have been aligned. At

TABLE IV: The Ru-gnon Temples : Ascriptions

|     | NAME OF TEMPLE                      | LOCATION  | LIMB           |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| (1) | I Khra-'brug                        | G.yu-ru   | left shoulder  |
|     | II Khra-'brug                       | —   | left shoulder  |
|     | III Khra-'brug                      | G.yu-ru   | —              |
|     | IV sGron-ma                         | Khams Glong-thang   | right palm     |
|     | V Khra-'brug                        | —   | left shoulder  |
|     | VI sGron-ma                         | Khams Klong-thang   | right palm     |
|     | VII Khra-'brug                      | —   | left shoulder  |
|     | VIII sGrol-ma                       | Khams Glong-thang   | —              |
|     | IX sGrol-ma                         | Khams Klong-thang   | —              |
|     | X Khra-'brug                        | Yar-klung   | right shoulder |
| (2) | I Ka-tshal                          | dBu-ru  | right shoulder |
|     | II sKa-tshal                        | —   | right shoulder |
|     | III bKa'-stsal                      | dBu-ru  | —              |
|     | IV sKyer-chu                        | lho-phyogs-su Bum-thang                                     | left palm      |
|     | V Ka-tshal                          | (sic)   | right shoulder |
|     | VI sKyer-chu                        | Mon   | left palm      |
|     | VII sKa-tshal                       | —   | right shoulder |
|     | VIII sKye-chu                       | sPa-gro   | —              |
|     | IX —                                | —   | —              |
|     | X Ka-tshal (Jo-bo'i lHa-Khang)      | dPung-stod Mal-gro  | left shoulder  |
| (3) | I gTsang-'gram                      | G.yas-ru  | right hip      |
|     | II gTsang-'gram                     | —   | right foot     |
|     | III gTsang-'gram                    | g.Yas-ru  | —              |
|     | IV Shes-rab sGron-ma                | nub dPal Kha-che'i gnas-su 'Tshal-rigs                      | right sole     |
|     | V sTsang-'gram                      | —   | right thigh    |
|     | VI sGron-ma                         | mTshal-rigs   | right sole     |
|     | VII gTsang-'gram                    | —   | right foot     |
|     | VIII Shes-rab sGrol-ma              | Tshal-rigs  | —              |
|     | IX —                                | —   | —              |
|     | X gTsang-'gram (Bye-ma'i lHa-khang) | gTsang Thob-rgyal-gyi thad-kyi Pha-ri gTsang-chu'i 'gram-du | right hip      |
| (4) | I Grom-pa-rgyang                    | Ru-lag  | left hip       |
|     | II Grom-pa-rgyang                   | —   | left foot      |
|     | III Grom-pa                         | Ru-lag  | —              |
|     | IV Rlung-gnon                       | byang-phyogs-su Tshangs-pa                                  | left sole      |
|     | V 'Brom-pa-rgyang                   | —   | left thigh     |
|     | VI Rlung-gnon                       | Tshangs-pa  | left sole      |
|     | VII Grom-pa-rgyang                  | —   | left foot      |
|     | VIII Rlung-gnon                     | Tshangs-pa  | —              |
|     | IX —                                | —   | —              |
|     | X Grim-pa-rgyang                    | gTsang lHa-rtse'i nye-skor-gyi Ru-lag                       | left hip       |

I = Ma-ni bka'-'bum

VI = dPa'-'bo gTsug-lag

II = Bu-ston

VII = Padma iKar-po

III = rGyal-po bka'-thang

VIII = 5th Dalai Lama

IV = bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan

IX = Sum-pa mKhan-po

V = Sribhūtibhadra

X = Klong-rdol

TABLE V: The mTha'-'dul Temples : Ascriptions

|     | NAME OF TEMPLE                            | LOCATION              | LIMB           |
|-----|---|-----------------------|----------------|
| (5) | I Bu-chu                                  | Kong-po               | right elbow    |
|     | II Bu-chu                                 | Kong-po               | right elbow    |
|     | III mKho-mthing ?                         | lHo-brag              | —              |
|     | IV Khra-'brug (Kra-shis<br>Byams-snyoms)  | G.yu-ru               | left shoulder  |
|     | V Bu-chung                                | rKong                 | right elbow    |
|     | VI Khra-'brug                             | —                     | —              |
|     | VII Bu-chu                                | Kong-po               | right elbow    |
|     | VIII Khra-'brug                           | G.yon-ru              | —              |
|     | IX Khra-'brug                             | G.yon-du              | —              |
|     | X Bu-chu                                  | Kong-po               | right elbow    |
| (6) | I Kho-mthing                              | lHo-brag              | left elbow     |
|     | II Khom-mthing                            | lHo-brag              | left elbow     |
|     | III Bum-thang ?                           | Mon-yul               | —              |
|     | IV Ka-rtsal                               | sPu-ru [= dBu-ru]     | right shoulder |
|     | V Khom-ting                               | lHo-brag              | left elbow     |
|     | VI Ka-tshal                               | dBu-ru                | right shoulder |
|     | VII mKho-mthing                           | lHo-brag              | left elbow     |
|     | VIII bKa'-chal                            | sBus-ru               | —              |
|     | IX —                                      | —                     | —              |
|     | X Kho-mthing                              | lHo-brag              | left elbow     |
| (7) | I Bum-thang                               | Mon                   | left knee      |
|     | II sKa-brag                               | —                     | right knee     |
|     | III sKyer-chu ?                           | sPa-gro               | —              |
|     | IV gTsang-'brang<br>(Byang-chub dGe-gnas) | G.yas-ru              | right hip-bone |
|     | V Ka-brag                                 | —                     | right knee     |
|     | VI gTsang-'gram                           | G.yas-ru              | right hip      |
|     | VII sKa-brag                              | —                     | right knee     |
|     | VIII gTsang-'gram                         | G.yas-ru              | —              |
|     | IX —                                      | —                     | —              |
|     | X Bum-thang                               | Mon                   | right knee     |
| (8) | I Pra-dum-rtse                            | Byang                 | right knee     |
|     | II Bra-dum-rtse                           | —                     | right knee     |
|     | III sGrol ?                               | mDo-khams Klong-thang | —              |
|     | IV Grum-pa-rGyang<br>(Dri-med Nam-dag)    | gTsang                | left hip-bone  |
|     | V Srang-dun-rtse                          | —                     | left knee      |
|     | VI Grom-pa-rgyal                          | Ru-lag                | —              |
|     | VII Pra-dum-rtse                          | —                     | left knee      |
|     | VIII Grum-pa-rgyang                       | Ru-lag                | —              |
|     | IX —                                      | —                     | —              |
|     | X Pra-dun-rtse                            | Byang                 | left knee      |

I = Ma-ni bKa'-'bum  
 II = Bu-ston  
 III = rGyal-po bKa'-thang  
 IV = bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan  
 V = Śrībhūtibhadra

VI = dPa'-bo gTsug-lag  
 VII = Padma dKar-po  
 VIII = 5th Dalai Lama  
 IX = Sum-pa mkhan-po  
 X = Klong-rdol



TABLE VI: The Yang-'dul Temples : Ascriptions

|      | NAME OF TEMPLE                         | LOCATION  | LIMB        |
|------|--|---|-------------|
| (9)  | I sGron-ma                             | mDo-Khams Glong-thang                                     | right palm  |
|      | II sGron-ma                            | 'Dan Klong-thang  | left palm   |
|      | III Chu-dar/= <u>Bu-chu</u> ?          | Kong-po   | —           |
|      | IV Bu-chu                              | shar Kong-po  | right elbow |
|      | V sGron-me                             | Khams-su Klong-thang                                      | left palm   |
|      | VI Bu-chu                              | Shar Kong-po  | right elbow |
|      | VII sGron-ma                           | Khams-kyi Glong-thang                                     | left palm   |
|      | VIII Bu-chu                            | Kong-po   | —           |
|      | IX Bu-chu                              | Kong-po   | —           |
|      | X sGrol-ma                             | mDo-Khams lDan<br>Chos-'Khor-gyi 'gram-gyi<br>Klong-thang | right palm  |
| (10) | I Rlung-gnon/Klu-gnon                  | Byang Tshang-pa   | left palm   |
|      | II Rlung-gnod                          | Byang Tshal   | right palm  |
|      | III Byams-sprin ?                      | Mang-yul  | —           |
|      | IV 'Khon-thing<br>(gSer-gyi lHa-Khang) | lHo lHo-brag  | left elbow  |
|      | V Rlung-mnon                           | Byang 'Tshal  | left palm   |
|      | VI Kho-thing                           | lHo lHo-brag  | left elbow  |
|      | VII Rlung-gnon                         | Byang Tshal   | right palm  |
|      | VIII mKho-mthing                       | lHo-brag  | —           |
|      | IX —                                   | —   | —           |
|      | X Rlung-gnon                           | sNye-thang Chos-rdzong-gi<br>'gram-gyi Tshangs-pa         | left palm   |
| (11) | I Byams-sprin                          | Mang-yul  | right sole  |
|      | II Byams-sprin                         | Mang-yul  | right sole  |
|      | III Rlung-gnon ?                       | Tshangs-pa  | —           |
|      | IV Byams-sprin<br>dGe-rgyas            | Nub   | right knee  |
|      | V Byams-sprin                          | —   | right foot  |
|      | VI dGe-rgyas                           | Nub   | right knee  |
|      | VII Byams-sprin                        | Mang-yul  | right sole  |
|      | VIII Byams-sprin dGe-rgyas             | —   | —           |
|      | IX —                                   | —   | —           |
|      | X Byams-sprin                          | Mang-yul  | right foot  |
| (12) | I sKyer-chu                            | sPa-gro   | left sole   |
|      | II Bum-thang/sKyer-chu                 | Mon-yul/sPa-gro   | left sole   |
|      | III sPra-dun-rtse ?                    | —   | —           |
|      | IV sPra-dun-rtse                       | Byang   | left knee   |
|      | V sKyer-chung                          | Mon Bum-thang (sic)                                       | left foot   |
|      | VI sPra-dun-tse                        | Byang   | left knee   |
|      | VII Bum-thang                          | Mon   | left sole   |
|      | VIII Pra-dun-rtse                      | Byang   | —           |
|      | IX —                                   | —   | —           |
|      | X sKyer-chu                            | Mon sPa-gro   | left foot   |

I = Ma-ni bka'-'bum

II = Bu-ston

III = rGyal-po bka'-'thang

IV = bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan

V = Śrībhūtibhadra

VI = dPa'-bo gTsug-lag

VII = Padma dKar-po

VIII = 5th Dalai Lama

IX = Sum-pa mKhan-po

X = Klong-rdol

TABLE VII: The Ru-gnon, mTha'-'dul and Yang-'dul Temples : Summary of ascriptions

|       | TEMPLE               | RU-GNON          | MTHA'-'DUL            | YANG-'DUL                                |
|-------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (1)   | Khra-'brug           | I II III V VII X | IV VI VIII IX         |  |
| (2)   | Ka-tshal             | I II III V VII X | IV VI VIII (IX)       |  |
| (3)   | gTsang-'gram         | I II III V VII X | IV VI VIII (IX)       |  |
| (4)   | Grom-pa-rgyang       | I II III V VII X | IV VI VIII (IX)       |  |
| (5)   | Bu-chu               |                  | I II V VII X          | III IV VI VIII IX                        |
| (6)   | Kho-mthing           |                  | I II (III) V<br>VII X | IV VI VIII (IX)                          |
| (7)   | Bum-thang            | IV ?             | I (III) X             | V? VII                                   |
| (8)   | Pra-dun-rtse         |                  | I II V VII X          | III IV VI VIII<br>(IX)                   |
| (9)   | sGron-ma             | IV VI VIII X     | (III)                 | I II V VII X                             |
| (10)  | Rlung-gnon           | IV VI VIII (IX)  |                       | I II (III) V<br>VII X                    |
| (11)  | Byams-sprin          |                  |                       | I II (III) IV<br>V VI VII VIII<br>(IX) X |
| (12)  | sKyer-chu            | IV? VI VIII (IX) | (III)                 | I II V? X                                |
| (13?) | sKa-brag             |                  | II V VII              |  |
| (14?) | Shes-rab<br>sGron-ma | IV VI VIII (IX)  |                       |  |

- I = Ma-ni bka'-'bum                      VI = dPa'-'bo gTsug-lag  
 II = Bu-ston                                      VII = Padma dKar-po  
 III = rGyal-po bka'-'thang              VIII = 5th Dalai Lama  
 IV = bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan          IX = Sum-pa mKhan-po  
 V = Sri bhūtibhadra                      X = Klong-rdol  
 ? = ambiguous ascription  
 ( ) = assumed ascription

least one of the two temples thus omitted to achieve this somewhat doubtful reconstruction, that of rTsis (better known as rTsis gNas-gsar) in Nyang-ro, is itself reckoned locally to be a Ru-gnon temple.<sup>35</sup> rTsis seems to be coupled with the temple of dPal-chang in brGyad-ro (or brGyang-ro). All the other sources (i.e. dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, the 5th Dalai Lama and Sum-pa mKhan-po) follow a variant tradition first introduced by bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan in his rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long, one which can be demonstrated to have arisen out of a faulty reading or memory of either the Ma-ni bka'-'bum or Bu-ston's history and which makes nonsense of geography. Although the groups are broadly parallel to those in what we may call the 'authentic' tradition they are placed under wrong headings. All the later confusion stems from this. Further, in order to introduce the unidentified temple of Shes-rab sGron-ma (which is oddly placed in Kashmir) the two Bhutanese temples are again contracted into one: Bum-thang sKyer-chu (Aris 1976: 603 note 6). Whereas the whole story of these temples in the Ma-ni bka'-'bum (at least in Version A) has something of the appearance of an after-thought, here it is brought very much into the foreground and greatly expanded with a whole medley of geomantic and cosmological alignments. Each of the three groups is thus endowed with special characteristics. The four Ru-gnon are built by architects (lag-dpon) from Mi-nyag (Xixia), Tho-dkar (Tokharistan ?), Bal-po (Nepal) and Hor (Central Asian Turks ?), only the last one being actually named: dPal-dbyangs of the dBas clan.<sup>36</sup> Each of the four mTha'-'dul is linked to a branch temple and a hermitage. This may or may not correspond to reality. The four Yang-'dul are each associated with one of the four celestial animals of Chinese geomantic tradition,

an idea perhaps picked up from the Ma-ni bka'-'bum where, as we have seen, these animals have pride of place but not in this particular context. The bShad-mdzod (f.160b) takes up the same notion and applies it to the mTha'-'dul temples, but gets the correlation of celestial animals with the directions wrong. For instance, the Bhutanese temple of sKyer-chu (called here dPal-gro/≡ sPa-gro/ Thang-shing 'Dud-pa-can) is erected at "a stūpa of the Striped Tiger to the South"; it should be 'Azure Dragon', but the author was perhaps recalling the association of Bhutan with tigers. In place of the Yang-'dul he has four temples built at the half-points of the compass (mtshams-bzhi). Finally, as if dissatisfied with the geomantic potential of the basic scheme, the rGyal-rabs introduces a further nine temples: (1) Kha-chu, Kom-chu and Gling-chu in the east "to activate the sun, moon, planets and stars" (on which see Stein 1959a : 235); (2) sNyal sNang-gro and Gling-thang in the south "to suppress [the element] fire, having meditated on the Fire God Drang-srong": (3) Gu-lang (Paśupatināth) and Shing-kun (Swayambunāth) in the west "to suppress [the element] water and defend the Tibeto-Nepalese border"; and (4) dGe-ri and dPal-ri in the north "to suppress [the element] air, having bound to an oath the lha, klu, 'dre and srin." dPa'-bo gTsug-lag omits some of these details but his account is clearly dependent on the rGyal-rabs. Sum-pa mKhan-po merely provides the first temple in each group of the main scheme, thus permitting us to construe his list as that of the rGyal-rabs. For all its historical and geographical defects this variant tradition yet stands as additional proof of how the square-based outline of the original scheme carried a strong appeal for Tibetan historians, providing an obvious base upon which further quadrangular notions could

be brought in to enhance it.

Haarh has attempted to show how the Tibetan image of the world evolved from a triangular shape as expressed in the concepts of (1) the three 'refuge countries' of Nyang-ro, Kong-po and Dwags-po, (2) the four 'original tribes' among which the gTong of Sum-pa can be conveniently placed on the line between the sMra of Zhang-shung and the lDong of Mi-nyag, which two, together with the Se of 'A-zha, constitute his triangle, (3) a similar arrangement with the border tribes and (4) the common names for India (the 'Red' rGya), China (the 'Black' rGya) and Central Asia (the 'Yellow' rGya) (Haarh 1969: 275 - 278). This world view, it is claimed, takes account of only three cardinal directions (broadly speaking East, West and North) and ignores the south which is "...the direction towards the Himalayan ranges, which presented an almost unbroken ridge, in most places impassable. A similar concept of the image of the world and the cardinal points we find in the Old Norse area, excluding East, being unimportant because closed by the forests and ridges of Kjolen." The later quadrangular image, he concludes, came in "under the impact of Indian culture and the broader knowledge of the world acquired by the Tibetans." With the proviso that Chinese ideas must also have played a role in the evolution of the quadrangular image, Haarh's thesis certainly seems credible despite his contraction of some four-fold classifications into three-fold ones to achieve it. A parallel development in Bhutan can be seen in the way the early notion of its core of just three valleys in the west (Thed Thim sPa: gsum) was expanded later into a square having four gates (lHo-Mon Kha-bzhi) that encompassed the entire country once it had been established as a political reality. In both models the square

is protective. At the same time it is outward-looking and vigorous, conscious of its ordered strength. Such a symbol can only have taken root in these countries in times of confident consolidation and expansion under a powerful central authority.

sKyer-chu lHa-khang and Byams-pa'i lHa-khang are the only two buildings directly attributed to the dynastic period which are situated south of the main Himalayan range (discounting for the present the shrines dedicated to Padmasambhava). It is most apt then that they should find a place in the outer zones of a square-based scheme that affirmed Tibetan expansion south through the Himalayas. The apparent anomaly (corrected by Bu-ston) whereby sKyer-chu is situated in a more barbarous zone than Byams-pa should not cause concern. We cannot be sure whether this reflects a genuine attitude or a simple slip, but it does not affect the overall conception. Very likely they are geographically too close to form a 'side' to the outermost square and so were disposed as 'corners' instead. The same would explain the anomalous positions of Byams-sprin and Pra-dun-rtse.

The degree to which their location in the scheme must have influenced the Bhutanese in their more or less unconscious collective presuppositions about their place in the world cannot be overestimated, for implicit in the story lies a strong paradox that speaks closely to their condition. While the temples stand as direct proof of their links to a golden age of spiritual vigour, at the same time the supposed purpose of these 'taming' constructions places them almost beyond the pale of that primal source of legitimacy, on the outer barbarian fringes. It is this which would explain the clipped allusions to the scheme found in the Bhutanese

histories<sup>37</sup> and in conversations with local men of letters. As we shall see, it was the figure of Padmasambhava that provided the main chance to resolve this paradox but its ghost stayed on to haunt them down the centuries.

If the symbolic role of the myth has overshadowed the historical events that gave birth to it, we are still left with a single piece of epigraphic evidence that might yet provide conclusive proof of early contact between 'proto-Bhutan' and dynastic Tibet: the inscription on a large broken bronze bell in the tiny temple of dKon-mchog-gsum in Bum-thang. The provisional nature of this statement will be understood when it is seen that even here the ground is not absolutely firm. A bell however large is a transportable object and the oral legends told in the vicinity of the temple hold that the large fragment kept there is part of a complete Tibetan bell, stolen from Tibet and brought south over the Himalayas to Bum-thang where it was set up in this temple. Its chimes were so loud that they were heard in Tibet. An army came down later to recapture it but since it was too heavy for them to carry it was purposely smashed. The largest fragment was then recovered by the local inhabitants and put back in the temple.

The bell is in fact the fourth of the great cong to be found that were commissioned as votive offerings by members of the Tibetan royal family and installed in their earliest temples to proclaim to the world 'the sound of the dharma'. They appear to have been cast by foreign craftsmen of the T'ang dynasty employed for this purpose by the Tibetan royalty. Surprisingly enough, no such bells of the T'ang seem to have survived in China itself, although all the later temple bells of China belonging to this type preserve the characteristic shape and features of these bells in Tibet: side panels

divided by vertical ribbing and an 'undulating' lower edge (most pronounced in our example here). The word cong is itself borrowed from the Chinese word for a bell (chung) and is applied by Tibetans only to these massive temple bells,<sup>38</sup> not the smaller variety which go by the name of chos-sgra ("dharma sound") in Bhutan. The latter usually have certain mantra cast in relief on their outer surface and this would explain why the custodian of dKon-mchog-gsum, on being asked what the fragmentary inscription on the cong was about, declared that it was part of a "gzung-sngags", which it certainly is not. While the alignment of the text differs substantially from those on the bells at bSam-yas, Khra-'brug and Yer-pa (where they are found in between the vertical ribbing, not partly below as here) it is definitely a dedicatory formula such as we find on these Tibetan examples. Richardson, to whom we owe the most complete study (1954) of the three Tibetan cong, has confirmed that the only part that can be said to convey any sense at all in the available photographs of this example reads, on the bottom two lines, as follows:<sup>39</sup>

ta btsis nas // cong mkhan l'iú sta(n)g    cong xx  
bya xx na dang    xg su blugs //

Both the ki-gu (in btsis and li'u) are of the archaic reversed type. A line underneath indicates an uncertain reading. A cross indicates an illegible letter. The gap between sta(n)g and cong is formed by the single vertical 'rib' visible in the accompanying photograph. (Plate No. 2) The parenthesis around the n in sta(n)g suggests this syllable could be read as stag or stang. Apart from this passage there are a few syllables which can be made out elsewhere among which the following are



worth mentioning: pas bka' stsar te (at the top, visible in this photograph) and: byang chub (below the garlanded lotus motif in the centre, partly visible in this photograph).

The only certain meaning to be derived is that the name of the person who made the bell or who acted as overseer during its casting (the cong-mkhan) was either Li'u-stag or Li'u-stang. Taking su as the locative particle we might assume that the missing passage on the bottom line would have indicated the place where it was cast (blugs). Assuming that stsar is an odd form for stsal we might conjecture that the name of the person who "ordered" (pas bka' stsar te) the bell was given in the part missing at the top. Finally Byang-chub could just possibly be the name of somebody concerned in the business of commissioning the bell.

This tantalising stage of affairs leaves us with no more than Li'u-stag/Li'u-stang, names that resemble many of those clearly applied in the Tun-huang documents to foreigners in Tibet, that is to say Chinese, Khotanese and other Central Asians. There was in fact a clan called Le'u, possibly of Chinese origin (Richardson 1977b: 24). The bell at bSam-yas was cast by "the abbot, the Chinese monk Rin-cen" (Richardson 1954: 170-171). Our man, however, seems to have been a lay craftsman; the suffix -mkhan always seems to denote a professional specialist known for his particular skills. If he were a monk then would he not have had a Tibetan name such as this Rin-cen? On the strong hypothesis that this cong must be the cousin or sister of the Tibetan examples we can suggest that she was cast in the latter half of the 8th century: while the bell of Yer-pa is undateable, those of bSam-yas and Khra-'brug were cast at the behest of 'Bro-bza' rGyal-mo-brtsan, one of the wives of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan (ruled 755 - 797).

This lady took the name of Byang-chub when she became a nun and is referred to by this name in the Khra-'brug bell. There is not yet sufficient evidence to conclude that the Byang-chub in the dKon-mchog-gsum bell is the same person or indeed that this would refer to a person at all: pyang-chub on the Yer-pa bell figures as bodhi ("enlightenment"). It can still, however, stand as a possibility since this queen seems to have had a great regard for these bells and if two of these her favourite votive offerings have survived, why should not a third? There is sufficient difference between the bells at bSam-yas and Khra-'brug to admit a further variety issuing from the same source.

If the impression has been given of clutching at straws it is because the bell carries great potential significance for the early history of the area: if the cong can be shown to belong to the temple where it is situated it would constitute the single and indisputable token of Tibetan missionary activity south of the Himalayas in this early period. The connection between Tibet and Nepal at this time rests on a few scattered references in the contemporary inscriptions and literature, but it seems to have had nothing to do with religion (Tucci 1958: 287). The bell may therefore stand, together with the testimony of those texts, as the only conclusive evidence of Tibetan activity of any kind south of the main Himalayan range during the period of dynastic rule.

Besides the obviously legendary nature of the local story of the bell's destruction by Tibetan troops who had heard its chimes across the mountains and who came to claim it as their rightful property (which could have arisen out of a simple need to explain the broken condition of this strange heavy object whose origins had been long forgotten), there are

several features of the dKon-mchog-gsum temple which point to its great antiquity. It is of a solitary diminutiveness quite uncharacteristic of Bhutanese temples, even smaller than the original shrines of sKyer-chu and Byams-pa. The central image is a Vairocana, usually a sign of antiquity, and in the temple forecourt stands a most peculiar and interesting object resembling the fragment of a pillar standing on a stepped plinth. The object seems to be referred to in the rGyal-po bka'-thang (f. 75b) in a passage describing the gter-ma of rTse-lung which is, as we shall see below, the old name for this temple: "To the right of Bum-thang rTse-lung there is a stone surface. On its waist is an oblong stone hole. On breaking this, inside there are ... and many other gter-ma".

( $\frac{0}{0}$  bum-thang rtse-lung-gi g.yas-phyogs rdo'i steng zhig yod  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i sked-pa-na rdo'i chol nar-mo zhig yod  $\frac{0}{0}$  de bcag-pa'i  
nang-na ... la-sogs-pa mang-po yod  $\frac{0}{0}$ ). Incised on top of the 'pillar foot' today is the same eight-petalled lotus that we find on the bell. Just outside the gateway leading into the forecourt stands a long piece of stone wedged into a large circular stone trough on which is carved the famous six-syllable mantra. The 'megalith' is in a highly weathered condition and no writing is visible. None of these objects as presently disposed convey very much to us in the wider context of Bhutanese or Tibetan ritual artifacts. The most rational explanation would suggest that the 'megalith' now in the trough outside is the upper part of an ancient pillar whose base is the object in the forecourt.

If the pillar at dKon-mchog-gsum is part of a pre-historic megalith it must, of course, predate the temple and cannot have been erected to commemorate the temple's foundation in the way that might be expected by analogy with Tibetan temple pillars. If this hypothesis is correct then it may be

assumed that the site was chosen for the construction of the temple because of the hallowed associations of the megalith itself. Set against the testimony of the written material, which provides ample evidence of the adaptation to Buddhism of ancient pre-Buddhist beliefs and practices, this physical incorporation of a 'pagan' symbol into a Buddhist temple seems perfectly credible. The same would appear to have happened at the temple of gSum-'phrang ('Sombrang') in the U-ra district of Bum-thang where a remarkable stone pillar is found actually inside the principal shrine room. According to the temple's eulogy (gnas-bstod) it is "a self-created stone pillar" (rang-byon rdo-yi ka-ba), not a rdo-ring, the term commonly applied to all standing megaliths. Legends apart, the stone is of a finely dressed appearance and certainly not a natural phenomenon. Again at Bya-dkar lHa-khang there is a large stone in the immediate vicinity of the temple which may have had prehistoric associations. At mNa'-sbis in Mang-sde-lung there is a famous "oath-stone pillar" (rdo-ring mna'-'rdo) which very likely stands in or near a temple complex. I have not seen that one but to my knowledge the only megalith standing quite by itself is the one on the pass of Zhang-ma'i La, traditionally said to mark the border between the valleys of sTang and U-ra and therefore perhaps lacking in ritual associations. (See Section 2 below.) My suggestion regarding the origin of the standing stones at JKon-mchog-gsum and gSum-'phrang (and perhaps Bya-dkar and mNa'-sbis) will no doubt be received with some caution. It must, however, be seen against the comparable treatment afforded to the prehistoric stone axe-heads and adzes of Bhutan which were later moulded to the Buddhist tradition in a clear and perceptible manner.

Local traditions claim that below the plinth at dKon-mchog-gsum there lies a subterranean lake from which the great gter-ston Padma Gling-pa recovered one of his treasures. He sealed it up afterwards with this stone plinth and set his seal of the lotus upon it. There is no account of this to be found in the gter-ston's biography although the temple is mentioned as being near a place where he recovered some of his gter-ma. Three things might have helped to form this legend. Firstly, the lotus motif (padma) would have called to mind the name of this gter-ston whose principal residence of gTam-zhing stands close by, a few hundred yards to the north, and whose most dramatic exploit was the alleged recovery of gter-ma from the riverine lake of Me-'bar-mtsho some miles to the south-east in the sTang district. Secondly, Padma Gling-pa is also widely remembered as being a highly skilled craftsman in a variety of mediums. Thirdly, the stone plinth might well have recalled the stone slab that seals up the remnant of the Milk Plain lake of Kong-jo's story, which lies in a small chapel in the north-east corner of the Jo-khang, itself the 'Holy of Holies' for pilgrims from Bum-thang and all other districts in Bhutan (Richardson 1977a: 168 and 174). There can be no certainty as to whether these conscious or unconscious associations played a part in forming the local legend. Rather more plausible is the notion that the lotus was incised on the base after the upper part of the pillar had been knocked off. The eight-petalled lotus on the bell might have provided the model. That both the bell and the pillar are in a mutilated condition indeed suggests the activity of an invading force and it could well have been that of Lajang Khan in 1714. Although Pho-lha-nas' biography expressly states that guards

were deputed to the monasteries and temples of Bum-thang in order to protect these from pillage and destruction, the order was certainly an attempt to curb something that was already happening (MBTJ, f. 108a). Specifically mentioned are the minor religious sites (gnas-phran) of the province, among which dKon-mchog-gsum would traditionally have been placed. Mongol troops formed a strong contingent in the invading force. They would not have had quite the same feelings towards these sacred objects as the Tibetan soldiers.

We have already had occasion to notice (p. 40 above) Padma Gling-pa's own idea that a temple of rTse-lung was built by the minister of Khri-Srong-lde-brtsan called 'Ba-mi Khri-zheng' with 'the Indian king dByug-ston' acting as patron.<sup>40</sup> It is most fortunate that we have the authority of Kong-sprul to help us identify this rTse-lung: "As for Bum-thang rTsis-lung, it is the temple where there are preserved the li-ma statues of the Buddhas of the three times which the Mon-pa call the temple of dKon-mchog-gsum" (gTer-snam, f.90a). This is confirmed by LCB II, f. 69a. The first gter-ston active in Bhutan called Bon-po Brag-tshal-pa recovered gter-ma here in the first rab-'byung (1027 - 1086) and if the temple was thus standing in the 11th century there is every reason to suppose that its foundation dates from the snga-dar. It has been suggested tentatively above (p.38) that Klong-chen-pa's 'Temple of Chos-'khor' on the east bank of the river corresponds to this temple. Given that it is one of the first temples in the area, it could on occasion have easily appropriated the name of the whole Chos-'khor valley, just as Byams-pa assumes the name of the whole province of Bum-thang in the Tibetan sources.

The present name of the temple, dKon-mchog-gsum

(Triratna), is locally said to relate to the three images referred to by Kong-sprul, though if my memory is correct they are clay images and not made of li (bell-metal?). The legend holds that they flew to the temple magically from the Kur-stod district. Padma Gling-pa refers in his prophecy to a large number of gter-ma to be recovered by a certain Grags-pa when he is wandering in lHo-Mon and these would be found between two "Mongolian boxes" (sog-sgrom) behind the image of Vairocana in Bum-thang rTse-lung.<sup>41</sup> The name must therefore have changed sometime in the centuries between Padma Gling-pa and Kong-sprul. That the temple may already have been partly damaged before or during Padma Gling-pa's lifetime is suggested by the fact that according to his 'prophecy' (f.37a) it was to be converted into "a house of war" (dmag-khang), perhaps as temporary barracks for invading troops.

At the least, these scattered references and broken antiquities must stand as eloquent testimony to the ancient origins of dKon-mchog-gsum even though the details are still lacking. Three more temples in Bum-thang could no doubt be placed in this period of primary diffusion but for an even greater paucity of substantiating material. These are:

(1) A-nu in the village of Gham-ling at the centre of the sTang valley; (2) Rin-chen dGe-gnas in the village of Zung-nge in the eastern-most part of the Chu-smad valley; and (3) Nam-mkha' in the side-valley of Chu-stod at the top of the sTang valley. The first two have already appeared in Padma Gling-pa's version of the mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul scheme as subduing the border and the outer marches respectively. (See p.40 above). Bum-thang dGe-gnas figures in the rGyal-po bka'-thang (f. 75b) and in the Thang-yig gser-'phreng

(f. 280b), its central image is also that of Vairocana, and the local family whose responsibility it is to care for the temple maintains a tradition that it is the contemporary of the mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul temples. Beyond that nothing is known. Gham-ling A-nu seems to have been frequently refurbished by the descendants of rDo-rje Gling-pa who live in the huge mansion of O-rgyan Chos-gling that towers above this minute temple. Local custom again affirms it to be the oldest religious foundation in the sTang valley. Chu-stod Nam-mkha'i lHa-khang, a few miles north-east of A-nu, occupies a similar position to all these on the floor of its valley and contains a most interesting image of the Buddha that "dropped from the sky", hence the name Nam-mkha', "Sky". It appears to be a focal point for the local cult devoted to the old god Zo-ra-ra-skyes whom we shall be discussing in Section 3 below. It must have been the presence of all these buildings and the ancient traditions surrounding them which led the great Klong-chen-pa to declare at the beginning of his eulogy of Bum-thang that the province was "a land to which the excellent kings and ministers of ancient times came, a land in which wondrous temples lie."<sup>42</sup>

Turning now to the west, the only temples besides sKyer-chu in the sPa-gro valley which might date from this period are the 'Black' and 'White' temples of the Had (pronounced 'Ha') valley at the westernmost end of the country. Two variant local traditions about these have been collected by the author of LCB II (f. 64a-b), himself a native of that valley. (1) Srong-btsan sGam-po emanated the forms of two pigeons, one white and one black, and sent them to lHo-rong where they magically built these



'Black' and 'White' temples. (2) Some people suddenly (had-kyis) left the three peaks associated with the local god Khyung-bdud at the northern end of the valley and came down to build the temples in a single day. The three hillocks (below which ?) the temples stand came to be called "the Three-Brother Man-Peaks" (Mi-ri sPun-gsum) and the whole valley was named Had ("Sudden"). Both versions are nice examples of the etymologizing that is always depended upon to produce 'rational' explanations of unknown origins. It is a device that can at the least be said to be used invariably in respect to institutions of ancient (and usually foreign) provenance, especially clans. dGe-'dun  
(loc.cit.) Rin-chen/also records the legend of how when the main image of Amitāyus in the 'White Temple' was being made an unidentified person abruptly turned up carrying its head. The image took its head which then soldered itself magically onto its neck; this, it is said, explains why the head happens to be too big for the image. We may perhaps surmise from this that some of the original contents of these two temples survive, upon which later restorative work was added — thus conforming to the general pattern for all these early foundations. No doubt there were more in the west than just these but none are identifiable either in the records or on the ground. The relatively large number of early temples surviving in Bum-thang can no doubt be partly explained by the marked continuity in that province's history and traditions and by the fact that it did not become a great melting-pot of opposing schools as did the western region.

Much of this discussion has been of a provisional and hypothetical nature, necessarily so because of the nature of

our sources. Nevertheless it is hoped that some credibility can now attach to these buildings. Their symbolic importance for the Bhutanese, then as now, is inestimable. dGe-'dun Rin-chen says of sKyer-chu and Byams-pa: "As indicated by the beneficence with which the holy religion was [thus] first introduced [through these temples], so was it begun. From then on generations of men too proliferated so that villages and towns were widely established and came into existence" (LCB II, f. 64a). Through the medium of these temples the genesis of the Bhutanese themselves is thus linked in a hazy yet sufficient manner to the origins of their religion. Thence issues all the legitimacy and authority upon which, in the eyes of the 'national' historians, the later developments depend. But while on the one hand cross-textual studies can serve to vindicate the historicity of events, so also do they often tend to explode the later view of those events. It would be quite wrong to accept that the ethnic origins of the Bhutanese were in any way associated with these temples. We shall never know the true and exciting story of how they were established in the 8th and 9th centuries but we can at least discount the arguments put forward later by many missionaries that they were bringing the first light to a land of darkness. A certain degree of self-interest and an evident ignorance of local history went to form that view.<sup>43</sup>

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NOTES TO SECTION I

1. It is surely indicative of this that the Bhutanese quite often describe the temples of sKyer-chu and Byams-pa as two of the one hundred and eight religious foundations of Srong-btsan sGam-po (which according to the Ma-ni bka'-'bum were part of an abortive scheme of his Nepalese queen), rather than as forming part of the mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul paradigm (see below) which can carry pejorative implications for any notion of early Bhutanese sovereignty.
  
2. A medical origin for the term is suggested by the fact that me-btsa' also signified moxa (Jäschke, Tibetan-English Dictionary p.434), the use of which as a counter-irritant is well known to the Tibetans.
  
3. Bum-thang dar-gud-kyi lung-bstan, 8 fols. The colophon says this was abbreviated by Padma Gling-pa himself from the section below Ch. 30 of the Lung-bstan kun-gsal snying-po, another of his 'discoveries'. I have not traced this in his Collected Works and it has probably come down independently. I am grateful to Karma dGe-legs who allowed me to make my copy from the one in the library of his late father-in-law, Drag-shos Phun-tshogs dBang-'dus, in Bla-ma'i dGon-pa, Bum-thang. I cannot supply references to the original folio numbers, having omitted to mark these in my own copy.
  
4. rGyal-po sindha ra-dza'i rnam-thar, 30 fols. A modern print, no indication of date or provenance, forming the Lung-bstan gsal-ba'i me-long. It does not seem to have survived in the Collected Works. I am most grateful to Arianne Macdonald for giving me her copy. Some of the

problems faced in attributing the work to Padma Gling-pa are outlined in Section 2 of this chapter.

5. This assertion is repeated in Padma Gling-pa's Lung-bstan kun-gsal me-long, f. 37a (= Collected Works Vol.I p.91).
6. Also asserted in op.cit., f.38a (= Collected Works Vol.I p.93).
7. See also op. cit., ff.14b and 17b (= pp. 46 and 52).
8. See gTer-rnam, f.227b. Arianne Macdonald (1971: 203 note 59) seems to disagree with Kong-sprul in her suggestion that Nyi-ma 'Od-zer and mNga'-bdag Myang-ral are two different persons. She has yet to substantiate this idea.
9. Stein 1959a:37-38 and 1959b:89. Arianne Macdonald (loc.cit.) gives the dates 1124 or 1136-1204.
10. Compare their biographical sketches in gTer-rnam, ff.47b - 50b and 41a-b respectively.
11. Blue Annals 941 - 942 and 1006. The Bon tradition, however, holds that dNgos-grub was active a century earlier. He is supposed to have discovered the rDzogs-chen yang-rtse klong-chen in 1088. See Samten Karmay 1975 : 215.
12. See the dkar-chags, f. 11b.
13. Richardson 1977:168 and 273. The ascription is supported by the 5th Dalai Lama's guide to the Jo-khang.
14. Vostrikov 1970:54.
15. Pha 'brug-sgom zhig-pa'i rnam-thar thugs-rje'i chu-rgyun, ff. 10b and 32b.
16. Stein 1959a:37 - 38 and 1959b:89.

17. The text reads (f. 130a): / bum-thang-gi mchod-rten de'i steng-du lha-khang brtsigs-na / ("If a temple is built on top of the stūpa of Bum-thang....") This makes little sense and is absent from B. A better reading would surely be something like: 'o-thang-gi mtsho-steng-du ... / As if in justification of this passage the author later (f. 135a) makes a stūpa arise magically from the lake. Again this is absent from B.
  
18. On a stone phallus still to be seen on the north-eastern projection of the roof over the Jo-bo see Richardson 1972:27-28 and 1977:188.
  
19. B has rgya'i dha-hen khang-pa, f. 199a.
  
20. A later list on ff. 137b - 138a (corresponding to B f. 199b) adds "a maṇḍala in accordance with the tantrics". Haarh (1969: 384-391) confuses these foundations of the Jo-khang for those of the Ra-mo-che temple. He claims that in the form of these foundations is preserved the basic structure of the royal tombs in Yar-lung.
  
21. Although the story of these temples occupies a single folio (137) the entire chapter is entitled Ru-bzhi mtha'-'dul yang-'dul-gyi lha-khang-rnams brtsigs-pa'i mdzad-pa ("The Action of Building the Temples of the Ru-bzhi, mTha'-'dul and Yang-'dul"). While there is complete agreement between A and B in the list of these twelve temples, with only a few minor differences in their spelling, the same does not hold for the temples founded by Srong-btsan's queens. A (f. 139a) has:

1) lHa-gcig Kong-jo : the Jo-khang; 2) Mong-bza'  
Khri-lcam : Brag-rtsa lHa-khang; 3) Zhang-zhung-bza' :  
 Brag-lha Klu-phug; and 4) Ru-yong-bza' : Khrim-bu  
 sKol-pa. B (f.206a) has: 1) lHa-gcig Khri-btsun :  
 Ra-sa'i lHa-khang gnyis; 2) lHa-gcig Kong-jo : Ra-mo-che;  
 3) Zhang-zhung-bza' Li-thig-sma : Khrims-bu lKog-pa;  
 4) Ru-yongs-bza' rGyal-mo-btsun : Brag-lha mGon-po;  
 and 5) Jo-mo Mong-bza' Khri-lcam : lHa-sa Yer-pa'i  
 gTsug-lag-khang. Of these only the Jo-khang,  
 Ra-mo-che and Yer-pa are well known and easily  
 identifiable. Mr. Richardson informs me that Brag-lha  
 Klu-phug is a cave temple on the side of the lCags-po-ri  
 hill in lHa-sa. See also f. 5b on the temples built by  
 the queens.

22. Needham 1959:501. The Yu Kung's five zones are expanded  
 in the Chou Li to nine zones and these form the model  
 for later imperial cities. On the nine zones see  
 Legge 1865:149. For a Bon-po cosmology consisting of  
 five concentric zones centred upon the mountain of  
 g.Yung-drung dgu-brtsigs see Snellgrove 1967 : Diagram  
 XXII. According to Karmay (1975b:173) these five zones  
 are traditionally divided into three: nang-gling (I),  
bar-gling (II-IV) and mtha'-gling (V). This arrangement  
 affords a close parallel to the scheme under discussion.
23. See the La-dwags rgyal-rabs (as quoted by Haarh 1969:284)  
 for a reference to the 62 mTha'-khob and the 60  
Yang-khob. See also the bShad-mdzod (ff. 93b-94a) on a  
 classification of the ninety-one barbarian tribes of the  
 border. The very last of these is sPa-gro Mon. It would  
 seem to have a very broad location in this scheme:

/mnga'-ris bod-kyi sa 'di-la / pa-gro mon-gyi skor-ba-la  
/ mtha 'khob yul-gru gcig-tu rtsis /

Padma Gling-pa brings together the notions of mtha'-khob and mtha'-'dul in a passage of his biography describing a shrine room which he redecored in the famous temple of O-rgyan-gling near rTa-wang in Arunachal Pradesh :

/ mtha'-'khob mtha'-'dul-gyi sems-can-rnams tshogs-gnyis  
gsog-pa'i rten-du mchod-khang gzab-par bzhengs-so //

(Collected Works Vol. Pha, f.42b = p.86). On Padma Gling-pa's association with this temple see p.317 below.

24. On the location of the ru according to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag see Tucci 1956:77-79.

25. See Kuznetsov 1966:110.

26. By the end of the 8th century an official geomancer (sam-mkhan) was employed at the Tibetan court: the post comes last in the list of government functionaries preserved in Pelliot No. 1089 (Lalou 1956: 13).

It is a matter for regret that the divination tables found in Tun-huang are not geomantic in character. One of them reveals "les présages signifiés par l'éclair aperçu dans chacune des huit directions et pour chaque moment de la journée." (Bacot, 1913:445). The texts that deal with this form of divination "... sont des adaptations de notions indiennes, non bouddhiques, à des notions proprement tibétaines." (A. Macdonald 1971: 282).

27. / ra sa'i gtsug lag khang las stsogs pa / (Richardson 1949 : 51 lines 5 - 6).

28. mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston, Vol. Ja, f.110a: "khri srong-btsan-gyi ring-la / ra-sa'i bi-har brtsigs-te ..." And f.128b: "dang-po mes srong-btsan-gyis mkhyen-nas / lha-sa'i dpe-har brtsigs-pa ..."
29. On the Thob-rgyal district see Wylie 1962:142-143. }  
Also Thang-yig, f.280b. Peter Aufschnaiter made a visit to the gTsang-gram temple and there are relevant notes in his collection at Zurich.
30. On lHa-rtse see Wylie 1962:135. On 'Grom-pa see Thomas 1935 I:277 and Tucci 1956:80 (note 3). On the temple itself see Thang-yig f. 282a. Tucci (1973: plates 78 and 79) illustrates a great mchod-rten at rGyang near lHa-rtse which may perhaps be connected with Grom-pa-rgyang.
31. dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa'i mdzad-pa rmad-du byung-ba ngo-mtshar bdud-rtsi'i thigs-pa, f. 18a. rGyal-dbang-rje revealed a 'hidden land' (sbas-yul) in the hills above thigs-pa Bu-chu. The Thang-yi (-----) refers to the temple as Shar-kong Bu-chu Dar-legs lHa-khang. Mr. Richardson informs me that the temple was destroyed in the great earthquake of 1950.
32. See Wylie 1962:137 (Richardson's note) and also Thang-yig, f. 281a.
33. Aris 1975:74-76. See also rGyal-po bka'-thang, f.77a and Thang-yig, f.280b. For a pundit's report on his journey in 1875 to 'Tadum' (= sPra-dun) and his "ineffectual attempt" to visit the temple see the Geographical Journal, 45 (1875), 350-363. Kawaguchi (1909: 217-218) spent a day at 'Tadun' in 1900, calling it "the most famous temple



in northern Tibet." Local tradition asserted that "the hair of seven Buddhas are interred here", thus providing a false etymology (sKra-bdun = 'seven hairs') for its peculiar name (sPra-dun). Heinrich Harrer also spent several days detained there but his account, like Kawaguchi's, has no information about the history or contents of the temple. Aufschnaiter is reputed to have obtained a guide (gnas-yig) to sPra -dun which may be preserved in Zurich.

34. On sNye-thang see Wylie 1962:147.
35. See Richardson's comment in Ferrari 1958:142 and a photograph of the Ru-gnon gTsug-lag-khang on Plate 44. Also rGyal-po bka'-thang, f.77a-b and Thang-yig, f.280b. We can be quite sure that the scheme was known to O-rgyan Gling-pa even though it does not appear in this context; it is referred to on f.65b of the bTsun-mo bka'-thang.
36. On a dPal-dbyangs of the dBas clan see sBa-bzhed p.54, Thomas 1951 : 86, and Heather Karmay 1975:14.
37. LCB II, f. 64a. LCB I (f.6a) has no specific mention of the temples at all but instead refers to Srong-btsan, sGam-po's blessing the area with rays of compassion in order to prepare it for the arrival of Buddhism.
38. Richardson (1977:173) says the name of the famous Capuchin bell in the Jo-khang is Ye-shu'i cong chen-po. A line of the gSol-'debs le'u bdun-ma reads: / cong gling zil bu ta la la / ("The trembling of bells and flutes -- talala !")

39. Letter dated 7th October, 1976. I am also most grateful to Monica Von Schulthess for her great kindness in taking more photographs for me in situ. Efforts to secure a better reading by means of a latex mould have not yet met with success.
40. This no doubt will help to load the cannons of those who would look on the 'megalith' wedged in the stone trough as a Śaivite liṅga. The trough is in fact explained locally to be an old mortar such as would have been used for pounding grain. We can perhaps speculate that the Ma-ni on it was carved at the same time as the lotus on the base of the pillar.
41. Lung-bstan kun-gsal me-long, f. 39a (= Collected Works, Vol. Ka, p.95); also ff.42b and 119a of Padma Gling-pa's autobiography (Collected Works, Vol. Pha, pp.86 and 239).
42. Bum-thang lha'i sbas-yul-gyi bkod-pa me-tog skyed-tshal, f. 22b. Klong-chen-pa might have intended us to include among these the many shrines to Padmasambhava in Bum-thang which we shall be considering below. However, these are usually referred to as gnas even if a gtsug-lag-khang is to be found there.

43. It was only on the completion of this study that I discovered Arianne Macdonald's report of her valuable studies on the Ma-ni bka'-'bum in the Annuaire (1969) of the École Pratique des Hautes Études. We learn that the contents of the Ma-ni bka'-'bum listed in a manuscript history dated 1376 (whose title she does not provide, but which is presumably the Deb-ther brdzongs-dmar-ma) excludes mention of the two biographical works on Srong-btsan wherein the story of his temples first seems to appear. One of them must therefore have circulated independently long earlier if it acted as the direct source of inspiration for the corresponding passage in the next history to pick up the story, namely the Bu-ston chos-'byung of 1322.

## 2. The 'Sindhu Rāja'

One of the most compelling stories of early Bhutan, recounted both in oral and written forms, concerns the activities of a refugee Indian king called the 'Sindhu Rāja', a patron of Padmasambhava, who is said to have been the founder of a short-lived kingdom in Bum-thang. While the content and nature of this famous story suggest it to be purely legendary, the initial impression is also that truly historical events may have once formed its basis. We are led to expect the same mythicising process as was applied to the first Buddhist temples. Certain geographical sites associated with the story can similarly be located on terra firma. In the case of the 'Sindhu Rāja', however, to trace the most developed narrative of his story back to its distant sources provides an insight into the evolution and function of the myth itself but we are left hardly the wiser historically. Nevertheless, the glimmer at the end of the tunnel is sufficiently bright to justify the effort and the tunnel itself turns out to have side-chambers full of interest.

We have already had occasion to notice a reference to the king 'Sendha Ra-tsa' in one of Padma Gling-pa's prophecies (see p.39 above). The full narrative of the king's story, however, does not appear to be contained in the standard Collected Works of Padma Gling-pa but rather in a short text having a quite independent existence. This is the rGyal-po sindha ra-dza'i rnam-thar, recently reprinted in 30 folios. It constitutes a prophecy entitled Lung-bstan gsal-ba'i me-long and is presented as the gter-ma of a certain O-rgyan, last in the line of seven gter-ston:<sup>1</sup> mNga-bdag Nyang, [Gu-ru] Chos(-kyi)-dbang(-phyug), Tshe-bstan [Tshe-brtan] rGyal-mtshan,

Chos-rgyal Rin-chen Gling-pa, Shes-rab Me-'bar, rDo-rje  
 /Gling-pa/ and finally O-rgyan. As we shall see in Chapter 3  
 below, all of these persons (with the exception of the first  
 and last) are easily recognisable as gter-ston who were  
 active in Bhutan and their chronological sequence here is  
 broadly correct. The O-rgyan who comes at the end  
 presents some difficulties. He is supposed to be the  
 re-incarnation of lDan-ma rTse-mangs to whom the 'prophecy'  
 containing the rnam-thar was dictated by the Guru. Padma  
 Gling-pa normally regarded himself as the incarnation of  
 lHa-lcam Padma-gsal, a daughter of the king Khri Srong-lde-  
btsan whom the Guru had taken as one of his consorts.  
 Padma Gling-pa, however, is often referred to as O-rgyan  
 Padma Gling-pa and there seems every reason to identify him  
 with the O-rgyan of this text. That he should on occasion  
 have regarded himself as the incarnation of lDan-ma rTse-mangs  
 instead of Padma-gsal would be perfectly consistent with the  
 character of a gter-ston, many of whom embody two of the  
 Guru's disciples. rDo-rje Gling-pa (1286 - 1345) was the  
 most prestigious gter-ston in Bhutan prior to Padma Gling-pa  
 (b. 1450). For these reasons there seems little doubt that  
 Padma Gling-pa would be considered by local scholars to be  
 the true gter-ston responsible for this text which itself  
 affords close parallel to others of his works. This is  
 particularly noticeable in the apocalyptic treatment of the  
 'evil times' which will befall Bum-thang (f. 21 a-b) which  
 echoes the principal theme of the Bum-thang dar-gud-kyi  
lung-bstan (see note 7 to Section I above). The latter also  
 exists outside the main corpus of Padma Gling-pa's works and  
 this leads one to a further possibility as to authorship,  
 namely that these 'extrapolated' texts may be truly apocryphal;

instead of being the revelations of Padma Gling-pa they might simply have been disguised as such by later writers who did not themselves carry sufficient weight to ensure the acceptance of their works as gter-ma. For the present, however, the Sindha Ra-dza's biography may be taken at its face value despite these reservations since the story of the Indian king was certainly known to Padma Gling-pa. In the Collected Works, the king is referred to in the course of Khyi-kha Ra-thod's story where he fulfils a minor role under the name of Sen-mdä' or Senta.<sup>2</sup> We are told nothing except that he is an Indian king living in the palace of lCags-mkhar in Bum-thang. On one occasion he is called "the emanation of Hayagrīva". We can assume that there must have been a well-known myth concerning this figure known to Padma Gling-pa and that the text under discussion represents the version known either to Padma Gling-pa or to somebody closely following his tradition.

The preamble to the text (ff. 1b - 2b) serves to introduce lDan-ma rTse-mangs as the scribe who is about to take down the words of the Guru's prophecy. lDan-ma explains how he accompanied the Guru to Bum-thang where the main events of the narrative took place. Chapter I (O-rgyan rin-po-che /Padma/ 'byung gnas-kyis rgya'i rgyal-po sna'u-che 'bangs-'khor chos-la bkod-pa'i le'u, ff. 2b - 3a) explains how while the Guru was in India he was invited by the king of India called sNa'u-che to his palace of Rin-chen 'Od-ldan and converted him and all his subjects to Buddhism. (As we shall see, this king seems to have been created as a foil to the figure of the Sindha Ra-dza, the chief protagonist. His name sNa'u-che means simply 'Big Nose'. One is reminded of the common caricature of an Indian depicted on the masks of

the A-tsa-ra clowns with their huge noses.)

Chapter II (/Sindha ra-dza/ rgyal-blon thams-cad  
lcags-mkhar-la mnga 'thang gung-la regs-pa byas-nas bzhugs-pa'i  
le'u, ff. 3a - 5b) begins by announcing King Khyi-kha Ra-thod  
 who lives in the sbas-yul mKhan-pa-lung (and who only  
 reappears in Ch. VI). South of mKhan-pa-lung lies the palace  
 of lCags-mkhar sGo-med ("The Iron Fort-Palace Without Doors")  
 which is "shaped like a half moon rising up prominently"  
 (dbyibs zla-gam-du yod-pa-las 'bur-du dod-pa). The palace  
 (which is apparently unoccupied and nothing is said of its  
 origin) is minutely described together with the important  
 features of the surrounding country and the major sites in  
 its vicinity. Among the latter is mentioned the palace of  
 King sNa'u-che to the south-west, all the other directions  
 being occupied by various local spirits. The valley where  
 the palace of lCags-mkhar is situated is itself the centre  
 of two-thirds of the world ('dzam-bu-ling gsum-gnyis-su  
bcad-pa'i lte-ba). The palace is nine storeys in height,  
 each one made of a different precious substance and it has  
 two main doors (even though described above as "doorless");  
 one faces the river to the east and the other to the west,  
 this arrangement making it very strong and secure (btsan-pa).

The local traditions of Bum-thang are in total accord  
 in placing the site of the palace at a spot adjoining the  
 present temple of lCags-mkhar whose hereditary proprietor  
 claims descent from rDo-rje Gling-pa. The site was visited  
 by John Claude White in 1905 and he described it as follows:  
 "On the way back we were shown the site of the Sindhu Raja's  
 house, now in ruins, situated on the edge of a high bluff  
 overhanging the river. It appears to have been a square of

sixty or seventy feet, and the wall apartments could not have been very wide, as there seems to have been an open space in the centre, unless this again was covered in by a floor above, in which case the building would have been an exact counterpart of the central towers we now find in every Jong <sup>[=rdzong]</sup>. Surrounding the sides, on the level, was a well-defined ditch, with a continuation on the outer side leading to the river, and also a well-defined path.

Tradition states there was also a gate at the opposite corner to the south. The Penlop  $\angle\bar{O}$ -rgyan dBang-phyug, later to become the first king of Bhutan<sup>7</sup> has lent me a book of old stories in which there is a glowing description of the old house" (White 1909 : 167). This book must have been the same as the one under present review but it can be noted in passing that the alignment of the palace's doors does not tally with the information found in this work. The visitor to the site today does not find the "well-defined" features observed by White but rather a complex of low earthworks having the appearance of deteriorated field boundaries and the remains of what might once have been a series of low ditches. The site appears to be subject to periodical cultivation but when the present writer visited it the ground was lying fallow and being used as grazing for the domestic cattle of the nearby village. There was nothing visible to the eye that could accord with White's description of a square structure surrounded by a ditch. It must be assumed that the remains have been largely altered by agricultural work in the years since 1905 but certainty on the whole issue can only be reached by means of archeological investigation. There is no particular cause to discount the local tradition that this most strategic and defensive position was occupied by an early fort. The fanciful description of the building in our



text, however seems to be partly derived from the early Tibetan fort-palaces which are traditionally reckoned to have had nine storeys. The most famous adaptation of this style is shown in the Sras-mkhar dGu-thog allegedly built by Mi-la Ras-pa, in the area of lHo-brag just north of Bum-thang. The forts and watch-towers of central Tibet belonging to the historic period are invariably situated on high elevated ground, unlike the Sras-mkhar which is on the floor of a valley and similar in position to the lCags-mkhar of Bum-thang. The Sras-mkhar itself may originally have been defensive; the machicolations on its side are now covered with gilded metal, as I am informed by Mr. Richardson. The literary account of the lCags-mkhar as we have it now was surely the product of imaginative speculation that drew on the traditional conception of an early fort. If a defensive structure ever occupied this site it would perhaps more likely have belonged to the prehistoric period of the stone megaliths and tools of Bum-thang for in the 'treasure box' (gter-sgrom) of the lCags-mkhar lHa-khang adjoining the site there is preserved a magnificent stone axe-head of a dark and highly polished material which is said to have been found locally, perhaps on the actual site of the lCags-mkhar. As expected, it is described as a 'sky-iron' axe (nam-lcags sta-re) and one wonders if this could suggest the true derivation of the palace's name (lCags-mkhar = 'Fort-Palace of Iron'). One must beware of producing a 'modern' theory on this as fanciful, on its own terms, as that which imbues the biography of the 'Sindhu Rāja' and one which is similarly founded on meagre evidence. It is very tentatively suggested, therefore, that the site may represent a defensive settlement of the 'Late Stone Age', situated so as to control

the rich agricultural land of the Chos-'khor valley and to provide refuge in case of attack. Its ruins must, in the historical period, have been of a sufficient size and distinctness to have occasioned the growth of a legend that sought to give it a royal significance within an entirely Buddhist setting. Whether the 'royal' element in that setting is mythical or historical, or more exactly, whether the myth has a seed of historical reality, is an important question to which an answer is attempted below. For the present, let it be suggested that the legend's treatment of the site is a reflection of the same adapting process which caused some of the first Buddhist temples in Bum-thang to be built around or near prehistoric megaliths.

Having described the lCags-mkhar, Chapter II of the biography continues by telling us about the person who is destined to occupy it. Prince Kun-'joms (the incarnation of King Nam-mkha' 'Ja'-ris-can) is born as the middle of seven sons to King Sing-ga-la of Ser-skya (Kapilavastu). Kun-'joms is of a violent disposition and the ministers decide he should be sent off to pursue a life of religion. The king and Kun-'joms both agree to this but obstacles are put in his path by the king's five hundred consorts and some of the evil ministers. Kun-'joms is defeated and banished to the kingdom of Singdhi (sic) where he becomes the rāja. There he contends with the 'King of India' sNa'u-che, is once more defeated and so flees to Bum-thang with his eighty followers. Now known as the Sindha Ra-tsa, he takes control of the palace of lCags-mkhar sGo-med which he surrounds with a wall (lcags-ri) that encompasses half of the entire district of Bum-thang. He then procures himself one hundred consorts from India, Tibet and Mon, five of whom bear him children. Two of these assume

important roles in the story: lHa-gcig 'Bum-ldan mTsho-mo who has the marks of a ḍākinī of the vajra family, daughter of Nyi-zer-ldan, and sTag-lha Me-'bar,<sup>3</sup> son of Kun-skyong-ma. In addition to his hundred consorts the king has eighty ministers including five important ones from India, Sindha, Hor, Tibet and Mon." In his kingdom the gnod-sbyin bDud-'dul is worshipped as a lha, rDo-rje Grags-ldan as a dgra-lha, the klu-bdud chen-po sPyi-bdud Kha-la Me-'bar as a gzhi-bdag and dBang-phyug Chen-po also as a lha. (The idea expressed here is clearly that, while retaining the worship of the Hindu deity Śiva (dBang-phyug Chen-po), the king now adopts the cult of the local spirits of Bum-thang.)

Chapter III (ff. 5b - 9b) begins by explaining how Prince sTag-lha Me-'bar extends his father's kingdom by taking over four new settlements (yul-gsar): rDo-rje-brag<sup>3</sup> in Tibet, Khang-gsar in Mon, Gling-gor in Hor and Sindha-pha-ri in India. At the age of twenty, however, the prince is killed by his father's old enemy King sNa'u-che.<sup>4</sup> His father retaliates by burning one thousand settlements belonging to sNa'u-che who then destroys twenty of his own. Thereafter the war is waged sometimes to the advantage of India and sometimes to the advantage of Mon. In his misery at the loss of his son the Sindha Ra-tsa foregoes the worship of his pho-lha (i.e. his guardian or ancestral spirit) and commits various impurities.<sup>5</sup> These cause injury to all the spirits who convene in a vajra-tent and decide to punish him by stealing his life-force (bla). The chief of all the gods and demons (lha-'dre) called Shel-ging dKar-po<sup>6</sup> declares he has more right to it than all the other lha-'dre and so he seizes the king's bla-srog. The king falls ill, his flesh

and blood waste away leaving just skin and bones and his eyes become like stars reflected at the bottom of a pail of water. His ministers cannot think of a lama powerful enough to effect a cure but eventually a "minor ruler of the border barbarians" (mtha'-khob-kyi rgyal-phran) says that sNa'u-che's lama, the Indian sngags-pa called Padma 'Byung-gnas, is capable of it. He is sent off with a measure of gold powder to invite the Guru and so Padma 'Byung-gnas arrives in Mon Bum-thang.<sup>7</sup> The rāja promises to fulfil any commands given to him by the Guru if the latter can cure him. The Guru replies by saying that all he needs is a tantric consort (gzungs-ma) for his meditation. Seeing the twenty-one marks of a dākinī on lHa-gcig 'Bum-ldan mTsho-mo, the rāja's daughter by Nyl-zer-ldan, he takes her off to the cave of rDo-rje brTsegs-pa which is the 'vajra-cave' of the malignant spirits. The guru meditates and the princess acts as the sgrub-sde-mo, fetching water and laying out the gter-ma (= gtor-ma ?). Gods, demons and humans are all made happy by her and so address her as their 'single mother', Ma-gcig 'Bum-ldan. After seven days the Guru leaves the imprint of his body on the rock. Shel-ging dKar-po introduces himself to him 1) under his common name by which he is known when acting as chief of the srog-bdag ('life-owning') spirits; also as 2) Gang-ba bZang-po, chief of gnod-sbyin, 3) dMu-rta Zhur-chen, chief of dmu, 4) sKye-bu-lung-btsan, chief of btsan, 5) gZa'-bdud rGyal-po Ra-hu-la, chief of gza', 6) 'Chi-bdag Zo-ra-ra-skyes, chief of bdud, 7) Klu-chen mGo-dgu, chief of klu, 8) Dam-sri Ma-mo, chief of ma-mo. (The assimilation of all these deities to the figure of Shel-ging dKar-po employs a common means of increasing the stature of a single god who normally plays a minor role. The 'mundane deities' enumerated here are all

well known with the exception of Zo-ra-ra-skyes who has an important role to play in the story of Khyi-kha-ra-thod.) Shel-ging dKar-po declares that apart from "breathless earth and stones" he has authority over all beings who have breath. He returns the king's life-force to the Guru in the form of "breath" contained in a "rodent trap" (bra-ba'i slu-bu ?) described as ther-hyang-se (?) which is inside a metal box. Inside the "trap" is "a white tube" (dom.dkar-po = dong-po dkar-po ?) which is the king's bla. The Guru and the princess return to lCags-mkhar and the "trap" is placed in the king's nose. From within, the tube which is like "a trembling immaterial rainbow" comes out and is absorbed into the crown of the king's head. The king recovers and a great celebration ensues. The king is given the initiation of Vajrapāṇi and to protect him in the future an amulet called "The Mouth-union of a Lion and Scorpion" (Seng-sdig kha-sbyor) is tied to his body. Offering a cup of grape wine to the Guru, the king declares he will give him anything he should desire from his wealth and subjects. The Guru declines saying that he cannot reside solely in Bum-thang since the whole of the visible world is his palace. The world is full of his own wealth, what would he do with just the king's wealth ? Since all the gods, demons and humans are his patrons, why should he show partiality to any one in particular ? He desires nothing but instead the king should heed his command and follow a path of virtue. The King agrees.

Chapter IV (mNa'-thang-du rgyal-po gnyis mna' byas-pa'i le'u, ff. 9b - 13b) The Guru enquires of the king the cause of conflict between him and King sNa'u-che and so all is explained. The Guru says that both kings must meet him on the border of India and Mon and he himself sets off to summon sNa'u-che.

Both parties then assemble on a broad field that has a natural stone floor where no trees or bushes grow. The kings are reconciled and receive the initiation of the sGrub-pa bka'-brgyad. Before the mandala is dismantled and in answer to the king's enquiries about his future intentions, the Guru explains to them his future responsibilities in India, Nepal and Tibet. A pillar is erected on that spot and the Guru then declares that henceforth whoever contravenes ('gal) "this oath-stone pillar" (rdo-ring mna'-rdo 'di), his heartblood would immediately be transferred to this field and so he would die. Henceforth the troops of India must not trespass ('gal) beyond this pillar towards Mon and the troops of Mon must not trespass in the direction of India. If they do they will be destroyed. All the kings and ministers place their hands on the pillar and swear: "So shall it be done ! Sa-ma-ya-na-ra-kan!" The field where this took place becomes known as mNa-'thang ('Oath-Field') and since the oath was taken in relinquishment of their own power (dbang-med-du), the pillar becomes known as dBang-med ('Powerless').<sup>9</sup> Finally the Guru hides thirty gter-ma around the pillar and appoints the local spirit Rong-btsan as the guardian of the gter-ma. All return to their own countries.

The actual place where the oath is said to have been taken is the village of mNa'-sbis (pronounced 'Nabzhi') which lies just south of the holy mountain of Jo-bo Dung-shing ('The Lord Fir-tree' known as the Black Mountain on the British maps) in the area east of Mang-sde-lung. It lies on the old route that leads up from the Indian plains and it is a matter of some regret that George Sherriff, the only modern traveller to have taken that route and visited the

place, has left just a passing reference to the "monastic village of Nabzi (4,600 feet)" (Fletcher 1975 : 131). It would, however, be most surprising if the principal temple there were not in some way associated with an old megalith as at dKon-mchog-gsum and gSum-'phrang. Investigations at the site will certainly reveal more than can be gleaned from this legendary account but some points are worth noting at this stage.

The animal and human sacrifices that accompanied the swearing of oaths in ancient Tibet were offered together with imprecations vowing the same fate on those who might break the oath in the future (Stein 1972 : 200). Padmasambhava's threat that anyone breaking the oath would have his heartblood brought to the site of the oath by the guardian divinities would appear to be a tantric Buddhist adaptation of this ancient feature of the oath ceremony. The swearing of oaths in temples devoted to the guardian deities is a practice still in force in Bhutan to this day. As in ancient Tibet, such oaths must be taken before human and divine witnesses and while absent from this account of the 'Sindhu Rāja's oath, the convention finds careful mention in the narrative of an oath of loyalty sworn by the local rulers of eastern Bhutan to the 'Brug-pa authorities. (See p. 651 below.) A point of interest in the ceremony of the 'Sindhu Rāja's oath is the laying of hands on the pillar by the participants as they pronounce the oath. Logical as this may seem, it is a feature to which no parallel can be found in other texts. It would be dangerous to hazard a guess as to whether the action is recorded as a genuine folk memory of such oaths or whether it was introduced into the narrative as a convincing, though imagined, detail.

While many of the surviving Tibetan pillars bearing inscriptions had a simple commemorative purpose and do not seem to have been accompanied by any sort of an oath, others (notably the pillar recording the treaty of 821-822 between the Chinese emperor Mu-tsung and the Tibetan king Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan) were undoubtedly erected soon after the swearing of an oath; the actual ceremony enacting the oath made use of a text written on paper which was later copied on the pillar. Such oaths are recorded on the Zhol rDo-ring in lHa-sa, and on the pillars at Zhwa'i lHa-khang and bSam-yas. The actual record of a grant accompanied by oaths and commemorated by a pillar appears to have been described as gtsigs (or rtsis) and this appears to have survived in the term gtan-gtsigs which means 'charter'. It can probably be assumed that in the period before the introduction of writing (and probably long after too) oaths were in fact sworn over a stone (the mna'-rdo of our text) which was intended to serve as a perpetual reminder. The terms rjed-rdo/rjed-tho and chad-rdo/chad-mdo all reflect the old association between stones (but not necessarily megaliths) and oaths.<sup>10</sup> They also seem to reflect in their alternative spellings the later confusion surrounding the exact function of the stone in the ceremony. Stein (1972 : 200-201) has this to say about the survival of the practice, giving as his reference an entry in Das' dictionary which I cannot trace: "The modern custom, reported in Kham and Sikkim, of setting up a stone at the time of oath is already mentioned on the stele of 730 (mtho-rtsig) and in the old Tun-huang chronicle. In the latter case, dated to the sixth century, the stone was erected on the tomb of the minister in whose favour the king pronounced the oath, accompanied by the sacrifice of a



hundred horses. This stone must presumably have borne the text of the oath of mutual loyalty." To accept Stein's latter suggestion first entails accepting the idea that the Tibetans had a script of their own before the time of Srong-btsan sGam-po (c.609 - 649) who is usually credited with the introduction of writing. His other suggestion, namely that oaths are still associated in some dynamic way with stones, cannot unfortunately be verified since there seems to be no material to provide evidence either way. His statement does, however, underline the most common use of the pillar in historical times as a central feature of the tombs of the kings and, perhaps in special circumstances, of their ministers. The cosmological symbolism of these tomb pillars has been studied by Tucci (1950) and tentatively placed in the wider context of Tibetan megaliths by A.W. Macdonald (1953). A further use of the pillar in dynastic Tibet, and the one to which the 'Sindhu Rāja's pillar relates most closely, is for the demarcation of borders. There survives plenty of evidence in the Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty to show that pillars were erected at different times both by the Tibetans and the Chinese to fix their common frontiers.<sup>11</sup> This function of the pillar is well known to the Bhutanese. On the pass of 'Shaitang La' between the valleys of U-ra and sTang in the Bum-thang district there stands a fine megalith which, according to the local legend, was carried and erected there by the gDung Nag-po of U-ra to mark the western border of his principality. The 'Sindhu Rāja's pillar at mNa'-sbis seems to be placed at a spot that could, in a realistic manner, have approximated to the southernmost extension of an early kingdom centering around Bum-thang, that is to say before its inhabitants penetrated to the southern foothills adjoining the Indian plain. It would be difficult to imagine,

however, that the converse is also true, namely that the site marked the northernmost extension of an Indian power. More likely the site loosely connotes a 'half-way house' on the journey down to India from Bum-thang. If, as seems very likely, there is a pillar still standing there in the immediate vicinity of a Buddhist temple of later construction one is more attracted to the possibility of a ritual origin, as distinct from one of border demarcation. The close proximity of mNa'-sbisto the present centres of the Mon-pa 'aboriginals' around 'Prumzur' also deserves notice. If these people are the descendants of those prehistoric groups who manufactured stone implements and erected menhirs, then it seems plausible to suggest that they were displaced by later groups arriving from the north who took over the settled agricultural land of mNa'-sbi and much later built a temple around the old rdo-ring there. The Mon-pa, according to this hypothesis, abandoned their previous way of life and took to shifting agriculture in the forest some miles to the east where they still survive. Pending a thorough survey of the area, we can but conjecture.

The manner in which imprecations were uttered prior to the oath, the supposed function of the pillar as a boundary mark, the 'naming' of the pillar, even the words spoken by the Guru -- all these features suggest a direct line of continuity with the most ancient traditions. It is as if the distant memory of various rites associated with oaths and pillars had been synthesised for the purpose of the story. The episode stands as strong evidence for a survival of traditions relating to the earliest period of true history. Unfortunately, there can be little doubt that the event itself never took place for there exists a further text, of a

sufficiently independent origin to cast a quite different light on the 'Sindhu Rāja' and one which seems to dissolve him back into the myth from where he came. The following account constitutes the lo-rgyus or 'narrative' explaining the origin of a protective amulet dedicated to the Red Hayagrīva in the Ekavīra aspect. It forms part of the dPal rta-mgrin dpa'-bo gcig-pa'i man-ngag gnam-lcags me'i 'khor-lo (10 folios in Vol. La of the Rin-chen gter-mdzod) and is said to have been the discovery of the gter-ston Mol-mi-'khyil whom Kong-sprul (gTer-rnam, f. 277b) places in the 2nd Sexagenary Cycle (1087 - 1146).

#### Transcription

(6a) / rGyal po srog gi 'khor lo 'byung po thams cad  
gnad la bebs pa'i mtshon cha bzhugs so

gya gar skad du <sup>o</sup> rā dza tsiṭṭa tsakra-tsa-tu <sup>o</sup> bod skad du  
<sup>o</sup> rgyal po srog gi 'khor-lo <sup>o</sup> gu ru padma 'byung gnas la  
phyag 'tshal lo <sup>o</sup> srung ba'i 'khor lo 'di'i lo rgyus ni <sup>o</sup>  
mon yul bum thang gi dbug na <sup>o</sup> mon gyi rgyal po se 'dar kha  
zhes bya ba zhig yod de <sup>o</sup> las su mi dge ba spyod pa zhig yin  
pa de la <sup>o</sup> snang srid lha 'dre'i chad pa byung ste <sup>o</sup> lha 'dre  
thams cad de'i sngas su 'dus nas gros byas <sup>o</sup> de rgyal po  
mthong nas <sup>o</sup> sde brgyad kyi ded dpon ni <sup>o</sup> dam pa chos kyi  
skad du srid pa'i rgyal po shel ging dkar po <sup>o</sup> g.yung drung  
bon gyi skad du srog bdag nyi pam sad <sup>o</sup> sde brgyad kyi skad du  
rā hu rā tsa <sup>o</sup> klu'i skad du nag po mgo dgu <sup>o</sup> skye 'gro kun  
gyi srog la ngas dbang <sup>o</sup> mi nad dang <sup>o</sup> phyugs nad dang (6b)  
<sup>o</sup> tsi ti dzwa la dang <sup>o</sup> 'khrugs pa dang <sup>o</sup> de rnams thams  
cad ngas thengs par byed <sup>o</sup> phyugs la dal yams <sup>o</sup> zhing la sad  
ser ngas gtong bar byed <sup>o</sup> lha 'dre'i rgyal po ngas byed <sup>o</sup>  
se 'dar kha'i srog la ngas dbang <sup>o</sup> de bas khyed rnams kyi srog  
gi snying po phul cig zer skad <sup>o</sup> de nas lha srin sde brgyad  
gros byas nas srog gi snying po phul <sup>o</sup> khyed nged rnams kyi  
rgyal po mdzod ces mnga' gsol lo <sup>o</sup> rgyal po zhes bya ba'i gtan  
tshigs so <sup>o</sup> de nas se 'dar kha'i rgyal khams rnams la mi bde  
ba sna tshogs byung ste <sup>o</sup> gza' nad dang <sup>o</sup> smyo 'bogs brgyal  
nad dang <sup>o</sup> phyugs la dal yams dang <sup>o</sup> zhing la sad ser la  
sogs sna tshogs byung ngo <sup>o</sup> der se 'dar kha'i rgyal po'ang  
nad drag pos thebs te <sup>o</sup> bcas dpyad mang du byas kyang ma  
phan shi la nye nas sos thabs ma byung ba dang <sup>o</sup> 'khor  
'bangs rnams bsdu nas rgyal pos 'di skad ces smras so <sup>o</sup>  
nga sde brgyad kyi gnod pa 'di las grol ba'i thabs shes pa'i  
mi yod na <sup>o</sup> ngas btsun mo rgyal srid dang bcas pa sbyin zer  
bas <sup>o</sup> 'khor 'bangs rnams kyi nang nas mtha' 'khob kyi rgyal  
phran cig na re <sup>o</sup> nga la gser phye bre gang byin dang <sup>o</sup>  
ngas rgyal po sos pa'i thabs zhig bstan gyis zer ro <sup>o</sup>

de nas rgyal phran de la gsér byin pa dang rgyal phran  
 des 'di skad ces smras so ॐ bal po'i yul yang le shod  
 kyi brag phug ces bya ba ॐ na ॐ O rgyan chen po padma  
 'byung gnas zhes bya ba ॐ gsang sngags kyi chos la  
 mnga' brnyes shing ॐ snang srid dbang du 'dus shing zil  
 gyis non pa cig yod (7a) pa de bos na phan zer ॐ der  
 rkang mgyogs gcig la gos ser chas dang ॐ chos pa'i lugs  
 su byas nas btang ॐ des O rgyan padma spyen drangs nas ॐ  
 se 'dar kha'i rgyal po'i sngas su 'byon pa  
 dang ॐ rgyal po na re ॐ nga sos nas lha 'dre'i chad pa  
 'di bzlog na khyed kyi ci gsung bsgrub cing ci mnyes phul  
 zer ro ॐ padma'i zhal nas nga la 'bul ba ci'ang mi dgos ॐ  
 khyed kyi yul 'di'i sdig pa'i las spangs ॐ dge ba'i las  
 la 'bod ॐ nga'i bstan pa la 'jug par khas longs dang ॐ  
 ngas phan pa'i thabs yod gsungs ॐ der rgyal po dang 'bangs  
 yul mi rnams kyis sdig pa spangs nas ॐ ci gsung bsgrub par  
 khas blangs pas ॐ padma 'byung gnas thugs dgyes te ॐ brag  
 dmar po rdo rje brtsegs par sgrub pa mdzad do ॐ der zhag  
 gsum gyi steng du O rgyan gyi spyen sngar shel ging dkar  
 pos gtso byas pa'i lha 'dre sde brgyad rnams byung nas  
 phyal /phyag 'tshal/ zhing srog gi snying po phul nas dam  
 la btags so ॐ der slob dpon gyis rgyal po spyi chings kyi  
 'khor lo bskor nas dbang du bsdus so ॐ der se 'dar kha la  
 'khor lo btags nas sde brgyad kyi gnod pa las grol bar  
 gyur to ॐ yul phyogs bde zhing bkra shis so ॐ 'khor lo'i  
 lo rgyus dang byung khungs bstan pa'o ॐ sa ma ya ॐ rgya  
 rgya rgya ॐ Ithi ॐ

# Translation

(fol. 6a) The Life-Wheel of the King /Entitled/ the  
Weapon Which Strikes at the Vitals of All  
Sprites is contained /herein/.

In the language of India, Rā-dza tsitta tsakra tsa-tu.  
 In the language of Tibet, The Life-Wheel of the King.  
 Obeisance to Padma 'Byung-gnas.

As for the account of this protective wheel, in  
 the centre of Bum-thang /in/ Mon-yul, there was  
 a king of Mon called Se-'dar-kha. He was a person  
 who committed non-virtuous deeds in his work and a  
 punishment of the gods and demons of the visible  
 world came to him. All the gods and demons assembled  
 before him and deliberated and the king saw them.  
 Thereupon, the leader of the Eight Classes /of lHa-  
 srin/ who was (1) in the language of the holy  
 dharma, the King of Worldly Existence Shel-ging  
 dKar-po, (2) in the language of everlasting Bon,  
 the Owner of Life Nyi-pam-sad, (3) in the language  
 of the Eight Classes /of lHa-srin/, Rā-hu Ra-tsa,  
 (4) in the language of the nāgas, Nag-po mGo-dgu,  
 declared: "I rule over the lives of all beings.

I cause the afflictions of human and cattle diseases, (fol. 6b) of leprosy, plague and strife, all these. I bring forth epidemics among cattle and cause frost and hail. I act as king of all gods and demons. I rule over the life of Se-'dar-kha. Therefore you offer me the essence of his life." Having deliberated, the Eight Classes of lHa-srin offered his life's essence. "Act as our king," they said and so he Shel-ging dKar-po was thus installed in power. He was established in perpetuity as their so-called 'king'. Then various kinds of calamities befell the realms of Se-'dar-kha: epilepsy, accidents, plague, insanity and fainting diseases, cattle epidemics, frost and hail on the fields and so forth all variously arose. Thereupon the king of Se-'dar-kha also contracted a serious illness and although many examinations were made to effect a cure, they did not help. On coming near to death, when no means could be found to effect a recovery, his retinue and subjects assembled and the king declared: "If there is a person who knows a means of delivering me from this injury caused by the Eight Classes of lHa-srin, I shall give him a consort together with a dominion." A minor ruler of the border barbarians from among the retinue and subjects replied: "Give me a full measure of gold powder and I shall show a means of curing the king." Then when the minor ruler had been given the gold, he said: "In the cave of Yang-le-shod in the country of Nepal there is a person called Padma 'Byung-gnas the Great Man of U-rgyan who has gained mastery of the religion of secret mantra and who has subjugated and bedazzled the visible world. (fol. 7a) If you call him, he can help." Thereupon a swift messenger was dressed up in yellow apparel in the manner of a religious person and despatched. He conducted U-rgyan Padma to Bum-thang and when he had come before the king of Se-'dar-kha, the king said: "If you cure me and counter this punishment of the gods and demons I shall do whatever you say and offer you whatever you like." Padma replied: "I do not want any offerings. Instead you must give up the evil deeds of this country and strive in works of virtue. When you have agreed to enter my faith, I have a means of effecting a cure. Thereupon the king and his subjects, the people of the country, gave up evil and agreed to do anything they were told, and so Padma 'Byung-gnas was delighted. He performed meditative rites at the Red Rock of rDo-rje brTsegs-pa ('Piled Vajras') and after three days the gods and demons, the Eight Classes of lHa-srin with Shel-ging dKar-po at their head appeared before U-rgyan. Making their obeisance, they offered the king's life-essence to the Guru and were tied to an oath. Then having turned the All-Binding Wheel of the King, the acarya subjugated the gods and demons. Thereafter he tied the wheel to the body of Se-'dar-kha and so he the king came to be delivered from the injury of the Eight Classes of lHa-srin. The region became happy and fortunate.

Thus has the account and origin of the wheel been revealed.

What strikes one immediately about this story is the complete absence of the Indian element that so dominates the 'Sindhu Rāja's biography. Far from being a refugee, the king in this account is the local (and probably hereditary) ruler of Bum-thang. His name of Se-'dar-kha is applied both to him and to his kingdom. The suffix -kha is an element in many place-names in Bhutan and its use is generally optional both in colloquial speech and in literary forms (Aris 1976 : 625 note 61). The king is therefore the eponymous ruler of a place called Se-'dar in its most basic form. It is presumably the nasalising function of the 'a-chung in the second syllable which led to the Sen-mda'/Senta in Padma Gling-pa's Collected Works, and thence to the Sendha/Sindha in the 'prophecy' and the 'biography' respectively. These latter forms finally become Sindhu in the later literature.<sup>13</sup> The sequence can, if we accept the attribution to the gter-ston in each case, be set out broadly as follows:

- (1) Se-'dar(-kha) /11th - 12th centuries/ (2) Sen-mda' /Senta /15th - 16th centuries/ (3) Sendha/Sindha /15th - 16th centuries, or later/ (4) Sindhu /18th century up to the present/

Clearly the most crucial step in this progression is that from (1) to (2) and (3). Can the gter-ma of Mol-mi-'khyil have provided direct inspiration for that of Padma Gling-pa and his school? If the Indian element in the most evolved version is subtracted we are left with exactly the same story as found in Mol-mi-'khyil with the exception that the deity to whom the king's protective amulet is dedicated is Hayagrīva in Mol-mi-'khyil and Vajrapāṇi in Padma Gling-pa. The discrepancy is probably a minor one if it is set against the treatment accorded to Shel-ging dKar-po who is associated with four languages (chos, bon, lha-srin and klu) (that

correspond to four deities) in Mol-mi-'khyil and with eight classes of spirits (srog-bdag, gnod-sbyin, dmu, btsan, gza', bdud, klu and ma-mo) in Pad-ma Gling-pa. The latter almost certainly derive from the constant mention of the 'Eight Classes of lHa-srin' in Mol-mi-'khyil who remain unspecified in that text. More pertinently, the four deities found there all appear in Padma Gling-pa's set with the exception of the Bon-po god Nyi-paṃ-sad.<sup>14</sup> It is evident that deities can be manipulated or substituted to suit the spiritual affinities of those concerned. If, however, we turn our attention for a moment to the isolated references to the rāja that appear in the accepted corpus of Padma Gling-pa's works (stage (2) in the sequence suggested above), one of these directly links the Senta Ra-dza to Hayagrīva, calling him the emanation of that deity. This comes in yet another of Padma Gling-pa's 'prophecies', the Nang-gi lung-bstan gsal-ba'i sgron-me (Vol. Ca (= Tsa), p. 383), in an interesting passage foretelling that one of Padma Gling-pa's wives would be the rebirth of the Senta Ra-dza's daughter known as 'Bum-lān-skyid or rDo-rje-mtsho (the 'Bum-lān mTsho-mo of the 'biography'). There seems every reason to believe that Mol-mi-'khyil's account, or a tradition based on it, served as the inspiration for the later Bhutanese versions. But who was Mol-mi-'khyil and what is the history of his text? Kong-sprul (1813-1899) has this to say:

mNga'-bdag Mol-mi-'khyil was born: [in the 2nd Rab-'byung, 1087 - 1146]<sup>15</sup> at the extremity of the southern region (lho-rgyud-kyi mthar) of gTsang-stod in a lineage descending from the rulers (mnga'-bdag) [of ancient Tibet]. It is apparent that he lived in the manner of one having the calling of a tantric monk of royal descent (rten lha-rigs engags-btsun). He was prophesied to be the rebirth of the 'Meditator from Mon' Ha-mi-nā-tha who was the personal disciple of O-rgyan Rin-po-che. He recovered the rTa-mgrin dpa'-bo-gcig-sgrub, the rGyal-po srog-gi 'khor-lo, the Pe-har gnad-'bebs and the Dregs-pa gnad-'bebs from the

bracket of a pillar (ka-phog ?) in the temple of Byang Pra-dun-tse. Although in the intervening period /since its discovery/ the continuity of the rGyal-po srog-gi 'khor-lo and its practice came to flourish, it happened that later not even a copy of it was to be seen in these parts. Thereupon an old copy of previous times came into the hands of Lord mDo-sngags Gling-pa /<sup>1</sup>Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po, 1820-1892/ as a trust (gtad-rgya) of a dakini. Thereafter, from the grace of O-rgyan, father and sons, he put it in order as a 'sequel treasure' (yang-gter) /whose initiation and authorisation/ I have myself gratefully received. (gTer-rnam, f. 103a-b).

According to this account the text was first hidden, then recovered by Mol-mi-'khyil, subsequently lost, once more recovered by mKhyen-brtse in the last century, then bestowed on Kong-sprul who included it in the Rin-chen gter-mdzod. Further details (which complicate the picture even more) can be added from the preamble and colophon to the text itself and from the information given in the sādhana to it composed by Kong-sprul.<sup>16</sup> According to both the preamble and the sādhana, the text was first bestowed by the Guru on the king Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan who in turn entrusted it to Ha-mi-nā-tha of Mon, telling him to hide it in the ancestral temple of Pra-dun-tse. This is the same temple as the one figuring in the mTha'-'dul Yang-'dul group, located in Western Tibet in the area west of Sa-dga' rDzong. Later the 'wheel' was used once more by the Guru to subjugate demons in the district of gTsang La-stod and then "sealed up" (rgyas-btab) in Pra-dun-tse, which appears to contradict the information concerning Ha-mi-nā-tha's activity in this respect. The gter-ston is described in the sādhana as Mol-mi-'khyil, the descendant of the great ruler of the South" (lho'i mnga'-bdag chen-po'i rgyud-pa). He is said to have come from the "southern ravine country (lho-rong-zar ?) of gTsang Ru-lag". The implication one would like to see in this is that Mol-mi-'khyil had some connection with the Mon-pa people of an area to the south of



central Tibet which might conceivably be Bhutan. The evidence, however, is altogether too vague to permit any firm conclusion. The colophon to the text states that Mol-mi-'khyil passed it on to a certain Rin-chen-grags of Yar-lung who had offered him "sons, horses and religious teachings" (bu rta chos gsum) for it. The sādhana says that it was recovered once more by mKhyen-brtse in the year 1880 (lcags-'brug). It is the only firm date in the entire history of the text.

An enquiry into other texts devoted to these 'wheels', which function both as a form of tantric weapon and as protective amulets, may eventually shed some light on the king of Se-'dar-kha's story. The Rin-chen gTer-mdzod has a collection of such texts in Vol. Phi (=44) and the first group in this section consists of the discoveries credited to a certain Phur-bu of the rGya clan, born in lHo-brag and a contemporary of Mar-pa (1012 - 1296). The gTer-rnam (ff. 98b - 99a) explains how Phur-bu's texts were recovered from two temples in Bhutan: sKyer-chu in sPa-gro and dGe-gnas in Bum-thang. They were combined into a single collection called the Bum-lcags lhan-dril. Unfortunately, another text which would have afforded close comparison with Mol-mi-'khyil's has, according to Kong-sprul, not survived. This is the Rlung-'khor srog-gi spu-gri which is supposed to have been recovered from the same place as Mol-mi-'khyil's, i.e. sPra-dun-tse, by a certain g.Yas-ban Ya-bon, a Bon-po. His dates are not clear as Kong-sprul places him confusingly both in the first and third sexagenary cycle (gTer-rnam, ff. 106a and 228a). An important clue might be found in the way Kong-sprul links the names of g.Yas-ban Ya-bon and Phur-bu (spelt sPur-bu) with the sites of their 'wheel'

discoveries in Pra-dun-tse and Bum-thang dGe-gnas. The discoveries are treated as having a single composite nature in the 'reverential petition' (gsol-'döbs) accompanying the lives of the gter-ston: "We entreat g.Yas-ban Ya-bon and sPur-bu Bya'u-mgon who together discovered the Srog-gi chan-pa myur-rgyogs las-byed-kyi bcud-'byin sngags-grub in Pra-dun-rtse and Bum-thang dGe-gnas." (f.5a) Whatever the texts may have been that went to form this collection, there exists a further 'wheel' text in Pad-ma Gling-pa's Collected Works in which Pra-dun-tse and Bum-thang are similarly linked and one in which Hāyagriva plays a part too. It is the Bum-thang srog-'khor dgra-bo'i srog-gi (m)chan-pa ("The Life-Wheel of Bum-thang, the Shears Which Destroy the Lives of Enemies") in the Collected Works, Vol. Da (pp. 561 - 571). The narrative account of its origin explains that an Indian heretical teacher called Kha-phung Nag-po destroyed the Buddhists in a kingdom called Bha-ra-ta-tsha by using a text contracted from the tantra called 'Byung-ba 'khrugs-byed rgyal-po'i rgyud. Kha-phung Nag-po hid this in the lingam of a Śīva statue in the temple of Ru-pa-ta-tsha, written out on a copper scroll in silver letters. The text was recovered by Padmasambhava and used by him against the heretics. He then took it to Pra-dun-rtse and "put it in order" there (gtan-la phabs-pa'o), the phrase is sometimes used in early texts with the sense of a 'final attestation' or 'approval' of their translation from Sanskrit). Later when an unspecified temple was being built in Bum-thang he hid it in the form of a scroll inside the phallus of the Hāyagriva image that acted as the gate-guardian (sgo-srung) of the temple. It seems likely that the temple in question is meant to be dKon-mchog-gsum (ancient rTsis-lung or, as here, rTse-lung) because a companion to

this text in the same volume is the Mu-stegs gu-lang nag-po'i skor which is said to have been recovered by Pad-ma Gling-pa from "the armpit of the blue gate-guardian of rTse-lung Temple in Bum-thang." The actual form and content of the Bum-thang srog-'khor is strikingly similar to that of the rTam-mgrin gnam-lcags me-'khor containing the story of Se-'dar-kha. Both are taken up with a minute description of their respective amulets, their manner of preparation and consecration. No doubt these similarities are derived more from the particular genre of ritual to which they both obtain, rather than from direct lines of transmission or adaptation. However, the existence of these closely related texts with their important geographical implications does at the very least suggest the sort of way in which the story might have gained currency in Bum-thang in the period prior to Pad-ma Gling-pa.

A convincing alternative to the view which holds Mol-mi-'khyil's text as the direct source of inspiration for that of Padma Gling-pa or his school is the one which looks upon Mol-mi-'khyil's story as the expression of a local legend of Bum-thang presented to a Tibetan audience as the authority for the Hāyagrīva ritual. According to this interpretation Mol-mi-'khyil recorded the locus classicus of the 'Sindhu Rāja' as preserved in Bum-thang in an oral or written form, a story which was later known to Padma Gling-pa also. This obviates the need to look for a direct stimulus in operation across the chronological and geographical haze that lies between these two figures. Nevertheless, despite our reservations about the true authorship of the rāja's 'biography', there is sufficient evidence in Padma Gling-pa's main corpus to show that in his day the Indian element had

already been grafted to the 'classical' version for it is the Indian troops of the rāja who support the mysterious Khyi-kha Ra-thod in his attempt to destroy the temple of bSam-yas. This episode is omitted from the 'biography' where the main account ends with the oath sworn between the rāja and sNa'u-che. In all that follows (chapters V to VIII) the hand of the gter-ston is most apparent for a whole series of events are added to bolster the authenticity of the prophecy that comes at the end of the text. Padmasambhava goes to India where he destroys the heretical opponents of Buddhism and restores the temple at Bodhgaya. The story of Khyi-kha Ra-thod is introduced in Chapter VI and in Chapter VII we find the Guru once more returning to the palace of lCags-mkhar in Bum-thang to bestow the prophecy on the rāja, and on Khyi-kha Ra-thod (who accompanied him there from mKhan-pa-lung). The destruction of lCags-mkhar during the time of King Glang-dar-ma of Tibet is foretold "... so that not a single iron nail will remain." (f. 18a) The rāja is comforted by the Guru's assurance that in the future his reincarnations will be born in the lineage of the btsan-po in Bum-thang and will gain secular power (rgyal-srid). It is this statement (and many more like it) which suggests the true raison d'être of the text, namely to justify the pretensions to divine authority on the part of the gter-ston in an age when religious affiliations carried the strongest possible secular implications. We have no means of identifying the btsan-po whose lineage survived in Bum-thang but, as we shall see when considering the ancestral myths of the gDung families, there were several groups in that area claiming some sort of descent from the ancient royal family of Tibet. Following the usual practice in this prophetic literature,

the names and attributes of the persons destined to fulfil the predictions are all disguised in a thoroughly cryptic fashion, but one that was not too obscure to have prevented the contemporary audience from identifying them.

The transformation of Se-'dar(-kha) into Sindhu provides an obvious parallel to an apocryphal tradition which claims an Indian origin for the first kings of Tibet, a tradition favoured by the monk Ngag-dbang in his study of the eastern Bhutanese clans.<sup>17</sup> As is well known, Sindhu (originally the Indus river) is the ancient form for Hindu, the latter word resulting from the Persian inability to pronounce an initial s. It would be hazardous to venture an opinion as to whether or not the Bhutanese were conscious of the full weight of their rāja's name in its final stage of evolution (or indeed the precise connotations which the name carries even now). However, just as the subscript ha in Sendha/Sindhā achieved a full 'Indianization' of Sen-mda'/Senta, it must remain at least a possibility that Sindhu arose by unconscious analogy with Hindu. The need to look for illustrious precedents is often the pre-occupation of a newly created state and it is probably significant that the form Sindhu seems to have gained currency only in the 18th century and later among 'national' historians. Set against the information provided on the early history in LCB I, the story of the 'Sindhu Rāja' ceases to act in the isolated context in which it is originally expressed but becomes part of a general pattern in which the whole genesis of the country is dominated by the Indian contact:

Indian settlements (yul-grong) were established with their rulers and subjects in these southern regions and their homes enjoyed happiness and great strength and riches. Thus even today [there survive the ruins of] a palace of an Indian king in front of some

sandalwood trees in the forest of rTsa-chu-phu, the ruins [of a palace] of another king who lived at Ja-zhag dGon-pa and so on. There are more mistaken pronunciations [of place-names] such as Ra-mtsho-'og in the Shar District which should, however, be called Rā-dza'i-'og ('Under [the dominion of] a Raja'). Furthermore, it is said that in the districts of Bum-thang to the east there are as many towns (grong-khyer) together with their subjects [that once belonged to] the lCags-mkhar rGyal-po and to other [rulers] as there are stars in the sky. It is also said that Mon-mo bKra-shis Khye-'dren was the daughter of that man [lCags-mkhar rGyal-po = 'Sindhu Rāja']. Thus it was that Thed [the sPu-na-kha valley], Thim[-phu] and sPa[-gro], [these] three, the Eight Hosts of the Shar District (Shar tsho brgyad), the Four Regions of Bum-thang (Bum-thang sde bzhi) and other areas were at first barbarous border regions devoid of religion. [Passage on Padmasambhava omitted.] Eventually, during the time of the king of Tibet, Khri Ral[-pa]-can who was the emanation of Vajrapāṇi, the forces of the nine regions (gling-dgu) of the Tibetan realm were assembled and the Indian kings, the rulers together with their officers and subjects, were adroitly expelled and banished to the border. Most of the [Tibetan] soldiers were delighted with the country and, having established estates (gzhis) in its various parts, they resided there without returning [to Tibet]. The origin [of the name of the area ?] now called Mi-log ('No-Return') is therefore also reported in that manner. Just as they [the Tibetan soldiers] had come from among specific peoples and districts such as dBus and gTsang, Dags[-po] and Kong[-po], so also did they come to settle here gradually in such districts as Wang, sBed-med, Ka[-wang] and Cang. Although there are many explanations concerning how they variously spread from the direction of Tibet to this Southern Land and also those regarding the origin of the names given to Thed, Thim and sPar, [these] three, and to the Eight Great Hosts [of the Wang] and so on, I decline [repeating them here] because I think [it would require] much writing and that of no great substance. Thus it was, however, that the races (rigs-rus) of this Southern Land are said to be descended from the old monkey bodhisattva, the emanation of Ārya[-Avalokiteśvara].

(LCB I, ff. 6a - 7a)

The identification of isolated ruins in Western Bhutan with the palaces of Indian kings seems to have gone out of vogue and none of my informants in Bhutan had anything pertinent to say on the matter. The whole story of Indian rulers being expelled by Tibetan forces who stayed to settle the country is roundly dismissed by the author of LCB II who maintains correctly that it is a tradition that finds mention only in the later literature

(phyis-'byung-gi lo-rgyus, f. 60a-b). There seems every reason to discount it as the product of popular imagination but again certainty can only be reached by a careful examination of the ruined sites if these can be located. The legend may have focussed on certain forts or settlements of the prehistoric period in a manner similar to that proposed for the lCags-mkhar in Bum-thang. Apart from the 'Sindhu Rāja' the only Indian ruler in Bhutan to receive a name is the dByugs-ston who is mentioned in the Bum-thang dar-gud-kyi lung-bstan as the patron of rTsis-lung (see p.40 above). The name does not seem to occur anywhere else. Various attempts have also been made to show that it was to the area of Bhutan that the Buddha in his previous lives came to meditate, invariable as a royal figure (LCB I, f. 5b and LCB II, f. 60a-b). The Sūryagarbha sūtra is used in much the same way as the Mañjuśrīmūlatantra, so favoured by Tibetan historians for its early 'prophecies' concerning their country. The former is claimed to show that while the Buddha himself did not come to the area of Bhutan, he had the Mon region in mind as a place where his teachings would flourish in the future (LCB II, f. 60a-b). The conversion of the Kha-khra Mon is placed as far back as the kalpa of the Buddha Kāśyapa when they were 'non-humans' (mi-ma-yin). One hundred 'Black Mon-pa' were brought into the retinue of Mahākāla at this time (loc. cit.). The true agent of conversion is, however, always the figure of Padmasambhava and it is surely significant that in the passage quoted above the Indian rulers are still regarded as part of the general barbarism preceding his arrival.

Some would perhaps be tempted to look for a link between these legendary associations of Bhutan with India and a quite unfounded claim

made in the British colonial writings that the country was first settled by an Indian people called the 'Tehpoo' (e.g. in Political Missions 1865:108). The whole notion has been taken up with some seriousness in works by Indian authors (e.g. Das 1974:2, Mehra 1974:81, Labh 1974:4). The origin of the claim can, however, be traced back without any difficulty to the extremely garbled report on Bhutanese history by Kishenkant Bose who spent the year 1815 on deputation to Bhutan (Political Missions 1865:187). In Scott's translation of the account given by Bose we read that "the caste or tribe of Thep" settled in sPu-na-kha are the descendants of "a raja of the Cooch tribe" who had been ousted by the arrival of the first Dharmarāja of Bhutan (Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal). The rāja referred to is Padmanarayan of Cooch Bihar with whom the Zhabs-drung enjoyed close relations but there is no evidence to suggest that he ever visited Bhutan in person and certainly none pointing to his having had political authority there. The term 'Thep' (contraction of Thed-pa) is well known in western Bhutan where it is used to refer to the inhabitants of sPu-na-kha (often called the Thed valley). The most that can be said of the apocryphal tradition is that it may derive ultimately from a desire on the part of some Indian slave families in sPu-na-kha to connect their origins with the person of the great Zhabs-drung. If that is the correct interpretation, it seems extraordinary that this wishfulness should have its present effect in claims made for the 'Tehpoo' as the first Indian inhabitants of the country.

Despite its dubious etymology, the term Mi-log in the above passage of LCB I is of considerable interest for it is an open



affirmation of the central Tibetan origins of the Western Bhutanese. The story which explains the term most probably derives from a similar Tibetan legend which explains how frontier troops at the time of the kings were ordered to settle in the border regions and were called bka'-ma-log. This seems to create something of an embarrassment for modern historians in Bhutan who are most sensitive to the notion that their people are anything but indigenous to their own country. In the 18th century at least the Bhutanese had no qualms about this, as we also see in Ngag-dbang's rGyal-rigs (Section V) where it is specifically stated that a long time had not elapsed since the Tibetans came down to the Southern Land. It is by no means sure how the term Mi-log was employed and today it does not seem to have survived in Western Bhutan outside the literary sources. In the lHo'i chos-'byung it can be taken to apply equally to a people, to a village or to an area. Among the Bum-thang people the term is applied to the whole area of Western Bhutan and is pronounced 'Menlé', but the Western Bhutanese say this is the name of a village in the Shar district under dBang-'dus Pho-brang rDzong. The term was used by Padma Gling-pa in what seems to be the same sense accorded to it in Bum-thang today. In a song that laments the behaviour of the Westerners which he composed during a trip to the area of rNga-long Men-log (sic) he says: "On seeing the conduct [of the inhabitants] of the Men-log Country, I am sad." (//men-log yul-gyi bya-ba mthong-bas skyo//)<sup>18</sup> rNga-long or sNga-slong is the term used in reference to themselves or their language by the westerners but never to the area they occupy. Men-log,

according to Padma Gling-pa, seems to be the area they inhabit. Similarly, Dag-pa Be-mi Sa-ri in Ngag-dbang's chronicle signifies the villages of Be-mi and Sa-ri occupied by the Dag-pa people (rGyal-rigs, f. 27a; p.558 below). Further research into the use of the terms Mi-log, Men-log and 'Menle' will no doubt help us greatly to clarify the ethnic picture of early Bhutan.

Notes to Chapter I Section 2

1. See ff. 19b - 20a. O-rgyan is in fact intended to come at the end of a list of eight gter-ston but only seven are mentioned.
2. See pp. 383, 464 and 511 of the Collected Works, Vol. Ca [= Tsa] and Section 3 to this chapter.
3. sTag-lha Me-'bar or sTag-la Me-'bar is the name of the well known Bon-po deity and/or priest. (See Karmay 1972 : 46) For the sTag-lha Me-'bar to whom the Phur-ba cycle was revealed later to be rediscovered by Khu-tsha Zla-'od (b.1024) in sPa-gro, see Karmay 1972: 145-148 and 1975a: 199-200. It has been suggested by Karmay that the legend of this sTag-la Me-'bar has some connection with the Rāmāyana. In both these legends sTag-la/sTag-lha is the son of a powerful king on whose behalf he suffers defeat in a battle.
4. As noted above (p. 4<sup>I</sup>) the 'tomb' of sTag-lha Me-'bar is supposed to be the mchod-rten by the side of lCags-mkhar lHa-khang. It is said to have been built by the 'Sindhu Rāja' himself.
5. mi-gtsang-ba'i bsnol (f. 6a) A clue to the sense of these 'impurities' is suggested in Slob-dpon Padma-lags' oral version of the myth (taperecorded in Bhutanese on 16/2/76) when he says: "The Sindhu Rāja was incensed by the fact that the local yul-lha and gzhi-bdag spirits had

not assisted him in his battles with sNa'u-che. Collecting together all the corpses of the horses, dogs and men who had been killed in battle he placed them in a heap and set them alight. The smoke of this pyre injured the yul-lha and gzhi-bdag among whom a plague broke out." Slob-dpon Padma-lags has this to say about the version known to him: "The original history of the Sindhu Rāja, comprising a single volume, is said to have been taken by King U-rgyan dBang-phyug from the temple of lCags-mkhar and never returned. Whether it came into the hands of Drag-shos Phun-tshogs dBang-'dus of Bla-ma'i dGon-pa or whether it went astray somewhere else, it is not clear. [Could this be the work lent to White ?] The present version is based on the synopsis given by Drag-shos Phun-tshogs dBang-'dus in his draft history which in turn is perhaps based on the original manuscript from lCags-mkhar." The oral account follows our text very closely but some interesting glosses are apparent. These are noted below under the abbreviation LP (= Slob-dpon Padma-lags). Another synopsis of the story is given in dGe-slong gNyer-chen Gres-pa's draft history. My translation of this has already appeared in Mehra 1974 : 82 - 85.

6. Shel-ging dKar-po ('White Glass-Ging') is generally reckoned to be a form of the important protective deity Pe-har who has Srog-dbag dKar-po as one of his standard epithets. It may be significant that, according to one text, Pe-har is known as Rāja Shel-ging dKar-po in India. (See Nebesky 1975 : 96) The only hint given in

Padma Gling-pa's autobiography that he was aware of the 'Sindhu Rāja's' legend comes in a passage describing a vision of Shel-ging dKar-po functioning as the guardian of the gter-ma hidden at sKu-rjes where, as we shall see, Padmasambhava converted this deity. (Collected Works, Vol. Pha, f.59b = p.120)

7. LP: /It is a minister disguised as a chos-pa who is despatched to Yang-le-shod in Nepal where the Guru is residing at that time./ "On arriving at Yang-le-shod the minister went to Padmasambhava and requested him to come to Bum-thang for the sake of the Sindhu Rāja. Knowing that it was his karma to go to Mon at this time not only for the Rāja's sake but also for the sake of taming the area of lHo Mon Kha bZhi, the Guru agreed. This was a period prior to his sojourn in Tibet. It was the time when King Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Myang Ting-'dzin bZang-po /who actually belongs to the reign of Khri lDe-srong-brtsan/ and mKhan-chen Bodhisattva were constructing the temple of bSam-yas. So the guru came by the southern route /through India/ by way of sBas-yul-sgang, which is taken to refer to Prumzur and Mebrag. The impressions of the Guru's foot and rdo-rje were left in the rock there /at Mebrag ?/ as easily as if in mud while he was subduing the demons of the locality and they can be seen to this day. At Urgyanbrag the Guru forced his way through a cliffside, leaving his footprints there too. At Prumzur the places where he thrust his phur-bu into the rock while subduing demons can still be seen. 'Prumzur' is really phur-btsugs /Thrusts of the Phur-bu/ Eventually he reached Mon Bum-thang ..." This part of the

legend finds no mention in any of the written versions. The places mentioned are all situated in the Mang-sde-lung area south of Krong-sar. It is the district inhabited by the true Bhutanese Mon-pa of the forests who are reported to have a special veneration for these sites. The written versions all place the denouement of the legend in this area, as we shall see.

8. This is the last we hear of the princess. According to many of the Bhutanese traditions she has a different name: Mon-mo bKra-shis Khye'u-'dren . The LCB I (f.6a), for instance, says: "Furthermore, it is said that in the districts of Bum-thang to the east there are many Indian towns (grong-khyer) together with their subjects [that once belonged to] the lCags-mkhar rGyal-po and other [rulers] as there are stars in the sky. It is also said that Mon-mo bKra-shis Khye'u-'dren was herself the daughter of this [lCags-mkhar rGyal-po]." (/gzhan shar-phyogs bum-thang-rnams-su'ang lcags-mkhar rgyal-po sogs rgya'i grong-khyer 'bangs dang-bcas-pa gnam-gyi skar-ma tsam yod-skad-la / mon-mo bkra-shis Khye'u-'dren kyang 'di'i sras-mo yin-zer /) Kong-sprul says that the lady was born in Mon Tsha-'og but gives no information about her parentage. She is classed by him among the five minor consorts of the Guru: 1) Mandha-ra-ba, daughter of King gTsug-lag-'dzin of Za-hor, 2) Bal-mo Shākya De-bī-ni, d. of King dGe-ba-'dzin of Nepal, 3) Bal-'bangs Kā-la Siddhi, d. of Bal-po Bha-dan-na, 4) Mon-mo bKra-shis Khye'u-'dren of Mon Tsha-'og and 5) bKra-shis sPyi-'dren d. of the king of Mon called Ha-mar (or Ha-ma-ra/Ham-ra: the tsheg between the syllables are not visible in this,

print). (See the Zhar-byung dbyings-phyug yum lnga'i rnam-'phrul gu-ru rin-po-che'i thugs-kyi gzungs-ma lnga'i rnam-thar sa-bon tsam in gTer-rnam, ff. 31b - 34b.)

Mon-mo bKra-shis Khye'u-'dren must belong to the same tradition as bKra-shis sPyi-'dren, who according to Kong-sprul, finds mention in the gter-ma biography of the Guru's principle consort, Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal, discovered by sTag-sham (= bSam-gtan Gling-pa). Both of these Mon ladies are said to have come into contact with the Guru through Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal and both came to sPa-gro sTag-tshang in the form of tigresses on whose backs the Guru rode in the aspect of rDo-rje Gro-lod. The two ladies are very likely one and the same and it may be that her assimilation to the figure of the 'Sindhu Raja's daughter took place in Western Bhutan where Mon-mo bKra-shis Khye'u-'dren is very well known. Her importance lies in the symbolic role she plays as a representative of Mon. The consorts of the Guru, like those of Srong-btsan sGam-po, stand for the countries subdued by them. Also important is the conversion of bKra-shis sPyi-'dren's father, the king of Mon which, like that of the 'Sindhu Rājā, seems to come after the conversion of his daughter.

9. According to LP the oath-swearing ceremony takes place before the initiation of the bKa'-brgyad, not after. The passage describing the oath-swearing deserves quotation in full (ff. 12b - 13a):  $\frac{0}{0}$  de-nas sa de-kar rdo-ring btsugs-ste  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgya dang mon-gyi blon-'bangs-rnams dang gyal-po btsun-'bangs dang-bcas-pa-rnams-la O-rgyan chen-po'i bka'-stsal-pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  kyee rgya dang mon-gyi blon-

'bangs-rnams  $\frac{0}{0}$  dus-la 'pho-'gyur ci-byung-yang  $\frac{0}{0}$   
rdo-ring mna'-rdo 'di 'gal-nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  su-yang mda'-  $\frac{0}{0}$  dma'  
-bar ma-byed-cig  $\frac{0}{0}$  gal-ste 'di-las sus 'gal-ba  $\frac{0}{0}$  padma  
bdag-la sdos-pa-yin  $\frac{0}{0}$  snang-srid lha-'dre thams-cad-kyis  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  'di-las 'gal-bar byed-pa de'i  $\frac{0}{0}$  snying-khrag thang-la  
phos-nas-kyang  $\frac{0}{0}$  skad-cig-nyid-la srog-chod-cig  $\frac{0}{0}$  ces dang  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  deng phyin-chad mna'-rdo 'di-las 'gal-nas rgya-dmag  
bum-thang-la mi-'gro  $\frac{0}{0}$  bum-thang-gi dmag rgya-la ma-'gro  
gal-te 'gal-na thams-cad brlags-par gyur-cig ces-gsungs-so  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  der rgyal-blon thams-cad-kyis  $\frac{0}{0}$  de-ltar bya'o sa-ma-yā-  
na-rakan  $\frac{0}{0}$  zhes thams-cad-kyis rdo-ring-la lag-pa reg-nas  
mna'-byas-pas thang de-nyid mna'-thang-du grags-so  $\frac{0}{0}$  :  
rdo-ring-la dbang-med-du mna'-byas-pas ming-yang dbang-med  
ces-grags-so  $\frac{0}{0}$

10. See the entries in the dictionaries of Das and Jäschke. Also Das : rdo-rgyus = 'oath in contracting friendship to make it lasting' and rdo-tshig = 'a firm expression or word'.
11. Excerpts from the Chinese annals relating to Tibet have recently appeared in a Tibetan translation by sTag-lha Phun-tshogs bKra-shis entitled rGya'i yig-tshang-nang gsal-ba'i bod-kyi rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long (Dharamsala, 1973). On the condition of these frontier pillars in the year 822, the year of the famous treaty, see p. 115.
12. The text continues with an account of the stages in the drawing of the wheel ('khor-lo bri-ba'i rim-pa, ff. 7a - 9a), the mantras of the gods associated with the wheel



(lha-sngags, f. 9a-b), the tying of the wheel to the recipient ('khor-lo gdags-pa, f. 9b), the stages in the perception of the wheel ('khor-lo bzung-ba'i rim-pa, f. 10a), the manner of hiding the wheel as 'treasure' (gter-du sbas-lugs, f. 10a-b), and the colophon (f. 10b).

13. See the quotation from LCB I in note 9 above. Also f. 8a of the Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long (p. 637 below).
14. The Nyi-sang-pad of Nebesky (1956 : 14 and 118) must be a mistake; sad is the Zhang-zhung for lha, 'god'. One wonders if there could be a relation between this deity and the gNyer-pa Se-'phang Nag-po of the lHa-'dre bka'-thang. (See Blondeau 1971 : 88-89)
15. gTer-rnam, f. 277b.
16. rTa-mgrin dpa'-bo gcig-pa gnam-lcags me'i 'khor-lo'i sgrub-thabs rjes-mnang dang-bcas-pa gdon-bregs kun-'joms , 10 folios (Margin: Chog-khrigs) following the gter-ma itself in Vol. La of the Rin-chen gter-mdzod.
17. See rGyal-rigs, ff. 6a - 3a (sic), pp. and below.
18. Thugs nges-'byung skyo-shes-kyis bskul-nas / rang-babs-su mdzad-pa-rnams phyogs-gcig-tu bsdebs-pa (Margin: Zhal-gdams), f. 27b (Collected Works, Vol. Pha, p. 250).

### 3. King Khyi-kha Ra-thod and his 'hidden land'

In the previous section it was noticed how the story of one Khyi-kha Ra-thod had been interpolated into the narrative of the 'Sindhu Rāja's 'biography', although the substance of this interpolation was not examined. Khyi-kha Ra-thod is in fact a quite independent figure in traditional Bhutanese history, but although a substantial gter-ma literature is devoted to him and to the cult of the 'hidden land' (sbas-yul) with which he is associated, unlike the 'Sindhu Rāja' he never attained national significance in Bhutan. He is presented as Prince Mu-rum bTsan-po, son of dMar-rgyan (known elsewhere also as Tshe-spong-bza'), one of the queens of Khri Srong-lde-btsan; Khyi-kha Ra-thod is a derogatory nickname which alludes to the prince's illegitimate and bestial paternity. As in the case of the 'Sindhu Rāja's story, the person first responsible for recording the myth seems to have been Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521). He appears to have drawn his material from ancient folklore, some of it already extant in written form. This he recast in a visionary manner that gave it coherent form and purpose.' In its new guise the myth travelled far beyond the frontiers of Bhutan and in turn gave rise to many oral variants, each adapted to local aspirations and circumstances. Some of these derived traditions were then recorded by at least one other gter-ston for his own purposes. Very broadly and anticipating certain conclusions, this appears to have been the way in which the myth was set down and diffused, but the close interaction between the oral and written forms in this process will probably remain elusive for ever. In the bKa'-thang sde-nga and other early gter-ma we can see the gter-ston borrowing heavily from earlier literature but in the comparable works

of Padma Gling-pa and others like him the impression is altogether less 'bookish'. It is as if a self-educated peasant with a strong spiritual bent had recalled fragments of stories he had read and heard. In a kind of dreamlike vision he reconstituted these into a new form having strong directive purpose, namely to authenticate the cult of the hidden land of mKhan-pa-lung (also called mKhan-pa-ljongs). This high valley just south of the Tibetan border had been used as a place of spiritual retreat from at least the second half of the 13th century. It appears in a list of places where Me-long rDo-rje (1243-1303) meditated, along with several well known holy sites in the vicinity<sup>1</sup>. Me-long rDo-rje was one of the earliest masters of the rDzogs-chen ('Great Perfection') tradition, and thus one of Padma-Gling-pa's spiritual ancestors.

The unpretentious, almost rustic quality of the writing ensured the guide to mKhan-pa-lung a wide appeal. The forceful character who thus 'discovered' it had yet to do so physically and concretely before it could become acceptable; hence the great pains taken to reveal its place of concealment. Padma Gling-pa is most circumstantial:

At that time I went to mKhan-pa-lung in consequence of the prophecy that had appeared at the end of the dGongs-pa bla-med, the 'treasure' /recovered previously from/ the Patterned Rock. Having found the door /to mKhan-pa-lung/ at bKra-shis-sgang<sup>3</sup> I stayed there for a few days. At that time I had a dream in which a girl wearing white clothes appeared and said: "Tomorrow go and extract the guidebook to mKhan-pa-lung." When I asked her where the guide book was she replied: "At a place half a day's journey up from here there is a cave with three levels (? phug-pa thog-rang rim-gsum) /inside/ a black boulder shaped like an erected tent of felt /which lies/ at a certain point below the Red Cave of sTong-shod. From this high position, if you measure out a rope nine spans in length downwards /you will find/ a cave on the side of the cliff. Inside it there is a mark to the treasure shaped like the female parts. Once this is removed, the guidebook to mKhan-pa-lung is inside, so take it out." As soon as she had said this I awoke.

Then on the following day many of us, priest and patrons, went off and when we arrived at the foot of that rock and looked it was just as it had appeared in the dream. Thereupon, when the votive cakes had been prepared for the guardian-spirits of the treasure (gter-bdag) the sky suddenly became very dark and fierce hail, rain and a terrific gale came swirling down like an earthquake. Commands were issued and the truth of the matter conveyed to the two treasure-guardians, Zo-ra-ra-skyes<sup>4</sup> and Khrag-mig-ma,<sup>5</sup> and once they had been made offerings the sun shone forth. Then, having tied to my waist a rope nine spans in length I went down from the top of that cliff, holding on to the right and to the left. On arriving at the main cave I looked and it was just as in the dream. When I struck the mark with a chisel the treasure-box came out and in its place I put in various grains and a five-spoked vajra and then left it blocked up as before. Then I returned and stayed for a day at bKra-shis-sgang. Then I went to the village of dByim-bya, and on the following day the Nas-pa people came forth in battle and surrounded the village, saying: "You have taken out a treasure from our land." For my part I summoned the Chus-pa people from Rung in gTang [= sTang]. So on the following day my own soldiers arrived when the sun was warm and they chased them off. Their weapons were seized and a prisoner was taken. Then together with my own force I went to Rung in bTang [= sTang] and while staying there for a few days I brought hail down upon the Nas-pa people and for three days it would not melt. All their crops were wrecked. Then I sent this message to the Chus-pa's place: "Is this hail enough or shall I send some more? The treasure came to me as a result of my prayers to O-rgyan and besides that I have not seized your wealth. Now shall we settle this with the compensation of a human life or a cow's life?" (da mi-la gtong-ngam / nor-la gtong) Unable to withstand this, they came in submission with a meat-feast of one cow. They offered me the land of mKhan-pa-lung and agreed to become my patrons (yon-bdag). When the prisoner who had been taken was set free they were reconciled.<sup>6</sup>

How much of this mysterious story is true and plausible? The autobiography is replete with incidents of this kind which must have been witnessed by Padma Gling-pa's close associates to whom this account of his life is chiefly addressed. Particularly interesting here is the violent reaction of the Nas-pa people to the discovery of the 'treasure-box' containing the guidebook to mKhan-pa-lung whose traditional proprietors they must have been. The idea that Padma Gling-pa's 'discovery' could have been no more than a clever sleight of hand never seems to have occurred to them. Elsewhere in the autobiography there are many passages recalling

instances when the author had to defend himself against charges of fraudulent deceit in the matter of his gter-ma, charges which he claims to have defeated in every case.<sup>7</sup>

Although Padma Gling-pa is certainly the first (and indeed one of the very few) figures in Bhutanese history to come really alive in the surviving literature, the whole question of his gter-ma discoveries remains something of an enigma. If the view is taken that the saint indulged in a long series of elaborate and cynical hoaxes, sustained with great effort over many decades, this seems to run against the overall picture of his character conveyed in the text. It is not a problem I would attempt to solve here but any effort in that direction must take into account the strong impulse to endow new religious works aspiring to a quasi-canonical stature with the aura of sanctity that surrounded the earliest religious traditions. This hold true for rNying-ma-pa doctrines from about the 10th century onwards. Padma Gling-pa's concerns were, however, more to do with the ritual expression of doctrine than with doctrine per se. Ritual compilations form the main content of his huge corpus of 'discoveries' but the need to link them to sources of ancient authority is as strongly manifested in them as it is in the philosophical works of Klong-chen-pa whose incarnation he is reckoned to have been.

In his eulogy of the Bum-thang area Klong-chen-pa employs the term sbas-yul ('hidden land') in a somewhat vague manner, suggesting a spiritual Arcadia where ideal geographical and human qualities together conspire to create perfect conditions for the religious life. There is no hint at all of the Messianic sense which Padma Gling-pa came to give the term in his guide to mKhan-pa-lung. For him a sbas-yul is a concealed area in the high mountains awaiting the war that will cause the

faithful to flee there, a paradisial refuge which will appear in its true form only when the right time comes. His main concern is to reveal the way in which the place is to be found and settled but it is the myth of the land's origin and the part which Khyi-kha Ra-thod plays in it which is of the greatest interest. The historical associations of the origin myth and the themes which imbue it are studied below, but first let us examine the text itself.

There are in fact two separate texts devoted to mKhan-pa-lung (or mKhan-pa-ljongs) in the Collected Works, both in Vol. Ca [Tsa]: (1) sBas-yul 'bras-mo-gshong dang mkhan-pa-lung-gi gnas-yig (48 folios, pp. 30-gshong dang (2) sBas-yul mkhan-pa-ljongs-kyi gnas-yig padma gling-pa'i gter-ma (13 folios, pp. 493 - 517). The first one is a guide to both Sikkim and mKhan-pa-lung and I suspect may have been incorporated into the Collected Works by its author who does not appear to have been Padma Gling-pa as there is no account of the latter having ever visited Sikkim. The treatment given to mKhan-pa-lung here closely follows that of the second text (which I take as the one whose 'discovery' was narrated above) though the content of the relevant portion has been much expanded into 14 chapters as compared with the 10 chapters of the second text. Practically omitted from the first text, however, is the origin myth occupying chapters 1 to 3 and 5 to 6 of the second text. These are translated below. Some of the more interesting variant details contained in two oral versions of the myth told me by 'Jam-dpal rDo-rdo (JD) and Slob-dpon Padma-lags (LP) can be found in the footnotes.<sup>8</sup>

(f.1a)  $\frac{0}{0}$  Klong gsal las  $\frac{0}{0}$  sbas yul mkhan pa ljongs kyi gnas yig  
padma gling pa'i gter ma bzhugs so  $\frac{0}{0}$   $\frac{0}{0}$

(f.1b)  $\angle \dots \dots \dots \angle$   $\frac{0}{0}$  slob dpon chen po padma 'byung gnas la  
 phyag 'tshal lo  $\frac{0}{0}$

sbas yul mkhan ljongs gnas yig 'di  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bdag 'dra bud med mtsho rgyal ngas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 lcags phur can gyi dben gnas su  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 Orgyan padma nyid la zhus  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 phyi rabs don du yi ger bkod  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 las can bu dang 'phrad par shog  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sa ma ya  $\frac{0}{0}$

sbas yul mkhan pa ljongs kyi gnas ni  $\frac{0}{0}$  ne rings seng ge  
 rdzong gsum gyi nub  $\frac{0}{0}$  mtha' nye lam gyi byang  $\frac{0}{0}$  'brog  
 mtshams pa'i shar  $\frac{0}{0}$  gro bo lung gi lho na yod cing  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 shar lho mtshams na rgya gar rtsang lung  $\frac{0}{0}$  lho nub  
 mtshams na bum thang stang  $\frac{0}{0}$  nub byang mtshams na rdzi  
 ba lung  $\frac{0}{0}$  byang shar mtshams (f. 2a) na seng ge ri ste  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de rnams 'dus pa'i dbus na yod do  $\frac{0}{0}$  de la sgo bzhi yod de  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sgo gcig bum thang stang nas yod  $\frac{0}{0}$  sgo gcig 'brog mtshams  
 sa nas yod  $\frac{0}{0}$  sgo gcig gro bo lung nas yod  $\frac{0}{0}$  sgo gcig mkho  
 mthing nas yod de  $\frac{0}{0}$  de ltar sgo bzhir yod do  $\frac{0}{0}$  de yang  
 sngon dang po nas lung stong du yod cing  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgya bod gnyis  
 kyi so mtshams na yod pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$  sbas yul gyi sa mtshams bcad  
 pa ste le'u dang po'o  $\frac{0}{0}$

mi gnas pa'i lo rgyus ni  $\frac{0}{0}$  spyir kha ba can gyi rgyal  
 khams  $\frac{0}{0}$  bod yul gyi dbus mthil  $\frac{0}{0}$  brag dmar dpal gyi bsam  
 yas na chos skyong ba'i rgyal po khri srong lde'u btsan  
 zhes bya ba  $\frac{0}{0}$  yab khri rje btsan po dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  (f. 2b) yum (gyi)  
 ma shang kong jo gnyis kyi sras su 'khrungs  $\frac{0}{0}$  dgung lo bcu  
 gcig la bza' dmar rgyan khab tu bzhes  $\frac{0}{0}$  bcu gsum dang bco  
 lnga'i bar du hor dmag byung ste 'khrugs  $\frac{0}{0}$  bcu bdun pa  
 glang gi lo la  $\frac{0}{0}$  bsam yas bzhenga pa'i thugs dgongs shar te  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 za hor nas mkhan po zhi ba 'tsho spyen drangs sa btul bas  
 ma thul  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i rting la rgya gar nas slob dpon padma spyen  
 drangs sa gzhi thams cad byin gyis brlabs  $\frac{0}{0}$  lha srin dregs  
 pa can thams cad dam la btags  $\frac{0}{0}$  dbu rtse rigs gsum gyis  
 thog drangs gtsug lag khang brgya rtsa brgyad bzhengs  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de yi rab gnas tshar ba'i rjes la  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal pos khrims kyi  
 rnga bo che brdungs te  $\frac{0}{0}$  bsam yas ne thang chen po'i dbus  
 su  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal pos gser khri dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  dgul khri bshame pa la  
 mkhan slob gnyis bzhugs su gsol  $\frac{0}{0}$  khrom dmar nag bsod nas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 rgyal pos gser dgul gyi maṇḍal phul nas zhus pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  kyee  
 mkhan slob gnyis bdag la dgongs su gsol  $\frac{0}{0}$  sku'i rten du

gtsug lag khang ni bzhengs tshar  $\frac{0}{0}$  gsung gi rten du  
 dam pa'i chos shig bsgyur dgos  $\frac{0}{0}$  zhes zhus pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  mkhan  
 slob gnyis kyis gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  kyee chos skyong ba'i rgyal  
 po  $\frac{0}{0}$  dam pa'i chos bsgyur bar 'dod na  $\frac{0}{0}$  lo tsā mang po  
 zhis rgya gar du rdzang (f. 3a) dgos pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  sgra slob  
 pa'i gzhon nu mang po bsags shig gsungs pa dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal  
 pos bod kyis byis pa blo rno ba mang po bsdus te mkhan  
 slob gnyis kyis spyang sngar phul ba la  $\frac{0}{0}$  mkhan pos sgra  
 bsalab pa'i thog mar  $\frac{0}{0}$  na mo buidha ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  na mo dharma ya  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 na mo sam gha ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  gyis gsungs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  byis pa rnams na re  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 ma mo bhu ha ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  ma mo bib ha ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  ma mo sa sa ya  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 ma shes zer te sgra skad tshad du ma 'khyol  $\frac{0}{0}$  yang slob  
 dpon gyis  $\frac{0}{0}$  na mo gu ru we  $\frac{0}{0}$  na mo de wa ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  na mo dā ki  
 ni ye gyis gsungs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  byis pa na re  $\frac{0}{0}$  ma mo ga hu ya  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 ma mo gre pa ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  ma mo ba kyis ya  $\frac{0}{0}$  zer te bod kyis byis pa  
 kha lce ma bde bas sgra tshad du ma 'khyol lo  $\frac{0}{0}$  der gu rus  
 rgyal po la lung bstan pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  spa skor gyi yul na he 'dod  
 kyis bu gan jag thang ta bya ba yod kyis gsungs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de bkug ste bsam yas su phyag phebs  $\frac{0}{0}$  gtsang legs grub  
 dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  gan jag thang ta gnyis la mkhan slob gnyis sgra  
 bsalabs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  tshad du 'khyol nas rgya gar du chos 'thsol  
 ba la btang bas  $\frac{0}{0}$  bka'  $\frac{0}{0}$  dka'  $\frac{0}{0}$  ba bcu drug spyad de rgya  
 gar du brdol  $\frac{0}{0}$  shri sing ha la sogs mkhas pa nyer lnga  
 mjal  $\frac{0}{0}$  phyi sde snod nang gsang sngags  $\frac{0}{0}$  'bras bu bla med  
 kyis chos bka' rnams yongs su rdzogs par zhus  $\frac{0}{0}$  slar (f. 3b)  
 log bsam yas su phyag phebs tshe  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgya gar gyi gcan  
 'phrang bas kskul te  $\frac{0}{0}$  dmar rgyan gyis gtso byas bdud blon  
 rnams kyis  $\frac{0}{0}$  sangs rgyas gnyis pa bee ro tsa nas bod du  
 chos bsgyur ba'i dbang ma byung bar chu la bskur  $\frac{0}{0}$  mtha'  
 la spyugs byas pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po thugs ma dgyes bzhin du  
 spyugs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  bod du sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa byung dus  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bee ro tsa na mtha' la spyugs pa'i le'u ste gnyis pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$

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de dus chos rgyal la jo mo bzhi yod de  $\frac{0}{0}$  zhag gsum  
 gsum gyi bsyen bkur byed kyin yod pa las rgyal pos  
 lo gsum gyi bar dmar rgyan gyi sar bsnyen bkur la ma  
 byon pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i dus na dmar rgyan ma 'dod pa rgyas te  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 khyi dang ra mthong nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  thog khar sgo khyi la spyad  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  'og khang du ra la spyad pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  zla ba dgu ngo bcu na  
 dmar rgyan gyi lus la khye'u yod pa kun gyis tshor ste  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 mi mang rnams kyis gcig gleng gayis gleng kun gyis shes  
 par gleng ngo  $\frac{0}{0}$  der dmar rgyan la nang blon gcig yod pa  
 la  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal pos dmar rgyan gyi pho brang du ni ma byon par  
 lo gsum song  $\frac{0}{0}$  da nang blon min pa gzhan su yod zer zhing  
 gleng pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  nang blon la rgyal po'i khrims 'phog gis dogs



'jigs shing sdug bsngal gyis non par gyur pa la  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 ra khyu ded pa'i rdzi bos mthong ste smras pa  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 nged rang gi rgyal po'i (f. 4a) jo mo dmar rgyan ni  
 'og khang na ra dang sbyor ba byed kyin yod do zer bas  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  yang sprang phrug gcig na re  $\frac{0}{0}$  ngas kyang mthong  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 pho brang steng du khyi khrid de sbyor ba byed kyin yod  
 zer ro  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas zla dgu ngo bcu nas bu gcig btsas par  
 gyur te  $\frac{0}{0}$  yum gyis lo dgu'i bar du gsang nas sos so  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 der chos rgyal gyis tshor te  $\frac{0}{0}$  'phrin blon la 'phrin  
 bsring te  $\frac{0}{0}$  dmar rgyan khyod la bu zhig yod zer ba bdag  
 gis thos pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  de bdag la phul cig rgyal srid gtad par }  
 bya'o zhes pa bsring pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  der bsam yas ne gsing chen por  
 khrom dmar nag 'dus pa'i dbus su 'bul bcug pas dmar rgyan  
 gyis phul te  $\frac{0}{0}$  de yang rgyal po'i rigs brgyud dang mi  
 mthun pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  ra'i mgo la kha 'tshul khyi 'dra ba zhig 'dug  
 pa las  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal pos btsun mo la zhe gnag byas te  $\frac{0}{0}$  'bangs  
 rnams bsdud nas dmar rgyan gyi bu 'di ni bod yul phung  
 ba'i ltas ngan yin par 'dug pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  'di bdag cag rje 'bangs  
 rnams kyi glud du mtha' la spyug go 'gsungs nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  bod kyi  
 bandhe dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  sngags pa dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  bon po rnams bsags nas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 mdos chog mang po byed du bcug cing  $\frac{0}{0}$  khyi kha ra thod  
 la bdud blon rnams dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  yum dmar rgyan gyi 'bangs mi  
 rnams 'bangs su gtad de  $\frac{0}{0}$  (f. 4b) gos dum rgyab na 'bru  
 sna'i sgye mo re thogs pa re re gyon du bcug nas mtha'  
 la spyugs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas khyi kha ra thod rnams kyis lho brag  
 sgyid ces bya bar lo bcu gsum bsdad dus  $\frac{0}{0}$  yang rgyal pos  
 tshor te dmag drangs nas yul bton no  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas khyi kha ra  
 thod rje 'bangs rnams mon mkhan pa lung du yul thon no  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de dus rgyal po'i btsun mo mendhe bzang mo la 'khrungs  
 pa'i sras mu khri btsan po la rgyal srid gtad pas dmar  
 rgyan gyis phrag dog byas te gsol gyis bkrongs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 rgyal po mya ngan gyis non  $\frac{0}{0}$  dmar rgyan la chad pa phab  
 ste  $\frac{0}{0}$  gtsang po yar rgyab gra gzhung gi mdar yul bton pas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 dmar rgyan gyis sgra tshad kyi gtsug lag khang bzhengs  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 rab gnas la mkhan po zhi ba 'tsho spyen drangs  $\frac{0}{0}$  dmar  
 rgyan gyis phyi mjug bka' gdams ma gtogs gsang sngags mi  
 dar ba'i smon lam btab bo  $\frac{0}{0}$  dmar rgyan yum sras la chad  
 pa phog pa'i le'u ste gsum pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$

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/sbas yul mkhan pa ljongs kyi gnas bstan pa ste le'u bzhi  
 pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$  /

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de nas yul der rgyal po khyi kha ra thod rje 'bangs kyis  
 bsdad tshul ni  $\frac{0}{0}$  yang re lung du rgyal po'i pho brang  
 bzung  $\frac{0}{0}$  bye dkar lung du bzo rigs  $\frac{0}{0}$  rig pa dang bon  
 po'i sdod sa bzung  $\frac{0}{0}$  lung srol dang ri 'dabs rnams la  
 blon 'bangs dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  'khor rnams kyis sdod sa bzung ngo  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de dus ku re lung dang mon phyogs thams cad rgya gar  
 ba'i yul du yod do  $\frac{0}{0}$  sdod khyim thams cad kyang smyug ma  
 dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  rtza khyim  $\frac{0}{0}$  shing khyim du yod do  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i (f. 6b)  
 rgyal po'i pho brang yang shing las grub pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  ka gzhu  
 ka rgyan  $\frac{0}{0}$  gdung gdung khebs  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgya phibs kyis thog dang  
 bcas pa rgya che la 'phangs mtho ba  $\frac{0}{0}$  rin po che'i rtsi  
 mang po byugs nas 'od 'phro ba byas pa la  $\frac{0}{0}$  skar khung  
 dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  sgo mang dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgya mthong rab gsal dang bcas pa'i  
 bkod pas mdzes par bkod pa la  $\frac{0}{0}$  lcags ri sum skor du yod  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sgo mo che gnyis su yod  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i phyi la 'bangs 'khor dud  
 khyim brgya drug cu re gcig gis bskor te yod pa la  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de'i nang du rgyal po dpon g.yog 'khor dang bcas pa  
 bzhugs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  de yang rgya bod kyis so mtshams yin pas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 yar mar gyi tshong skyas  $\frac{0}{0}$  bskyas pas nor dang longs  
 spyod bsam gyis mi khyab pa byung ngo  $\frac{0}{0}$  sdod khyim thams  
 cad kyang rgya bod kyis lugs 'dres mar byas so  $\frac{0}{0}$  'khor  
 'bangs rnams kyis yul grong yang de bzhin du byas so  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de yang yang re lung du yul tshan bcu gsum yod  $\frac{0}{0}$  bye dkar  
 lung na bon po ye shes thod dkar bya ba bon 'phrul sum  
 brgya drug cu la mnga' brnyes pa yod pa des bkra shis  
 rdzong mkhar zhes bya ba'i yul gcig bzung ste longs spyod  
 che bar byas so  $\frac{0}{0}$  der bon yul gyi thog drangs grong tshan  
 bdun 'dzin no  $\frac{0}{0}$  de yang phu na (f. 7a) 'bri gnag ra lug  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  mda' na ba glang  $\frac{0}{0}$  bar du lug rta ra gsum sogs byol song  
 dang dkor nor bsam gyis mi khab par byas so  $\frac{0}{0}$  der rgyal po  
 rje 'bangs rnams kyis longs spyod 'byor pa dang ldan par lo  
 drug cu re gcig bsdad do  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas khyi kha ra thod kyis  
 bod du yab la dmag drangs rtsis byas te  $\frac{0}{0}$  'bangs 'khor  
 rnams bsdus nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal pos 'bangs rnams la bka' stsal  
 pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  bdag gi phas khyi kha ra thod nga mtha' la spyugs  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 yum yul gtan 'don byas pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  da res rgya dmag bsdus nas  
 dmag drangs dgos so byas te  $\frac{0}{0}$  rje 'bangs rnams kyis rgya  
 dmag bsdud bsam yas su dmag drangs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i dus su chos  
 rgyal khri srong lde'u btsan gshegs nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  mu tig btsan  
 pos rgyal srid mgo bzung tsam yod pa las  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyan dang mu  
 tig btsan po yar lung shel gyi brag phug na bzhugs yod pas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bsam yas su rgya dmag gis sleb pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyan gyis mkhyen te  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 gu rus gnam thil dkar po bskul nas thog mda' bdun phab pas  
 dmag rnams dngangs shing 'dar nas rang yul du myur bar log  
 go  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po khyi kha ra thod kyis sbas yul mkhan ljongs  
 su yul (f. 7b) bzung ba'i le'u ste lnga pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$

de' dus su  $\frac{0}{0}$  sras mu tig btsan pos zhus pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  kyee slob  
 dpon chen po lags  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po khyi kha ra thod 'di yul ma  
 bton na yab mes kyi gtsug lag khang 'di rnams la gnod pa  
 yang yang byed par 'dug pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  'di mkhan pa ljongs su yang  
 mi bzahag par  $\frac{0}{0}$  yul 'don pa'i thabs shig zhu 'tshal  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 zhes zhus pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyan padmas sbas yul mkhan pa  
 ljongs su byon te  $\frac{0}{0}$  mi nag po 'jigs su rung ba zhig tu  
 sprul nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po'i drung du 'di skad gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 kyee rje mu rum btsan po  $\frac{0}{0}$  khyed rje 'bangs rnams kyi bla  
 ma ngas bya yis  $\frac{0}{0}$  nged rang yon mchod mthun par byas nas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 gsang sngags 'dzin pa'i phyogs rnams pham par byed  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bsam yas la sogs gtsug lag khang rnams 'jig cing chu la  
 'bo bar bya'o byas pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po'i thugs dgongs la  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 'di zog po padma 'byung gnas kyi rdzu 'phrul yin pa'ang  
 srid  $\frac{0}{0}$  yin na da res chad pa zhig bcad dgos bsam te smras  
 pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  mi nag po khyod zog po padma 'byung gnas khi cho  
 'phrul ma yin nam  $\frac{0}{0}$  yin na sngon chad kyang khyod kyis  
 nga la gnod sems mang po byas  $\frac{0}{0}$  da rung khyod kyis nga la  
 gnod pa skyel bar 'dug (f. 8a) pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  blon po rnams kyis de  
 bzung la gsod cig byas pa dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  mi nag po de na re  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 da lta bsam yas na yod pa'i padma 'byung gnas 'di dang  
 nga gnyis mi 'cham  $\frac{0}{0}$  nga mu stegs kyi slob dpon ha ra nag  
 po bya ba yin  $\frac{0}{0}$  kho'i bstan pa la nga ci gnod byed pa yin  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 de bas rgyal po khyod dang kho yon mchod so sor yod zer bas  
 $\frac{0}{0}$  nga khyod kyi stobs la brten nas kho'i bstan pa 'joms dgos  
 snyam ste rgya gar nas 'ong pa yin  $\frac{0}{0}$  nged rang yon mchod  
 gnyis bka' bgros mdzad nas kho'i bstan pa la ci gnod bya'o  
 zer bas  $\frac{0}{0}$  yang rgyal pos  $\frac{0}{0}$  'o na khyod kyis rdzu 'phrul  
 zhig ston dang byas pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po'i pho brang gi lho nub  
 mtshams na rdo leb gzhong pa 'dra ba gcig yod pa'i steng  
 du gar mdzad pas zhabs rjes bco brgyad byon no  $\frac{0}{0}$  des rgyal  
 po thugs ches par gyur te zhus pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  kyee slob dpon chen po  
 lags bdag gi pha khri srong lde'u btsan dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  padma 'byung  
 gnas gnyis kyis bzhengs pa'i gtsug lag khang lta bu zhig  
 'dir bzhengs par zhu zhus pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  slob dpon gyis gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 kyee rgyal po chen po  $\frac{0}{0}$  khri srong lde'u btsan dang  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 padma 'byung gnas kyis bsam yas bzhengs pa de  $\frac{0}{0}$  bod du  
 khyad 'phags (f. 8b) par byed do  $\frac{0}{0}$  nged gnyis de bas ya  
 mtshan pa zhig bzhengs pas rgyal po rang nga'i ngag la  
 nyon cig gsungs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po na re de las ya mtshan pa  
 zhig byung na khyed kyis gang mdzad la nyan zer bas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 slob dpon gyis zhal nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  'o na nged rang yon mchod shing  
 gi bya khyung mkha' la 'phur thub pa zhig bzhengs nas de'i  
 khog pa'i nang du rgyal po dpon g.yog lnga brgya tshud par  
 byed cing  $\frac{0}{0}$  de la skar khung dang bar mtshams mang po bcad  
 nas gzhal yas khang gi rnam pa byas pa'i nang du thab kha  
 mang po bzung nas longs spyod dang 'byor pa bsam gyis mi  
 khyab pa byas nas lha mi'i 'jig rten na 'di las khyad

'phags pa med zer ba zhig bya'o gsungs nas rgyal po  
 thugs dgyes te 'o de bzhin du bya'o zer nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  shing  
 gi bzo rig pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa bsdus nas bya khyung  
 che la 'phangs mtho ba zhig byas so  $\frac{0}{0}$  de la rlung bskyod  
 pa dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  'dzin pa'i gzer mgo gnyis su byas pa na  $\frac{0}{0}$  slob  
 dpon gyis gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po rje 'bangs rnams de ring  
 bya khyung gi rab gnas la tshogs shig gsungs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  rje  
 'bangs rnams gcig kyang ma lus par bya khyung gi khog  
 par zhugs nas bza' btung gi longs spyod glū gar la (f. 9a)  
 sogs byed kyin yod pa la  $\frac{0}{0}$  slob dpon gyis gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 rgyal po rje 'bangs  $\frac{0}{0}$  bdag la gson cig  $\frac{0}{0}$  ya mtshan pa'i  
 rtags 'gul ba dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  'khrig-pa dang  $\frac{0}{0}$  'dar ba sogs gang  
 byung yang ma 'jigs par bde bar sdod cig gsungs nas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 slob dpon gyis bya khyung gi steng du byon nas  $\frac{0}{0}$  phyag  
 gnyis su lcags kyi dbyug tho re re thogs nas mi 'dod pa'i  
 rlung skyod pa'i gzer gnyis brdungs pas bya khyung nam  
 mkha' la 'phur nas song ngo  $\frac{0}{0}$  de dus rgyal pos khyi skad  
 lhang lhang cig thos pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  blo ma bde bar tshig bcad smras  
 pa  $\frac{0}{0}$

kyee bdag gi steng gi zog po padma 'byung  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sangs rgyas yin zer sems can gnod pa byed  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 gzhan don yin zer min lōg mgo bskor mkhan  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bdag gis khyod la gnod pa ma byas kyis  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 byas pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  0 rgyan gyis gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$  }

kyee khyi kha ra thod bdag la gson  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 log par lta ba dmar rgyan bu  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 yab kyi rigs brgyud khyod la med  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 khyod ni byol song gnyis kyi bu  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 mu stegs rgyal po rmu rgod mkhan  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 da lta'i khyi skad zer ba de  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 rgya gar rtsa lung khyi skad yin  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 zhes gsungs pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  yang khyi kha ra thod kyis smras pa  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 kyee mgo bskor mkhan gyi zog po (f. 9b) gson  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 yab rgyal blon gyis mgo bskor bas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bdag cag yum sras mtha' la spyugs  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sangs rgyas yin zer bod sdug gtad  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 snying rje bsgom zer bdag nyid mtha' la spyugs  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 spyugs pa mi tshad yul 'don byed pa 'di  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sdig dpon yin yang 'di 'dra ngas ma mthong  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 la yogs bden na zog po'i steng du thong  $\frac{0}{0}$

zer ba la  $\frac{0}{0}$  0 rgyan gyis gsungs pa  $\frac{0}{0}$

kyee byol song phru gu khyi kha ra thod nyon  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 lta log ma mad gnyis kyis bod yul du  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 yab kyi bka' bcag bdud blon dbang bsgyur nas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 bee ro la sogs sgra bsgyur lo tsā rnams  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 mtha' la spyugs pas dam chos nyi ma nub  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 dmag drangs chos rgyal gtsug lag bshig par brtsams  $\frac{0}{0}$

thub na nga yang gzod pa'i bsam ngan yod  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 phyi mjug sangs rgyas bstan pa brlag bsam pas  $\frac{0}{0}$   
 sems can don du sdig rgyal yul 'don no  $\frac{0}{0}$

gsungs nas mi 'dod pa'i rlung g.yo ba'i gzer rnams rim par  
 brdungs pas skad cig de nyid la bum thang dkar nya bya ba'i  
 yul du sleb bo  $\frac{0}{0}$  'dod pa'i rlung 'dzin pa'i gzer brdungs  
 pas  $\frac{0}{0}$  sa la babs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  der bzhag nas O rgyan gyi rdzu 'phrul  
 gyis slar mkhan pa ljongs su phebs  $\frac{0}{0}$  rje 'bangs (f. 10a)  
 kyi dkor rnams gter du sbas  $\frac{0}{0}$  mkhan pa ljongs kyi sa  
 phyogs mi mthong bar phyi nang gsang ba'i rgyas bsdams nas  
 gnas kyi gter bdag rnams la gnyer gtad bka' bsgos nas  
 bzhag go  $\frac{0}{0}$  dus la ma bab par sus kyang mi mthong bar byas  
 so  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas rgyal po rje 'bangs rnams kyis btsal yang rnyed  
 par ma gyur to  $\frac{0}{0}$  de nas khyi kha ra thod rje 'bangs rnams  
 kyis stang gi khyi tshums la yul bzung nas yun ring du  
 bsdad do  $\frac{0}{0}$  O rgyan gyis bum thang lcags mkhar du rgyal po  
 senta rā dza'i bla mar byon nas rdo rje brtsegs pa'i brag  
 la dgongs pa la bzhugs so  $\frac{0}{0}$  rgyal po khyi kha ra thod  
 'khor bcas mkhan pa ljongs nas yul bton pa'i le'u ste  
 drug pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$

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[/dus bstan pa'i le' ste bdun pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$ ]  
 [/sgo 'byed pa'i le'u ste brgyad pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$ ]  
 [/phyi nang ba'i rgya dkrol thabs kyi le'u ste dgu pa'o  $\frac{0}{0}$ ]  
 [/lam yig gi le'u ste bcu pa 'o  $\frac{0}{0}$ ]  
 [/gnas de'i yon tan bstan pa ni  $\frac{0}{0}$ ]

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Ch.I: ff. 1a-2a Guide to the Hidden Land of mKhan-  
pa-ljongs, the Treasure of Padma  
Gling-pa, from the ritual collec-  
tion of the Klong-gsal /gsang-ba  
snying-bcud is contained herein.

Ch.I: ff. 1b-2a Eleven indecipherable letters in  
mkha'-'gro brda-yig

Obeisance to the mahācārya Padma  
 'Byung-gnas.

This guide to the hidden land of mKhan-pa-ljongs  
 Was reported to O-rgyan Padma himself<sup>9</sup>  
 At the solitary retreat of lCags-phur-can<sup>9</sup>  
 By me, the girl Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal, such as I am.  
 It is set in writing for the sake of future generations.  
 May it meet the destined son !

Sa-ma-ya

The hidden land of mKhan-pa-ljongs is west of the  
 three Seng-ge rdzong of Ne-rings,<sup>10</sup> north of the  
 near road (? mtha'-nye-lam), east of the pastoral  
 land of mTshams-pa,<sup>11</sup> south of Gro-bo-lung.<sup>12</sup> To  
 the south-east lies the Indian rTsang-lung,<sup>13</sup> to  
 the south-west Bum-thang sTang, to the north-west  
 rDzi-ba-lung,<sup>14</sup> to the north-east Seng-ge-ri;<sup>14</sup>  
 it lies at the collective centre of all these places.  
 It has four gates: one gate leads from Bum-thang  
 sTang, one gate from the pastoral land of mTshams-sa  
= -pa, one gate from Gro-bo-lung, and one gate  
 from mKho-mthing<sup>15</sup>. Thus it has four gates. In  
 previous times, from the beginning, it was an  
 empty valley. It lay on the border of Tibet and  
 India.

The first chapter delineating the  
 boundaries of the hidden land.

Ch.II: ff. 2a-3b

As for the account of how humans resided In  
 mKhan-pa-ljongs: The king who protected religion  
 called Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan<sup>15</sup> was born to Khri-rje  
 bTsan-po Khri lDe-gtsug-brtan, his father, and to  
 Ma-shang = Kim-sheng Kong-jö his mother, these  
 two, at Glorious bSam-yas of Brag-dmar which lies  
 at the centre of Tibet, the general realm of Himavat.  
 At the age of eleven he took bza' dMar-rgyan as his  
 consort. Up to the age of thirteen and fifteen the  
 forces of Hor came and fought. At the age of

seventeen in the Year of the Bull, the idea of building bSam-yas came to his mind and the abbot Zhi-ba-'tsho /Sāntarakṣita/ was invited from Za-hor /Mandi/; although he /tried to/ tame the land, it could not be tamed. Subsequently the ācārya Padma was invited from India and he blessed the ground. He bound to oaths all the proud gods and demons. One hundred and eight temples with three kinds of roof-tiers at their top were built. After their consecration had been completed the king beat the great drum of the law and requested the abbot and the ācārya to sit on golden and silver thrones which he had set up in the centre of the great sword of bSam-yas. Once the red and black crowds (?) had assembled, the king offered golden and silver mandalas and declared: "Oh abbot and ācārya both, please consider my words. After completing the construction of these temples as a physical support, the holy Dharma must be translated as a verbal support." The abbot and ācārya both replied: "Oh king who guards the faith ! If you should desire the holy religion to be translated, many translators must be sent to India. Collect together plenty of youths to study Sanskrit (sgra). " Having gathered lots of Tibetan children of sharp intelligence, the king offered them to the sight of both the abbot and the ācārya. The abbot, at the start of his Sanskrit lesson, announced: "Na-mo Buddha-ya. Na-mo dharma-ya. Na-mo saṃgha-ya." The children recited: "Na-mo bhu-ha-ya. Ma-mo bib-ha-ya. Ma-mo sa-sa-ya. We don't know it." They could not get the sound of the Sanskrit right. Thereupon the Guru prophesied to the king: "In the land of sPa-skor is the son of He-'dod called Gan-jag-thang-ta." He was summoned and came to bSam-yas. The abbot and the ācārya both taught Sanskrit to Gan-jag-thang-ta and to gTsang Legs-grub and once they had become proficient they were sent to India in search of religion. After undergoing sixteen austerities they reached India. They met twenty-five scholars including Shri Sing-ha /Śrīśiṃha/ . They received in their entirety the external Pitaka, the internal Mantrayāna and the result /of both in the/ teachings of the Anuttara/-yoga/ . Returning once more, when they had come to bSam-yas the demon-ministers with dMar-rgyan at their head were induced by the Indian gcan-'phrang (?) to declare, so as to prevent the power of the dharma translated by Bee-ro-tsa-na /Vairocana = Gan-jag-thang-ta/ the Second Buddha, from growing in Tibet, that he should /either/ be drowned /or/ exiled to the border. The king unhappily exiled him.

The second chapter in which Bee-ro-tsa-na was exiled to the border at the time when the Buddha's teachings came to Tibet.

Ch.III: ff. 3b-4b7

At that time the king had four consorts and he used to pay each of them honour for three days at a time, but for three years he did not go to dMar-rgyan's place to do her honour. At that time dMar-rgyan-ma's lust increased and, seeing a dog and a goat, she consorted with the guard-dog on the top floor of her palace and with the goat on the ground floor. After nine or ten months everyone knew that dMar-rgyan was carrying a child in her body; many people talked about it one to another so that everyone came to know and discussed it. Now dMar-rgyan had a household official and it was said that because three years had gone by since the king had been to dMa-rgyan's palace, who could it have been if not the household official? So the household official was greatly troubled, fearful that the king's law would be visited upon him. However, a goat-herd seeing him so distressed said: "Our king's consort, dMar-rgyan, copulated with a goat on the groundfloor." Also a beggar boy declared: "I too saw her leading a dog to the top of the palace and copulating with it." Then after nine or ten months a son was born and for nine years he was brought up in secret by his mother. Then the dharmaraja learned about it and sent a message through the Minister of Messages: "dMar-rgyan, I have heard that you have a son. Give him to me and I will endow him with authority." Thereupon, being compelled to offer him in the centre of the red and black crowd which had assembled on the great sward of bSam-yas, dMar-rgyan offered him. As it turned out that he was not of the same lineage as the king, but instead was someone who had the head of a goat and a mouth resembling that of a dog, the king let loose his loathing upon the queen. Assembling his subjects, he declared: "This son of dMar-rgyan is very likely an evil presage of calamity for the land of Tibet. He will therefore be banished to the border as a scapegoat or ransom for all of us, lord and subjects." Having collected together the Buddhist monks, tantric priests, and Bon-po of Tibet, they were compelled to perform many thread-cross rituals. The demon-ministers and the personal subjects of his mother were committed to Khyi-kha Ra-thod ('Dog-mouth Goat-skull') as his subjects. Each was made to wear rags (? gos-dum)<sup>17</sup> and carry a bag on his back containing various kinds of seeds, and so they were banished to the border. Then after Khyi-kha Ra-thod, the lord and his subjects, had resided for three years at a place called sGyid<sup>18</sup> in lHo-brag, the king became aware that they had led forth an army and left their home. Thereupon Khyi-kha Ra-thod, lord and subjects, were expelled to Mon mKhan-pa-lung. At that time Mu-khri bTsan-po, the son born to the king's consort Mandhe bZang-mo (?) was conferred with authority. dMar-rgyan was so jealous that she killed him with poisoned food. This caused the king great grief and he imposed a punishment upon dMar-rgyan, expelling her to the lower part of Yar-rgyab Gra-gzhung<sup>19</sup> on the bank of the gTsang-po river.



There dMar-rgyan built the temple of sGra-tshad and invited the abbot Zhi-ba-'tsho [Sāntarakṣita] to perform the consecration. dMar-rgyan made an aspiration to the effect that, with the exception of the future bKa'-gdams[-pa] School, the mantrayāna should not come to flourish.

The third chapter in which punishments were imposed upon dMar-rgyan, mother and son.

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[Ch.IV: ff. 4b-6a]

[The fourth chapter revealing the sites of the hidden land of mKhan-pa-ljongs" is omitted since it adds nothing to the narrative.]

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[Ch.V: ff. 6a-7b]

Now, as for the manner in which Khyi-kha Ra-thod, the lord and his subjects, stayed in that country: The king's palace was established in Yang-re-lung. The habitations of the craftsmen and of the Bon-po were established in Bye-dkar-lung. The habitations of the officers and subjects and of the retinue were established in the valleys (? lung-srol) and on the sides of the mountains. At that time Ku-re-lung and all the regions of Mon were the home of Indians and all their houses were made of bamboo, grass or wood. The palace of their king [Khyi-kha Ra-thod] was also made of wood. It was built of broad dimensions and of great height, having decorated pillar-capitals, projecting beams and a roof ornament and, being annointed with precious extracts, it shone with light. It was beautifully arranged with certain features including windows, many doors and balconies and was surrounded by three walls and had two main gates. Outside there were one hundred and sixty-one houses surrounding it for the subjects and retinue. Inside resided the king together with his servants and followers. Since the place was on the border of India and Tibet the trade up and down was conveyed there and so an inconceivable wealth and prosperity arose. All the houses were built in a mixture of the Tibetan and Indian styles. The settlements of the retinue and subjects were also built in a similar fashion. Thus there were thirteen villages in Yang-re-lung. In Bye-dkar-lung a Bon-po called Ye-shes Thod-dkar<sup>20</sup> gained power over three hundred and sixty Bon-po magicians (? bon-'phrul) and, having settled in a place called bKra-shis rDzong-mkhar, he enjoyed great prosperity. He took control over seven villages having the Bon village at their head. At the top end of the valley, black female yaks ('bri-gnag), goats and sheep, and at the bottom

end cows and bulls, and in the middle part sheep, horses and goats, [these] three - a vast number of animals and much material wealth was gained. Then the king and his subjects resided for sixty-one years in a state of rich prosperity. Then Khyi-kha Ra-thod conceived a plan to lead an army to Tibet against his father and, having assembled the subjects and retinue, the king commanded his subjects: "My father banished me, Khyi-kha Ra-thod, to the border and expelled my mother from her fixed home. Now the Indian forces must be collected and an invasion made." The lord and subjects assembled the Indian forces and then bSam-yas was invaded. At that time the dharmarāja Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan had died and Mu-tig bTsan-po had just begun his reign. O-rgyan and Mu-tig bTsan-po were residing in the Crystal Cave of Yar-lung and when the Indian forces arrived at bSam-yas, O-rgyan knew it. The Guru induced [the god] gNam-thil dKar-po<sup>21</sup> to cast seven lightning flashes which caused the soldiers to return in haste to their own home, trembling in fear.

The fifth chapter in which Khyi-kha Ra-thod made a home in the hidden land of mKhan-pa-ljongs.

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[Ch.VI: ff. 7b-10a]

At that time Prince Mu-tig bTsan-po declared: "Oh mahacārya, if King Khyi-kha Ra-thod is not expelled from his home he will commit injuries to these ancestral temples again and again. I beg you therefore for a means of expelling him from his home so as not to leave him even in mKhan-pa-ljongs." Thereupon O-rgyan Padma went to the hidden land of mKhan-pa-ljongs and, having transformed himself into a fearsome black man,<sup>22</sup> he declared these words to the king: "Oh, Lord Mu-rum bTsan-po! I shall act as the lama of you, lord and subjects. After we, priest and patron, have come to full accord we shall defeat all those who hold to the side of the Mantrayāna. We shall destroy the temples including bSam-yas and shall cause water to spill over them (? chu-la 'bo-bar bya'o).". The king thought to himself: "It's possible that this person is a magical apparition of the fraud Padma 'Byung-gnas. If he is, then a punishment must be meted upon him now." Thinking this, he declared: "Aren't you, black man, the phantom of the fraud Padma 'Byung-gnas? If you are, then since you sought to do me harm many times in the past you must now be wanting to harm me again." On commanding the ministers to seize and kill him, the black man said: "The Padma 'Byung-gnas who is now at bSam-yas and I are not on good terms. I am the heretical teacher called Ha-ra Nag-po. I commit whatever injuries I can against his teachings. Therefore, since it is said that you the king and he have bad

relations, I have come from India in the hope of defeating his teachings on the strength of your power. After we, priest and patron, have consulted together we shall injure his teachings in whatever way we can." Then the king said: "Now you show a miracle." So the Guru danced upon a flat stone shaped like a basin at a point south-west of the king's palace and eighteen footprints were left upon it. So the king gained faith in him and said: "Oh mahācārya, I beg you to build here a temple such as my father Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan and Padma 'Byung-gnas have built." The ācārya replied: "Oh great king, the bSam-yas temple which Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan and Padma 'Byung-gnas built is the most excellent in Tibet, but we two can build an even more wondrous one. So listen, king, to my words." The king said: "If you can make an even more wondrous one, then I shall listen to whatever you tell me to do." The ācārya said: "Then let us, priest and patron, build a wooden garuḍa that can fly in the sky, made so that the king and his retinue to the number of five hundred can enter into its belly. It should be made in the style of a heavenly palace, divided up with windows and partitions. Many hearths should be fixed within. We shall make it so splendid and rich that it will be said that no more excellent thing exists in the world of gods and humans." The king was delighted. "Oh we shall do it," he said. A vast number of wood-craftsmen were assembled and a garuḍa of broad and lofty dimensions was made. When two nail-heads had been made in it, one to seize the wind<sup>23</sup>, the ācārya said: "May the king and the subjects all assemble today for the consecration of the garuḍa." The lord and the subjects without exception therefore entered the belly of the garuḍa. While they were enjoying themselves with food and drink, singing, dancing and so forth, the ācārya declared: "King and subjects, listen to me. Whatever strange signs appear such as trembling, rolling (? 'khrig-pa = 'khri-ba), shaking and so on, sit back comfortably without fear." The ācārya went to the top of the garuḍa and, holding an iron club in each hand, he struck the two nails which agitated the unwanted wind so that the garuḍa flew up into the sky and departed. At that time the king heard the clear bark of a dog. Feeling disturbed, he declared in verse:

"Oh the fraud Padma 'Byung-gnas who is above me  
Is said to be a Buddha but commits injuries upon  
sentient beings.

He's said to act for the benefit of others but  
is really a cheat.

I have done you no harm."

O-rgyan replied:

"Oh Khyi-kha Ra-thod, listen to me.  
Son of the perverse dMar-rgyan,  
You do not possess your father's lineage.  
You are the son of two animals,  
The king of heretics, a wild barbarian.  
That sound of a dog's bark just now  
Was actually in the dog-language of the  
Indian rTsa-lung [= rTsang-lung]."



- [Ch.VII: f.10a-b] ["The seventh chapter which reveals the time (when the door to the hidden land is to be opened up)."]
- [Ch.VIII: ff.10b-11a] ["The eighth chapter (concerning the person who will) open the door."]
- [Ch.IX f.11a-b] ["The ninth chapter (concerning the method of undoing the outer, inner and secret seals."]
- [Ch.X: ff.11b-12b] ["The tenth chapter (containing the itinerary (to the hidden land)."]
- [ff. 12b-13a] ["An account of the qualities of that place."]
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The legend as we have it here is a compound of several themes linked by their common leit-motif of expulsion and recovery. Although brought together in a manner that is dramatically so convincing as to obscure the manner of their linking, to separate the various strands and locate their probable origin in other sources is not a difficult task. If for us these elements emerge to cover the whole spectrum of historical, quasi-historical and mythological fact, the story itself will always stand for its traditional audience as an account of 'what actually happened'. Since the historical consciousness helps to determine a people's view of its place in the world, and because that view, in turn, acts as an important factor in its reactions to events that are truly historical, the exercise of unravelling such a legend is by no means without relevance to historical studies per se. The term "syncretism" has been applied by Stein (1959a) to the formation of the Ge-sar epic in Tibet, representing as it does a huge and marvellous amalgam of heterogeneous themes; the more concentrated aim of the gter-ston, and the homogeneity of the themes present in this short legend would here incline one more to the term "synthesism".

#### 1) The expulsion of Vairocana

The basis of the Khyi-kha Ra-thod story is formed by the legend of Vairocana, a disciple of Padmasambhava, as it appears in two of the gter-ma of O-rgyah Gling-pa (born in 1323), namely the well-known bTsun-mo bka'-thang and Padma thang-yig. The development of the legend in these and other works has recently been summarised by Anne-Marie Blondeau (1976), and the question of Vairocana's sojourn in India has

been studied by Karmay (1975a). Vairocana's importance for the rNying-ma-pa rests largely on the fact that he is regarded as the person who introduced the rDzogs-chen ("Great Perfection") tradition into Tibet from India where he is supposed to have received it from a certain Śrīsimha. Karmay (1975a: 149) concludes, however, that the traditional account of Vairocana's meeting with Śrīsimha cannot be found in texts earlier than the 13th century.<sup>27</sup> This in itself is not sufficient to discount the likelihood of the story and it must be remembered that Vairocana was undoubtedly an historical figure, as he appears among the first seven Tibetans who received monastic ordination in bSam-yas, in sources that are generally accepted. According to the Padma thang-yig it is the jealousy of the Indian tantrists (the gcan-'phrang of our text) whom Vairocana met during his period of study which is the real cause of his expulsion from central Tibet to Tsha-ba-rong in eastern Tibet. The Indians, angered by his having taken away their secret doctrines, spread a rumour in Tibet to the effect that he has brought false and heretical doctrines. The king, who has a strong regard for Vairocana, does not want to kill him. However, he pretends to do so by putting a beggar boy disguised as Vairocana into a sealed pot which he throws into the gTsang-po. Everyone believes Vairocana is drowned. When Vairocana himself hears of it he suspects the boy has been used as a scapegoat (glud) to fool the Bon-po ministers. The boy is in fact recovered from the river by the castellan (mkhar-gyi bdag-po) of mKhar-stag 'Ol-ma in 'Ol-dga'. He is adopted, married to the daughter of the castellan and his descendants become the Grong-tsho family of rGyug-thang lHung-mi in 'Ol-dga' (Thang-yig, f. 216a). This sub-plot

echoes the theme of expulsion and discovery in the main plot which continues with Queen dMar-rgyan of the Tshes-spong clan stumbling upon the fact that Vairocana is still alive. She had followed the king under the suspicion that he had a lover, only to find out that he was visiting Vairocana in secret. She betrays this to the Bon-po ministers who this time compel the king to banish Vairocana to Tsha-ba-rong. The Padma thang-yig's explanation of why dMar-rgyan took this action seems to form the principal link with the variant version contained in the bTsun-mo bka'-thang, and ultimately with Padma Gling-pa's legend too. The Padma thang-yig offers the explanation more or less as an after-thought. Toussaint (1933 : 296) translates as follows:

Ces paroles de Parure-Rouge /dMar-rgyan/ avaient un motif.  
Vairocana était beau, extrêmement beau;  
la dame lui avait offert un rendez-vous et il n'était  
Par dépit elle le dénonçait. pas venu.

Hell has no fury like a woman scorned, but the feelings of amorous spite which compel dMar-rgyan to plot Vairocana's exile belong properly to the story of the bTsun-mo bka'-thang where we read that when Vairocana refuses to be seduced by dMar-rgyan, she rends her clothes and flees to the king in the pretence that she has been raped. Unwillingly, the king<sup>1</sup> is forced to banish him to Tsha-ba-rong. The above quotation from the Padma thang-yig appears to allude to this sequence of events in the bTsun-mo bka'-thang, but the relationship of these two texts is complicated by the fact that the former was 'recovered' in 1352 and the latter between 1384 and 1393 (Blondeau 1971 : 42). However, we owe it to Anne-Marie Blondeau's researches (1976: 116-119) that the sources of the bTsun-mo bka'thang are now much clearer, and in particular she has demonstrated that the story of dMar-rgyan's pretended rape has an exact parallel in the story of Yid-kyi Khye'u-chung



in the Bon-po text of the gZer-mig, to the extent that whole passages in the former text (and in other/of the <sup>volumes</sup> bka'-thang of O-rgyan-gling-pa) may be said to be direct plagiarisms from that work. She has further shown that this story in particular may derive from that of Putiphar's wife, which enjoyed a wide diffusion in Tibet through the medium of Indian Buddhist literature. Thus, if we accept the probable chronology of O-rgyan Gling-pa's texts, the quotation from the Padma thang-yig given above may derive more from the gter-ston's original source material than from an attempt to achieve consistency with the bTsun-mo bka'-thang; the latter amplified the theme in such a way as to overshadow the story of the jealous Indian teachers, which is elsewhere used to explain not only the expulsion of Vairocana to Tsha-ba-rong but also, for instance, that of Nam-mkha'i sNyung-po to mKhar-chu in lHo-brag on the Bhutan border (Thang-yig, f. 206b and Ferrari: 57, 138). Tucci conjectures that it must have been the Indian teacher Kamalaśīla (famous for his participation in the great debate of bSam-yas of 792-794) who engineered the expulsion of Vairocana. From Tsha-ba-rong he is said in the Vairo 'dra-bag to have proceeded to China where he studied the Ch'an teachings which, according to Tucci (1958: 110-11, 120-21), came to colour those of the rDzogs-chen in Tibet. This, however, leads us into a delicate area of speculation. Suffice it to say that the sequel to Vairocana's expulsion as found variously in the different texts all carry a note of strong optimism; the expulsion is turned to the ultimate profit of Buddhism. In Padma Gling-pa's legend, although the happy sequel is omitted in regard to Vairocana himself, it is more or less implicit in the tenor of all that follows.

2) The expulsion of Mu-rum (Mu-rug) and dMar-rgyan (Tshes-spong-bza')

On f. 7b of the gnas-yig above Khyi-kha Ra-thod is addressed as Mu-rum bTsan-po by the Guru who is trying to ingratiate himself with the 'king' in order to lull him into a trap. The identification of Khyi-kha Ra-thod with Mu-rum who was an historical figure, one of the four sons of Khri Srong-lde-btsan, takes one into vexed problems of succession and chronology covering the period from the abdication of Khri Srong-lde-btsan in 796/7 to the accession of his grandson, Ral-pa-can (Khri gTsug-lde-btsan) in 815. It is without doubt the most confusing period in early Tibetan history and has taxed the minds of many historians of Tibet, native and western.<sup>27</sup> Our text throws no light on these problems at all since it dates from such a late period and is of a purely legendary character. Nevertheless, it does reflect certain received traditions; the use to which these are put is of central interest to the development of the legend.

It seems to be generally accepted now that Khri Srong-lde-btsan had four sons: Mu-khri bTsan-po (firstborn who died young, son of the 'Chims queen, lHa-mo-btsan), Mu-ne bTsan-po, Mu-rum (or Mu-rug, Mu-rub) and Mu-tig bTsan-po (Sad-na-legs Khri lDe-srong-btsan), the last three being the sons of the Tshes-spong queen, dMar-rgyan (or perhaps more correctly, rMa-rgyal). In 796/7 the king handed over his authority to Mu-ne (in our text confused with Mu-Khri) and himself retired to Zung-mkhar. He also gave Mu-ne his Buddhist queen from the Pho-yong clan, rGyal-mo-btsun, probably as an attempt to protect her from the powerful Tshes-spong queen who seems to have been a Bon-po. Mu-ne, however, was killed by <sup>the latter</sup> / in 798 when his father was still

alive. The traditions which relate what followed are totally confused, particularly since Mu-rum and Mu-tig (and all their variant names) often seem to be confounded both with each other and with the two younger sons who had by now died. What concerns us here is the tradition that Mu-rum was disqualified for the throne, although he was next in line for the succession, by the fact that he had murdered 'U-rings<sup>(or dBu-ring)</sup>, a minister of the sNa-nam clan related to Khri Srong-lde-btsan through his mother. Mu-rum is therefore supposed to have been banished either to the north or to the south (depending on the tradition), the succession passing to the youngest brother Mu-tig. On his way back to Tibet Mu-rum is said to have been killed by the sNa-nam clan. What is sure is that he was alive in the early years of Mu-tig's reign since he is specifically mentioned in the inscription of Zhwa'i lHa-khang as "the elder brother Mu-rug-brtsan" (Richardson 1952:141). His tomb is located by tradition in Yar-lung, among those of the Tibetan kings. Haarh (1960:166) has construed this as evidence in support of his theory that Mu-rum actually acted as king during the minority of his younger brother, Mu-tig. However he appears to have overlooked the fact that there also exists a tomb in Yar-lung attributed to 'Jang-tsha lHa-dbon who is not said to have reigned. The Chinese annals of the T'ang Shu say, retrospectively, that a Tibetan king died in 804. While Richardson sees this as applying to the old king Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Haarh insists that it refers to Mu-rum as the de facto ruler.

It seems to be a fair assumption that all the stories of banishment whether to the north or to the south and whether applied to Mu-rum or Mu-tig, all derive from a single occurrence;

in every instance the cause is the same, namely the murder of 'U-rings by a royal prince. In sBa-bzhed (p. 65) it is Mu-tig bTsan-po who is banished to Mon. He is later recalled to be king but is murdered by the sNa-nam-pa. Stein (1959: 186), who found the same tradition in the 5th Dalai Lama's chronicle, suggests that this is 'the Mon of the east' in the Sino-Tibetan borderland, inhabited by indigenous non-Tibetan peoples. This interpretation helps to achieve consistency with the other tradition, namely that Mu-rum was expelled to mDo-khams in the north (found in the rGyal-po bka'-thang, dPa'-bo gTaug-lag and also in the 5th Dalai Lama). For the central Tibetan sources, however, Mon is invariably used to designate the cis-Himalayan regions. According to one garbled Bon-po tradition, Prince Mu-thug (who seems to combine both the names and attributes of Mu-rug and Mu-tig) is banished to sPa-gro, recalled to be king on the death of Mu-ne, becomes weary of his subjects, and once more goes to sPa-gro where he conceals some important Bon-po gter-ma (Karmay 1972: 102 - 103). Shakabpa (1976: 199 - 200), basing himself on unspecified sources, says that Mu-tig (but properly Mu-rum) was banished to lHo-brag which is contiguous with the area of Bhutan where the legend of Khyi-kha Ra-thod is best known. Shakabpa went to the trouble of making a special journey to lHo-brag to investigate the local traditions concerning the prince's exile and found near mKhar-chu three caves on the side of a mountain which were said to have been occupied by the prince during this period. "The inhabitants even related a good many stories, beautiful and sad, about the period when Mu-tig bTsan-po was residing there."<sup>28</sup> Thus it would appear that the oral

traditions of lHo-brag speak of two sites associated with the pseudonyms of Mu-rum: Mu-tig bTsan-po at mKhar-chu and Khyi-kha Ra-thod at sGyid (see note 18 above). This alternation presumably reflects two different stages in the development of the same legend. Shakabpa does not realize the connection between Mu-tig and Mu-rum though he does appreciate the identity of Khyi-kha Ra-thod and Mu-rum whom he says was a son born to the Tshes-spong queen before she met Khri Srong-lde-btsan, quoting as his authority "Me-long-ma'i 13-na-I" which is untraceable in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long to which he is presumably referring; he rightly points out, however, that it is this 'Mu-rug btsan-po' who "on account of his bad colour" (? mdog ngan-pas) was banished to mKhan-pa-ljongs and whose lineage survives in Bum-thang in Bhutan, the whole story being preserved in the gnas-yig translated above.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the absence of further documents from lHo-brag where the legend seems to originate, it does seem likely that Khyi-kha Ra-thod was at first a quite independent figure who only later came to be aligned with the story of Mu-rum. He is exiled three times; from bSam-yas to lHo-brag, from lHo-brag to mKhan-pa-lung and from mKhan-pa-lung to Bum-thang, each stage bringing him closer to the home of the gter-ston and his audience. If the legend was to have any meaning for this audience it had to be taken out of its original context (which can no longer be known) and shaped into a new form that was 'historically' plausible, emotionally satisfying and dramatically exciting. The stories of Vairocana, dMar-rgyan and Mu-rum provided suitable scope for this transformation. Although Mu-rum's exile is nowhere recorded as having had a happy ending, that of Khyi-kha Ra-thod is pregnant with inverted hope. The kingdom which he founds in the twilight

border area is transformed into a future paradise, even though he himself is expelled from it. That he is able to establish himself at last in Bum-thang despite his maleficent character, and even father a lineage there, surely tells us something about the psychological makeup of the people claiming to be his descendants. Their sense of cultural inferiority causes them to focus on this outcaste figure, half man and half animal; at the same time, the quasi-royal status which surrounds him is a real attraction. This highly ambivalent nature is also seen in his comi-tragic character, part buffoon and part hero. The principal theme of his successive expulsions followed by his successive recoveries is echoed in the fate of his mother; the bestial and jealous dMar-rgyan poisons her son the king and is banished, only to found herself a temple, though not, it seems, one dedicated to the form of Buddhism favoured by the gter-ston. Nevertheless she, like her son, survives her exile and puts it to good use.

### 3) The expulsion of the scapegoat

One of the most interesting points to be noted in the gnas-yig is the way Khyi-kha Ra-thod is banished from bSam-yas to lHo-brag in the form of a scapegoat or ransom (glud), taking with him all the evil which he presaged for Tibet. The ritual of expulsion conforms in outline to the public rites associated with the two famous Glud-'gong rGyal-po who used to be driven out from lHa-sa by the Tibetan government during the New Year festival (Nebesky 1956: 508-11). Thread-crosses were certainly an important item on that occasion and correspond to the mdos-chog ('thread-cross ritual') in our text. The distinctive apparel of the Glud-

'gong rGyal-po's rough fur cape, the hair turned out, and his conical cap is not mentioned; instead Khyi-kha Ra-thod and his subjects are all made to wear what appear to be rags (gos-dum). Whereas the Glud-'gong are given certain animals to accompany them (white horse, white dog and white bird), Khyi-kha Ra-thod is given the 'demon-ministers' and his mother's subjects for his companions. While the Glud-'gong take with them the provisions they have demanded from the lHa-sa populace during the New Year, Khyi-kha Ra-thod and his party are given bags of seeds to take with them, presumably to plant in their place of exile. One of the Glud-'gong was chased off to 'Phan-yul. The other was chased first to bSam-yas, where he spent a week, and then to Tshe-thang. This double expulsion in the latter's case may correspond to the triple expulsion of Khyi-kha Ra-thod. Although the details vary in each of these correspondences, the overt and explicit allusion in the gnas-yig to these features of what must be an early version of the Glud-'gong ritual seem beyond question. Similar allusions, but of a more covert and implicit nature, have been painstakingly noted by Stein (1959a: 557 et. seq.) in his study of the Ge-sar epic.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4) The wooden garuda as a vehicle of expulsion

For the village audience the legend's appeal lies mainly in two things: the shocking story of dMar-rgyan's affair with the animals, and the manufacture and control of the garuda 'aeroplane'. Dreams and legends about mechanically-controlled flight seem to be very common in the history of certain pre-industrial societies and it need cause no real surprise to find a sophisticated example of this here. Despite the apparent anomalies in the number and function of its

'joysticks' and the way in which the one that effects take-off "agitates the unwanted wind" and the one that lands the machine "seizes the wanted wind" (logically it should be the other way round), it is evident that the whole mechanism has been reasoned out most imaginatively. The captain's advice to his passengers is particularly pleasing, namely that they should sit back comfortably without fear despite the trembling, rolling and shaking of the aeroplane. Is all this the dream of Padma Gling-pa or did he use other material known to him? Berthold Laufer's fascinating paper (1928) on 'The prehistory of aviation', written to celebrate the first flight across the Atlantic, leaves little doubt on this score.<sup>31</sup> As Needham says, Laufer's "... main failing was a tendency to take the legendary material too seriously" (1965:569 note a). It appears that he puts the following story about a "dirigible airship" in a quite different category to his account of seven league boots, hippoplanes, aerial chariots and such like. It is taken from "The Twenty-five Tales of a Vetāla" which were well known in Tibet. Laufer's paraphrase reads as follows:

The heroes of this tale are six young men, -the son of a rich man, a physician's son, a painter's son, a mathematician's son, a carpenter's son, and the son of a smith, who leave home in quest of adventure in a foreign land. The first of them won the hand of a beautiful woman of divine origin, but she was soon kidnapped by a powerful king who took her into his harem. The six youths conspired to rescue the stolen wife from her captivity, and the carpenter's son hit upon the scheme to construct a wooden bird, called Garuda, whose interior was equipped with an elaborate apparatus which allowed the machine to fly in various directions and to change its course at will: it was provided with three springs. When the spring in front was touched, the aeroplane flew upward; when the springs on the sides were tipped, it floated evenly along; when the spring beneath was pressed, it made its descent. The painter's son decorated the Garuda in various



colours, so that it could not be distinguished from a real bird. The rich youth boarded the machine, pressed the spring, and crossed the air in the direction of the king's palace, where he soared above the roof. The king and his people were amazed, for they had never before seen such a gigantic bird. The king bade his consort to ascend the palace and offer food to the strange visitor. So she did, and the bird descended. The aviator opened the door of the machine, made himself known, seated his former wife inside, and hopped off with her, navigating his way back to his companions - in the same manner as we have all seen it in the movies with modern airships.

(Laufer 1928:47-48)

Another story noted by Laufer is contained in the Panchatantra (I,5) and concerns a weaver who is so infatuated with a king's daughter that he persuades his friend, a carpenter, to make him a wooden garuda which is "set in motion by means of a switch or spring". The weaver uses it to visit the princess and eventually to fight her father's enemies, assisted by the god Viṣṇu whose traditional mount is a garuda. Laufer says: "The most interesting point of this story is that the bird-plane is utilized for military purposes to defeat and rout an army. When we read [elsewhere] that Abhayākara, a saint of the ninth century from Bengal, assumed the form of a Garuda to disperse an army of the Turushkas (Turks), we must understand that he was mounted on a Garuda-plane which functioned as a war-plane." (op. cit. p. 47) This certainly takes too serious a view of the story. However, one of these Indian legends, or a similar one, is likely to have been available in translation to Padma Gling-pa who saw the garuda's value as a vehicle of expulsion and combat. It is the scene of the delightful verbal contest sparked off by the guru's barking at the 'king', intended as a mocking allusion to the latter's name and origin. (The significance of "the dog-language of the Indian rTsang-lung"

on f. 9a is somewhat lost.) The oral tradition related by 'Jam dpal rDo-rdo (see note 25 above) concerning the garuda's concealment as a gter-ma at mTho-ba-brag once more recalls the theme of expulsion/recovery.

The closest parallel to this story in Tibetan tradition is found in the mythology of the important protective deity, Pe-har, one of whose forms and epithets is Shing-bya-can, 'Possessor of a Wooden Bird' (Nebesky 1956: 109-10). According to the index to the sNar-thang bKa'-'gyur, Pe-har is supposed to have been brought to bSam-yas by the prince Mu-khri bTsan-po from the Bha-ta Hor meditation college (Thomas 1935:300-302). According to the 5th Dalai Lama and other historians the god is said to have come "riding a wooden bird" which was apparently preserved till recently in bSam-yas. (Tucci 1949:735 and 742, note 66). A strong connection of Pe-har with the Vaiśravaṇa cycle has been suggested by Tucci who has tried to explain how elements of that cycle became absorbed into the local cult of Pe-har in central Asia. He points to examples of magical flight in the Vaiśravaṇa paintings of Tun-huang and Turfan where the birds in question are taken to be garūḍas, and so introduces the idea that the legend of Pe-har's flight may have originated as an interpretation of a painting. In the 5th Dalai Lama's history and in Tucci's "rNying-ma-pa Apology" the hero is actually our Mu-rum bTsan-po who is sent to guard the northern frontiers after his murder of 'U-rings and who provokes the capture of Pe-har by Vaiśravaṇa (Tucci 1947: 320, 323; 1949: 735).

Unlike the 'Sindhu Rāja', Khyi-kha Ra-thod never gained sufficient respectability to attain national significance in Bhutan, and his cult is limited sharply to localities in the centre and east of the country. He is completely bypassed in the national histories. Nevertheless there is plenty of evidence, as we shall see, to suggest that he was soon adopted as an ancestral or mythological hero not only within Bum-thang, the original location of the legend's denouement, but also in eastern Bhutan, in Arunachal Pradesh and in various parts of northern and even southern Nepal. While the eastward diffusion towards the Kameng Frontier Division presents no particular problems, the westward movement to Nepal seems to have occurred along lines that are yet to be properly determined.

In the above gnas-yig the last we hear of Khyi-kha Ra-thod is his settling down in the sTāng valley. In the alternative source which lacks the origin myth (the sBas-yul 'bras-mo-gshong dang mkhan-pa-lung-gi gnas-yig), we read on f. 40b that one of his "royal descendants" (rgyal-brgyud) must be among the group destined to reveal the hidden paradise. In Bum-thang today it is the village of rGyal-mkhar or Rgyal-blon-mkhar (see note 25<sup>1</sup> above), a mile or so south of Bya-dkar rDzong, where his descendants are said to live. It is a descent that is viewed both humourously and seriously by their neighbours, as I was able myself to perceive during a year's stay in that valley. It seems likely that during certain periods there were also groups in Bum-thang claiming descent from the retinue of Khyi-kha Ra-thod. In the chapter dealing with mkhan-pa-lung in the 'biography' of the 'Sindhu Rāja', Khyi-kha Ra-thod is

accompanied on his journey south to Bum-thang by fifteen 'religious ministers', twenty 'demon-ministers' and many wives. These are established in camps and estates on the way (sgar dang bzhis-ka btegs-nas byon  $\frac{0}{0}$  f.16a). Among the 'religious ministers' appear the Then spun-dgu, the 'Nine Then Brothers', a set of ancient Bon-po deities associated with nine levels of atmospheric space. The great antiquity of these Then (more correctly, 'Then') has been noticed by Stein (1971:547), who remarks: "... la divinisation des phenomenes atmospheriques et leur insertion dans le pantheon remontent a l'epoque des manuscrits de Touen-houang."<sup>32</sup> They are also found in the Bum-thang dar gud-kyi lung bstan where the 'Sindhu Rāja' is here replaced by King dByug-ston; after the latter's departure for India, the "Tibetan king" Khyi-kha Ra-thod comes to Bum-thang in company with the 'Nine Then Brothers'. Their descendants survive for just thirty years and then disappear together with the Buddhist temples which were built prior to their arrival by dByug-ston. ( $\frac{0}{0}$  de-nas rgyal-po dbyug-ston rgya-yul-du song-ba'i rjes  $\frac{0}{0}$  bod-kyi rgyal-po khyi-kha ra-thod bum-thang steng/≡ stang ?/du yul-'don-ste  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i blon-po then dpun/≡ spun/-dgu-ni 'di-ltar-ro  $\frac{0}{0}$  /see note 40 above/  $\frac{0}{0}$  de'i mi-brgyud-ni tshe-lo sum-cur gnas-so  $\frac{0}{0}$  de-nas gtsug-lag-khang dang then/then/-gyi ming mi-grags-par stong-ngo  $\frac{0}{0}$  ces gsungs-so  $\frac{0}{0}$  )

There is a reference to these 'ministers' who settled at rGyal-mkhar in a text that predates the above 'prophecy', namely the eulogy of Bum-thang written by Klong-chen-pa in 1355.

mda'na sngon-gyi rgyal-po'i yul-mkhar dang //  
blon-po'i grong yod rgyal-blon-sa zhes-grags //  
'di-yi mi-rnams mchog-tu rigs-bzang-la //  
gzugs-kyang gzhan-las mchog-tu 'phags-pa lags // (f.24a)

At the bottom /of the Chos-'khor valley/ is a  
 district castle of an ancient king  
 And a village of /his/ ministers called rGyal-  
 blon-sa (King-minister-place).  
 The people of this place are of most noble  
 extraction and  
 Their bodies too are more excellent than those of  
 other people.

The tradition must have persisted in various forms  
 because in the early eighteenth century we find the historian  
 Ngag-dbang recording the legend that three of the 'Six Vajra  
 Brothers' of lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje met the descendants  
 of Khyi-kha Ra-thod's companions in Bum-thang (rGyal-rigs,  
 f. 41b). They are said to be few in number, the only  
 inhabitants of the district. It is their search for a ruler  
 who would bring order to their quarrels and contentions  
 which introduces the origin myth of the gDung families of  
 Bum-thang (op. cit. f.32a). The same thing occurs when  
 Prince gTsang-ma (a much more important ancestor figure)  
 arrives in east Bhutan at Wang-ser-kung-pa, a place I cannot  
 locate (op. cit. ff. 12b-13a). There he too meets the actual  
 companions of Khyi-kha Ra-thod who are settled in the area.

Further to the east in the Kameng Frontier Division  
 of Arunachal Pradesh live the Sherdukpen people (also  
 called the Senji-Thongji) who preserve an extraordinarily  
 garbled version of the myth. Their historical legends as  
 recorded by Sharma (1961) centre around the story of how a  
 certain 'Japtang Bura', the son of Srong-btsan mGam-po by  
 an Ahom princess, finds his way to Rupa (locally known as  
 Thongthui, the main Sherdukpon village), where he establishes  
 himself as chief with the aid of his maternal grandfather,  
 the Ahom king. 'Japtang Bura' is said to have had an

elder brother called 'Jabdung Ngowang Namje' (= Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal !) who won control over Bhutan. He also had an illegitimate brother called 'Khi Bu Rowa' who is undoubtedly our Khyi-kha Ra-thod in a different guise; he is the product of an illicit union of the Ahom princess with 'Rigpu Chhan' (= Rig-pa-can ?), the minister sent to fetch her as Srong-btsan's bride. (This must be a confusion with mGar sTong-btsan Yul-zung, the minister sent by Srong-btsan to fetch his Chinese queen, of whom a similar legend survives. Unfortunately Sharma gives no further information on 'Khi Bu Rowa' or the exploits credited to him by the Sherdukpen. 'Japtang Bura' is claimed by them as their ancestor, and their subordinate clans are said to be descended from the porters and servants who accompanied him to Rupa from Tibet. Sarkar (1975: 44) informs us that according to a manuscript preserved in the rTa-wang monastery, "Meme Gyapten" was in fact a lay associate of the Mon-pa lama bsTan-pa'i sGron-me, a disciple of the 2nd Dalai Lama (1475-1542), who figures in the genealogical traditions of the Jo-bo clan of lHa'u and who was responsible for introducing the dGe-lugs-pa school into the area. Despite its mangled appearance, the importance of the Sherdukpen myth, like many of the Bhutanese myths, lies in the way it helps to reconcile the local aspirations of a small people with the dominating position occupied by the powerful neighbours surrounding them; the glory and strength of these neighbouring countries is made to accrue to the small community in its central position midway between them. Since certain cultural elements are imagined to have been appropriated from these neighbours, the community can enjoy reflected glory in its unique and axial position.

Weakness is thus turned to strength. (The Aka origin myth related on p. 261 below is a better example.) The appearance of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal in the legend can only be explained by contact with Bhutan and indeed Sharma (1961 : 50) supplies plenty of information concerning successive waves of Bhutanese immigrants coming into the Sherdukpen area. It may be safely assumed that it was they who also brought there the story of Khyi-kha Ra-thod. There is in fact another 'hidden land' somewhere to the north of the Sherdukpen area which may be allied to the mKhan-pa-lung/mKhan-pa-ljongs in Bhutan. Mr. Richardson informs me that in the 6th Dalai Lama's official biography his birthplace at La-'og Yul-gsum (a district which encompasses rTa-wang) is described as situated near to a certain sBas-yul mKhan-pa-steng. This may, however, be a mistake for the sacred place called Khrom-pa-steng which is supposed to be situated at the top of the La-'og Yul-gsum district in sBas-yul sKyid-mo-ljongs (Vaidūrya-ser-po, pp. 395-397). This latter 'paradise' also turns up in Nepal as sBas-yul sKyid-mo-lung (Aris' 1975 : 56 - 66).

In 1969 the late Professor Franz Bernhard of Hamburg University paid a brief visit to Bhutan. One of his aims was to try and locate the position of mKhan-pa-lung and enquire into its mythology. While pursuing his researches in Nepal he had come across a guidebook to a hidden valley bearing the same name in the Shar Khum-bu area and had been told that another mKhan-pa-lung existed somewhere in Bhutan. Unfortunately, none of the people he talked to in Western Bhutan could help him since this sBas-yul is practically unknown to them, and I too, having spent all my time up to this date in the west, could provide him with no information.

By the time I heard about mkhan-pa-lung two years later in Bum-thang and had located the local literature on the subject, he had already met his untimely fate in Mustang. When I visited Nepal in 1973 I met A.W. Macdonald, then Visiting Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Tribhuvan, and learnt from him about the Sherpa mkhan-pa-lung, a subject he had recently been engaged upon in the light of his finding three of the relevant guidebooks. One of them consists of part two of the second version attributed to Pad-ma Gling-pa, omitting the first part on Sikkim, and claims to be a copy of a manuscript belonging to a monk from the famous 'Brug-pa monastery of Sang-sngags Chos-gling in Bya-yul near Tsā-ri. The other two works are gter-ma attributed to Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem (rGod-kyi lDem-'phru-can), a gter-ston of the 16th century according to Stein (1959a: 346). However, according to the gter-rnam (f. 123a) and the recent rNying-ma history (ff. 277a - 279a) by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem (alias dNgos-grub rGyal-mtshan) was the founder of the Byang-gter tradition and lived between 1377 and 1409, that is to say before Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521). This certainly poses a problem to the notion of a westward diffusion of the myth from Bhutan but it may perhaps be resolved if it can be shown that these texts attributed to rGod-ldem are in fact later reworkings of the Padma Gling-pa material. The two modern authorities cited above, however, maintain that rGod-ldem discovered the guidebooks to seven major sbas-yul. He is particularly remembered for a journey he made late in life to Sikkim. One of the two works attributed to him in the Macdonald Collection is entitled sBas-yul mkhan-pa-lung-gi gnas-kyi lam-yig dang-po. The other lacks a title but seems to



to reproduce portions of the former work. Another work that has since come to light in the library of the Toyo Bunko in Tokyo (I owe it to Professor Stein for drawing my attention to it) is the sBas-yul mkhan-pa-lung-gis lde-mig mthong thos regs-pa (sic) in 22 folios, also attributed to Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem. It seems to be very close indeed to Macdonald's texts, and may indeed turn out to be the same. Further material on the Sherpa mKhan-pa-lung is available in the Collected Works of rDza-sprul Ngag-dbang bStan-'dzin Nor-bu, Vol. Ja, which contains much information on the sacred mountains of the Everest region.<sup>33</sup>

A preliminary reading of some of this material suggests that the mythology of the Bhutanese mKhan-pa-lung has simply been transposed into the Nepalese setting. Thus the principal guardians remain Zo-ra-ra-skyes (usually spelt as Su-ra-rwa-skyes) and Khrag-mig-ma. Khyi-kha Ra-thod is frequently introduced as the king ruling the hidden land, but there is no consistent account of this legend. Most of the localities associated with the Bhutanese version are similarly transferred into the surrounding Sherpa country. Not only is the place venerated by the Sherpas, but it is also a sacred pilgrim shrine for the Rai people living directly to the south. My friends Michael Oppitz and Charlotte Hardman have in fact recently succeeded in making the extremely difficult journey to this mKhan-pa-lung in company with a Rai, and they appear to have discovered a great deal concerning attitudes to the place from that direction. In 1973 I led a small team for the University of California to the districts of Kutang and Nubri in the Manaslu area of northern Nepal and in the village of Samargaon (known locally as Ros) I found a clan called

dPon-bzang ('Good Chief') which claimed direct descent from Khyi-kha Ra-thod himself (Aris 1975: 73-74).

Thus there clearly exists wide scope for coordinating the various traditions about Khyi-kha Ra-thod and his hidden land. The key probably lies in the figure of Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem and, if they exist, in his biography and the corpus of 'discoveries' properly attributed to him. If it should turn out that the latter do not contain the texts in the Macdonald and Toyo Bunko Collections, then it can be assumed that these do represent an adaptation of the Padma Gling-pa tradition to the Nepalese environment. If, on the other hand, they can be shown to be the 'authentic' finds of rGod-ldem then we shall have to look for a quite different line of diffusion.

The concept of the 'hidden land', its origin and development, is most relevant to the study of Bhutanese history; by transferring the notion from a small, delimited locality such as mKhan-pa-lung to the area as a whole, it came to provide a mythic formula that accounted for the origin of the country after it had been united in the 17th century. Both of the 'national' histories so far prepared by the Bhutanese explain the early history of their country in terms of "how it turned into a hidden land".<sup>34</sup> As we shall see in the next chapter, it was from the earliest times to this region that several of the major and many of the minor Tibetan Buddhist teachers fled to take refuge from troubles in Tibet. In Bhutan their traditions, lineages and schools took root, thus turning expulsion to profit and recovery. The cult of the 'hidden land', which carries this as its principle theme, thus provided a rationale to the whole movement. In the words

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Notes to Ch. I. Section 3

1. See Blue Annals, p. 197. The list has: mKhan-pa-ljongs dang / mKhan-pa-gling / [the latter is not known] seng-ge-rdzong / [see note 10 below] Kun-bzang-gling / [where Klong-chen-pa later built a monastery, in Bum-thang Chu-smad] mKhar-chu [see Ferrari 1958 : 57].

mKhan-pa-lung lies two days journey north-west of lHun-rtse rDzong in Kur-stod or about three days journey north-east of the sTang valley in Bum-thang. According to Das, mkhan-pa is a species of fern.

2. Ri-mo-can is a well known temple at the foot of a cliff in the lower end of the sTang valley, the scene of several of Padma Gling-pa's 'discoveries'.
3. Not to be confused with the bKra-shis-sgang rDzong of Eastern Bhutan.
4. I would identify this deity with the group of six gods called the Zar-ma-skyes-drug in the rGyal-po bka'-thang (or Za-ra-skyes-drug in the bShad-mdzod yid-bzhin nor-bu). These sources place the group among the series of divine rulers of Tibet who preceded the arrival of the first king gNya'-khri bTsan-po. (Haarh 1969 : 298) They also appear in the entourage of rDo-rje Legs-pa as the Zur-ra-skyes-drug. (Nebesky 1956 : 156) In Bhutan they appear to have been contracted into a single deity who functions both as the guardian of certain gter-ma and also as the local spirit of sTang. He appears there in the form of a yak-headed god during the 'cham' festival observed at the temple of Chu-stod Nam-mkha'i lHa-khang on the fifteenth day of the tenth month in company with a clown (called the rgad-po). }

Could part of his name (ra-skyes = 'Goat-Born') carry lexical allusion to that of Khyi-kha Ra-thod ?

5. Khrag-mig-ma ('Blood-Eyed-Lady') may be related to the Srin-po gNya'-rengs Khrag-mig who is also counted among the divine rulers of Tibet preceding gNya-khri bTsan-po according to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (Haarh 1969 : 292). This seems possible in view of her position as the consort of Zo-ra-ra-skyes.
6. Collected Works, Vol. Pha, ff. 114b - 116a.
7. See for instance his reply to critics: Padma gling-pa'i gsung-'gros log-lta-can sun-'byin-pa senge'i nga-ro, Collected Works Vol. Pa, pp. 493 - 511.
8. These were recorded on 19/2/71 and 16/2/76 respectively.
9. On mKhar-chu lCags-phur-can see Ferrari 1958: 57 and 138. On mKhar-chu itself see rGyal-po bKa'-thang, f. 78a.
10. Senge rDzong is "a small temple at the foot of a cliff" (Cooper 1933a: 80) some three days journey due north of lHun-rtse rDzong. It is famous as one of the places visited by the Guru in the form of rDo-rje Gro-loḍ and, like sTag-tshang in sPa-gro, is said to be one of the sites where the Vajrakīla cycle was first revealed. (See gTer-rnam, f. 13b on Mon-kha Ne-ring, Seng-ge rDzong and rGyal-po bKa'-thang, f. 77b on Mon-kha sNa-ring (sic).)
11. mTshams-pa is a pastoral area lying at 12,400 feet midway between the pass of Mon-la-khar-chung and Chos-'khor-stod in Bum-thang, presently occupied by a military checkpoint. See rGyal-rigs, f. 42b.

12. Gro-bo-lung is, of course, the home of Mar-pa, just north of the Bhutanese border in lHo-brag.
  
13. rGya-gar rTsang-lung is an intriguing problem. Padma Gling-pa in his autobiography seems to refer to the area around rTa-wang as gTsang-lung (f. 116a). There is a connection with the word 'Tsangla' which designates the speech of the Eastern Bhutanese (the Tsang-mi). But why should the area be called 'Indian' here ? Beyond the 'Di-rang area of Kameng lived a certain King Jo-'phag Dar-ma of Shar Dong-kha to whose court Padma Gling-pa was invited and which he described as partly Indian in character (Pha, ff. 162a - 164b). dPa'-bo gTsug-lag informs us that these kings possessed 'myriarchies' (khri-tsho) among the Indian people (see p. 217 below, and f. 9a of this gnas-yig).
  
14. Unidentified.
  
15. One of the mTha'-'dul temples. See p. 68 above.
  
16. JD: Srong-btsan sGam-po
  
17. LP: "glud-chas ('ransom-apparel'), a kind of fur cape"
  
18. LP: "He arrived at lHo-brag sGyid-shod and settled there. The ruins of his castle are still there and I have visited them. sGyid-shod is situated between lHa-lung and rDo-rdzong and it is reached after crossing the sBrum-la Pass near sBrum-thang which lies just to the north of the pass. The ruins lie on the side of the mountain overlooking the village of sGyid-shod."

19. This may possibly be the area of Grwa on the south bank of the gTsang-po west of Yar-lung (Ferrari 1958 : 54-5).

The temple of sGra-tshad (perhaps more correctly Grwa-tshad) remains unidentified. Padma Gling-pa's historical hindsight is especially evident in this passage.

20. Unidentified.

21. LP: gNam-the dKar-po. On this ancient form of Pe-har see Nebesky 1956 : 97-8.

22. According to JD the Guru disguises himself as a herdsman and finds employment in dPag-bsam-lung (one of the smaller 'hidden lands' ancillary to mKhan-pa-lung) looking after the king's cows.

23. LP: "It was arranged so that if a certain nail were struck with a hammer the whole thing would go flying up in the sky, and if another nail were struck it would come down to earth."

24. JD: "He (the Guru) steered the aeroplane (gnam-gru; LP uses the same word) by dropping struts, each a whole tree trunk, from the machine ('phrul-'khor) which caused it to drop in height and so he guided it south to Bum-thang. The tree trunks hit the earth on the way, planting themselves and later each of them grew to a huge size. At the foot of each of these trees, temples were later built. These can be seen today in the Kur-stod district."

25. LP: "The king, left all by himself in sTang with no followers and no means of sustenance, felt enormous sadness. He stuck two fingers of his hand in his mouth and produced mournful sounds. If people today play a

double-flute (?) they are said to be playing Khyi-kha Ra-thod's flute. After a time he began slowly to recover his strength. He built himself a castle called Khyi-rdzong ('Dog-Fort'). His lineage survives at rGyal-mkhar in the Chos-'khor district of Bum-thang and in the 'Phrad-pa'i-yul (?) of the sTang valley." JD: "Having recovered from the shock of being pushed out of the aeroplane Khyi-kha Ra-thod began to settle down in that place. After a time some Indian people on pilgrimage to the mountains in the north met him and, being awestruck by the strange appearance of this man who seemed to be the lord of those parts, payed him honour, made offerings to him and built him a splendid castle. Once again Khyi-kha Ra-thod gained power and became king. He appointed ministers and the place today is called rGyal-blon-mkhar ('King-Ministers-Castle'), pronounced 'Jelkhar'. The people of the village there, it is said, all have pointed mouths like those of dogs. They are said to be the descendants of Khyi-kha Ra-thod. Although he must have married one of his Indian subjects and although his court at 'Jelkhar' must have been pleasant, it cannot have compared favourably in his mind with his former kingdom at dPag-bsam-lung [≡ mKhan-pa-lung] for the last we hear of him is this: One day, overcome with regret at having been expelled from his paradise, he walked to the next valley of sTang and climbed up to the temple of mTho-ba-brag where the Guru had hidden his aeroplane. From there he could see way up to the north into dPag-bsam-lung, and, behold, there was his palace wrecked, his subjects turned to stone and the whole place a wilderness. Saddened and remorseful, he cut down a bamboo from a thicket nearby and made it into a flute. On this he played a wistful



lament. That is why today if a lover looks sad at the loss of his beloved he is said to be playing his flute."

26. This is the site of the present sKu-rjes lHa-khang. For a further example of how the stories of the 'Sindhu Rāja' and Khyi-kha Ra-thod have cross-fertilised see below. }
27. See Petech (1939), Tucci (1949), Demiéville (1952), Richardson (1952) and Haarh (1960).
28. "de'i gnas-'dzin-pas mu-tig btsan-po bzhugs-pa'i skabs-kyi lo-rgyus snyan-po dang / sems skyo-po mang-po-zhig-kyang brjod-byung /" See also Shakabpa 1967 : 47.
29. Shakabpa 1976:197 note 88: "Me-long-ma'i 13-na-I yang mu-rug btsan-po-ni chos-rgyal dang btsun-mo bza' dmar-rgyan ma-mjal-gong-gi sras-zhig yin-pa-de mdog ngan-pas khyi-kha ra-thod ces btags-te mkhan-pa-ljongs-su spyugs-pa de'i mi-brgyud-kyang deng-dus lho-'brug 'bum-thang phyogs yod-pa'i lo-rgyus-zhig pad-gling gter-ston klong-gsal gsang-ba snying-bcud-kyi cha-lag mkhan-pa-lung-gi gnas-yig-nang gsal /"
30. According to Stein's main informant, Byams-pa gSang-bdag, there survived until 1947 at the monastery of Rwa-sgreng a manuscript version of the epic whose sixteenth chapter was entitled Glo Khyi-rna rgyal-po, "King Dog-ear of Glo" (Stein 1959a:46). One cannot but wonder if there is a connection with Khyi-kha Ra-thod. The alternation Glo/lHo is one noted by Stein in his work.
31. I am most grateful to Michael Oppitz for drawing my attention to this paper.

32. See also A. Macdonald 1971:207 note 76. The names applied to these deities are quite different from those found in either of the variant readings of the rGyal-rabs bon-gyi 'byung-gnas supplied by Das (1902:608) and Stein (1959b: 58-9):

The list in the 'Sindhu Rāja' story is as follows, with alternative readings from the Bum-thang dar-gud-kyi lung-bstan: 1) Then dPal-bzang, 2) Then dGe-dbang, 3) Then Nam-mkha' dBang-phyug, 4) Then Gung-rgyal, 5) Then-bzang (Then mThar-bzang), 6) Then Chos-kyi-dbang (Chos-dbang), 7) Then Ding-ka, 8) Then rGyal (rGyal-mtshan), 9) Then sPra-ra. These are preceded by a further six deities posing as 'religious ministers', four of whose names begin with Khu and two with Bro. The twenty 'demon-ministers' do not seem traceable to any known list of deities. Their names have an archaic appearance, for example: sPyi-ther, Ba-sa-dbang, Khyen-rgyal, rDos-thar, Kyir-rdzi-shog-ska, dPon-ghon etc. These may prove to be ancient survivals like Zo-ra-ra-skyes and Khrag-mig, or sBal-mgo Khrag-mig-ma attended by the Khrag-gi ma-mo spun-bdun in the 'Sindhu Rāja' story, f. 15a. (See notes 4 and 5 above.) It seems a little unlikely that the gter-ston would have simply invented the names.

33. Some of the rDza-sprul material is discussed in Lodro 1974: 164-167. To complete the list of sources on mKhar-pa-lung so far known to me, mention must also be made of the biographies of Padma Gling-pa's incarnations by the 8th gSung-sprul in Vol. Pha of the Collected Works, where we find the Bhutanese mKhar-pa-lung frequently mentioned as a place to which they would go for pilgrimage and retreat.
34. See LCB I, f. 3b and LCB II, f. 59a.
35. rGyal-po sindha ra-dza'i rnam-thar, f. 21b.

4. Prince gTsang-ma and the secret history of his  
alleged descendants

Prince gTsang-ma, eldest son born to King Khri lDe-srong-brtsan (ruled c.800-815), is a minor figure in Tibetan history who came to acquire great significance in the eyes of the eastern Bhutanese for it was from him that all their ruling clans are said to have claimed direct and uninterrupted descent. Evidence for gTsang-ma's activities in or very near Bhutan is found in almost all the Tibetan histories, in passages which speak of the events that led to the collapse of Buddhist rule and the usurpation of the throne by his brother, the anti-Buddhist Glang Dar-ma ('U'i-dum-brtan, ruled c.836-842). The whole subject, however, appears only in late texts and finds no mention in the Tibetan records found at Tun-huang or in the T'ang histories. Despite the lack of contemporary evidence of a primary character, gTsang-ma's story has all the appearance of a valid tradition derived from material kept in the ancient archives which are known to have survived and which were available to some of the later historians. Unlike the three subjects dealt with so far in this chapter, this is not a gter-ma tradition but rather one handed down in the historical literature and somewhat elaborated with the passage of time. Due to the fact that gTsang-ma always remained a figure of minor importance for the Tibetans, the fanciful elements that surround the brief episode where he makes his only appearance have apparently been kept to a minimum. By contrast, the eastern Bhutanese developed an entire myth concerning gTsang-ma quite independent of the Tibetan material but one whose origin is perfectly consistent with it. The monk Ngag-dbang recorded the myth in 1728, pointing out this prima facie consistency. What is of particular interest is that the

clans who claimed gTsang-ma as their common ancestor appear to have done so without recourse to the history books, depending instead on folk traditions which (with the advantage of hindsight) we can see are more or less borne out by those books, as Ngag-dbang himself sought to demonstrate (rGyal-rigs, ff. 10a-11b).

Like the 'Sindhu Rāja' and Khyi-kha Ra-thod, it is as a royal refugee that Prince gTsang-ma is said to have come to Bhutan. The first mention of him appears in the royal genealogy of the Sa-skya historian, Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan (1147-1216), and can be dated to c. 1215. Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan was clearly dependent on two unspecified sources which he seems to have summarised separately. gTsang-ma therefore appears in the same context in two different passages:

- 1) / khri lde-srong-btsan-gyis rgyal-sa bzung-ngo //  
des 'bro-bza' lha-rgyal gung-skar-ma bzhes-pa'i  
sras gsum-gyi che ba khri btsan-ma / lho bum-  
thang-du bcug-nas 'brom-bza' legs-rje dang /  
sna-nam-bza' me-rje-the'u dug-gis bkrongs /

Then the throne was taken by Khri lDe-srong-btsan. He married 'Bro-bza' lHa-rgyal Gung-skar-ma who bore three sons. The eldest, Khri bTsan-ma [= gTsang-ma], was banished to Bum-thang in the South and was killed by poison by 'Brom-bza' Legs-rje and sNa-nam-bza' Me-rje-the'u.

- 2) / gsum-gyi gcen-po gtsang-ma lcags-pho dbyug //  
rgyal-srid ma-bzung lho-brag bum-thang-du //  
'bro-bza' legs-rje sna-nam mang-mo-rjes //  
dug-gis bkrongs-te de-yl srid-rgyud bzhuks // <sup>†</sup>

The eldest of the three brothers, gTsang-ma, was banished in the Male Iron Year. Having failed to take control of the royal power, he was killed by poison by 'Bro-bza' Legs-rje and sNa-nam Mang-mo-rje at Bum-thang in lHo-brag; his lineage remains.

These rather cryptic statements belong to a tradition which Tucci (1947) has shown drew on documents similar to those found in Tun-huang, a tradition whose reliability for this

late period is suggested by the many close parallels between its treatment of the earlier period of dynastic rule and that found in the Tun-huang Chronicle. Broadly speaking, it was the views expressed in this text (and in that of another Sa-skye historian, 'Phags-pa, dateable to 1275) which later formed the basis of many Tibetan histories. Despite fanciful embellishments, it can therefore be argued that Tibetan historiography rests on quite firm foundations. Nevertheless, for the events leading up to, surrounding and following the rule of Glang Dar-ma, we still lack an independent yardstick of comparison to corroborate the Sa-skye tradition.

There are several problems connected with the interpretation of the above passages. Why was gTsang-ma, as the eldest son, unable to succeed to the throne? As we shall see, most sources explain this by the fact that he was ordained monk but that tradition finds no place in this earliest reference to him. Rather, I would suggest that it may represent an attempt to find an aetiology for his name } that was both convincing and convenient; gtsang-ma ('pure') calls to mind the character of a monk. In the first passage he is referred to as Khri ('the Enthroned'), suggesting perhaps that he may indeed have acted as king by reason of his primogeniture, if only for a short period. In the bShad-mdzod (f. 85a) he is actually referred to as mNga'-bdag ('The Ruler') Khri rTsang-ma.<sup>2</sup> Haarh (1969: 339) has attempted to resolve this difficulty by saying: "What really took place seems to have been that gTsang-ma, as a Buddhist monk, waived his right to the throne, but took the actual government into his hands on behalf of his younger brother Ral-pa-can, who was, or became, incapable of exercising it.

At the same time gTsang-ma for many years, until he was poisoned, protected the king against the fate which had long been intended for him by the Bon-po." As we have seen above in the case of Mu-rum, Haarh always seems ready to look for de facto kings acting by the side of brothers who were 'shadow' kings. However, in the absence of supporting evidence his arguments can only remain an interesting speculation. To suggest that a figure belonging to the early ninth century was a king merely because he is accorded a regal title in texts of the twelfth and fifteenth century seems a doubtful proposition, especially since these late texts often got their names wrong and their titles misapplied. This is particularly evident in Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan's handling of the names he gives to the two royal ladies who are supposed to have poisoned gTsang-ma after his banishment. The form bza' seems to have been used exclusively by the wives of kings but neither of these ladies are truly identifiable and the problem is further complicated by the fact that the two passages preserve different forms: (1) 'Brom-bza' Legs-rje / 'Bro-bza' Legs-rje; (2) sNa-nam-bza' Me-rje-the'u / sNa-nam Mang-mo-rje. The latter alternative is in each case more convincing. Although there was a minor clan called the 'Brom, there is no record of it ever having provided a wife for the Tibetan kings, whereas there were plenty from the 'Bro. The only one alive at this time, however, was gTsang-ma's own mother, who is called here lHa-rgyal Gung-skar-ma. She is lHa-rgyal Mang-mo-rje in the Tun-huang records, Khri-mo-legs in Khri lDe-srong-btsan's edict preserved in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, and lHa-rtse in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long. Legs-rje, then, seems to be an echo of some of these forms, but if gTsang-ma had been murdered by his mother one would suppose

that this would have survived elsewhere in some form of tradition, as it did in the case of Mu-ne, killed by his mother of the Tshes-spong clan (see previous section). In fact it seems most probable that Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan has confused the two: the name he gives to gTsang-ma's mother, i.e. lHa-rgyal Gung-skar-ma, seems to be modelled on the one he gives to the Tshes-spong queen, i.e. rMa-rgyal mTsho-skar-ma. These forms are not preserved anywhere except in this text and in a seventeenth century Sa-skya genealogy which derives from it.

In the case of the second lady, the queen from the sNa-nam clan, we may be on firmer ground. Glang Dar-ma ('U'i-dum-brtan), the second brother who was also passed over in the succession, is said to have married a lady of this clan, according to dPa'-bo gTsug-lag. The sNa-nam first provided a queen for Khri Srong-lde-brtsan and may originally have come from Samarkand or that direction (Richardson 1977b: passim). The name of the queen here, Me-rje-the'u, has a most improbable look to it, with a rather wicked flavour; the the'u recalls the malignant the'u-rang spirits, and the lady in question is commonly represented as the crafty woman who tried to pass off an adopted child as her own son, Yum-brtan. The form Mang-mo-rje which figures in the alternative reading is something in the nature of a title. It is applied to many of the great ladies of the period. The Tun-huang Annals, for instance, give it to the 'Bro queen of Khri Srong-lde-brtsan whom we discussed above. At all events, it must be to Glang-dar-ma's wife that the text refers and in view of the antagonism which he apparently felt for his brothers, there is no particular reason for discounting the idea that his wife took up his cause and murdered one of them on his behalf.

It is most unfortunate that the date of gTsang-ma's banishment is subject to the same degree of confusion as that which prevents us from identifying with certainty the royal ladies who murdered him. There is no means of knowing whether Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan intended us to understand lcags-pho as one of the six male years ('brug, rta, spre, khyi, byi or stag), or whether pho is a mistake for some specific year (yos or phag perhaps). If there is any historical basis for the statement, the only year that seems to fit any of these hypotheses is lcags-spre ('Iron Monkey' = 840).

The point of greatest interest for us is the statement that gTsang-ma was exiled to Bum-thang in 'the South' (lho). The second passage places Bum-thang in lHo-brag which may not be as inaccurate as it appears. Certainly in Padma Gling-pa's day Bum-thang was linked in a somewhat vague manner to the lHo-brag province whose civil officials had a degree of authority in Bum-thang. Even more interesting, for our purposes, is the firm statement that gTsang-ma's lineage (srid-rgyud) survived into the early twelfth century. The implication I would like to see is that Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan and his contemporaries understood that the lineage was fathered by gTsang-ma in his place of exile. Some two and a half centuries or so later, Klong-chen-pa describes the valley of U-ra in Bum-thang as "an excellent place due to the fact that the line of descendants of the lord Dharmarājas [still] reside there and people from the pure Tibet live there." ( / chos-rgyal rje-yi gdung-rabs bzugs-pa dang / / gtsang-ma'i bod-rnams gnas-pas khyad-par 'phags / )<sup>3</sup> One would, of course, like to see gtsang-ma'i bod-rnams meaning "the Tibetans of [or descending from] gTsang-ma" but it is without doubt an allusion to the ancient poetic description



of Tibet as sa gtsang, "a pure land". In the same passage, U-ra is described as "similar to the dBus [province] in the land of Tibet" ( bod-yul dbus dang 'dra-ba ). This is a notion one still meets with today and the U-ra people are invariably said by the people of the neighbouring valleys to be descended from Tibetans. Their ruling family, the U-ra gDung, did claim a connection with the ancient Tibetan dynasty (as we see in the rGyal-rigs, Section 3, pp. 565-7 below) but not apparently with gTsang-ma himself. In fact, none of the Bhutanese stories speak of gTsang-ma's descendants holding sway in this part of the country and the traditional itinerary ascribed to him took him through areas to the south of Bum-thang in his journey from the west to the east.

Starting with sBa-bzhed, some of the Tibetan sources say that it was to sPa-gro rather than to Bum-thang that gTsang-ma was banished. The date of sBa-bzhed is still subject to investigation but it is certainly not later than the fourteenth century. Richardson (1971:437) says it may even be earlier than Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan's genealogy to which it affords some considerable contrast in the handling of the gTsang-ma story:

/ zhang-blon nag-po-la dga'-ba-rnams gros byas-nas  
chos-khrims gshig-pa'i kog/= lkog/-gros byas-nas /  
de-la sngon-du btsan-po ma-dkrongs-na chos-khrims  
mi-gshig zer / kha-gcig na-re ral-pa-can-la sras  
med-kyang / cung lha-sras gtsang-ma chos-la dga'-  
bas srid 'dzin-te chos-khrims mi-gshig zer /  
gtsang-ma bshugs-pas chog mchi-bas / de ban chen-po  
chos-la dkar-la dbang che-bas chos-khrims mi-gshig  
zer / gros byas-nas chos-khrims gshig-pa'i snyan-phra  
bcug-te / ban chen-po dang / ngang-tshul-ma nal  
bshams-so zhes snyan-du gsol-nas / chad-pa che-thang-du  
zhus-pas / ban chen-po yang lcags-kyi srog-pa tsa  
sgrub-pa ma-grub-par / snyan-'phra btsan-par byas-te  
bkum / de-ma-thag-tu lha-sras gtsang-ma rab-tu byung-  
nas / rdzongs chen-po dang-bcas-nas spa-gro mon-du  
bshugs / (sBa-bzhed, pp. 76-77.)

The zhang-blon who were enamoured of evil held consultations and deliberated in secret on the destruction of the religious law, during which it was said that unless the btsan-po was first killed, the religious law could not be destroyed. Some of them said: "Although Ral-pa-can /Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan/ has no son, the youngest brother gTsang-ma who is enamoured of religion /might/ take hold of the power and so the religious law would not be destroyed." /To this/ it was said that gTsang-ma could be banished. It was then declared that since the Great Monk /Dran-kha dPal-gyi Yon-tan/ was virtuous in religion and had great power, the religious law would /still/ not be destroyed. After /these/ consultations had been held, a slander was put about to destroy the religious law to the effect that the Great Monk and Ngang-tshul-ma /the queen of Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan/ had made arrangements to fornicate. When this was reported to the ears /of the king/, a punishment was meted /upon the queen ?/ at Che-thang (?) and the Great Monk too /.../<sup>4</sup> was killed. As soon as that happened, the Divine Prince gTsang-ma became a monk and, with a great equipage, he was exiled to sPa-gro Mon.

This account of a grand Bon-po conspiracy, culminating in the assassination of Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan, was adopted by all the later writers who dealt in any detail with this confused period. By a simple misreading of the text, Bu-ston in his chos-'byung of 1322 has Gro-mo (i.e. the Chumbi Valley) instead of sPa-gro as the place to which gTsang-ma was banished (lha-sras gtsang-ma rab-tu byung-ba gro-mor spyugs, f. 130b). This was later followed by the Hu-lan deb-ther of Tshal Kun-dga' rDo-rje (1346) and the rGya-bod yig-tshang of sTag-tshang-pa Srībhūtibhadra (c.1438), ff. 18b and 126 respectively. All other sources say the place was sPa-gro or some vague area in lHo Mon, with the exception of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (f.134b) who combines the Sa-skyā and sBa-bzhed traditions and indicates that it was at the temple of mKho-mthing that gTsang-ma was poisoned by the sNa-nam-bza' Mang-rje (sic). The bShad-mdzod (f. 85a) similarly has lHo-brag Mon in place of sPa-gro Mon, and on f. 85b it adds the vital information that "the kings of

Southern Mon are the descendants of the Ruler gTsang-ma, but  
 [concerning them] look to their own historical records".

( /lho-phyogs mon-gyi rgyal-po rnam // mnga'-bdag gtsang-  
ma'i gdung-rgyud yin // 'on-kyang rang-gi yig-tshang gzigs // ).

Thus in the fifteenth century we can be quite certain that the  
 ruling families of eastern Bhutan already had in their  
 possession documents tracing their descent from gTsang-ma  
 and I have no doubt that it was some of these which the monk  
 Ngag-dbang used in compiling his history, the rGyal-rigs  
'byung-khung gsal-ba'i sgron-me presented in Part 2 below.

It has been suggested by Gene Smith in his introduction to the  
bShad-mdzod that its author, Don-dam sMra-ba'i Senge, was  
 himself a descendant of gTsang-ma in the princely family of  
 Gru-shul, or else possibly a household priest to this family,  
 citing as evidence for this the testimony of the above passage.  
 However, Gru-shul (or Gro-shul) where the text was composed  
 is a small district which lies between gNyal and Lo-ro, due  
 north of the easternmost extremity of Bhutan (Ferrari 1958:  
 127), and the term lho-phyogs Mon as used by a native of  
 Gru-shul must refer to that area of Bhutan where these 'royal'  
 families were so prominent. The inhabitants of Gru-shul were  
 in regular contact with the Eastern Bhutanese and Gru-shul  
 itself is described as "the bridge between the south and  
 north" (lho byang gnyis-kyi zam-pa, f. 99b). A man of letters  
 from that area would have had ample opportunity to learn  
 about the legends and traditions of his southern neighbours,  
 just as the great 'Jigs-med Gling-pa did, as revealed in his  
 18th century gTam-tshogs miscellany. The converse is also true,  
 and there are several indications (which I point out in my  
 notes to the rGyal-rigs) that Ngag-dbang, the early 18th  
 century historian of eastern Bhutan, had access to the bShad-mdzod

itself. His prime source for Tibetan history, however, was for him as for many others, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long by the Sa-skya scholar bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan, most probably written in 1368. It is the statement in that work that gTsang-ma's place of exile was sPa-gro in the west of the country rather than some place in the east (a statement which derives from the sBa-bzhed) that presumably impelled Ngag-dbang to seek for traditions concerning the prince's journey from the west to the east where most of his alleged descendants were living. That Ngag-dbang was aware of the conflicting nature of the accounts concerning gTsang-ma's place of exile is abundantly clear in a passage where he tries to harmonize them: "... although the Divine Prince ... had intended to proceed in the direction of lHo-brag, due to the power of his aspirations made in previous lives, from the direction of Phag-ri in gTsang he went to gNam-thong dKar-po in sPa-gro" (rGyal-rigs, f. 11b).

It would have been strange if other groups in the west of the country had not focussed on gTsang-ma as their ancestral progenitor in the same way that the ruling clans did in the east. Ngag-dbang (loc. cit.) himself records a tradition which held that two such groups, the rGyal-gdung of sPa-gro and the gDung-'brog of Thim-phu, were descended from the union of gTsang-ma with a girl of the village of gNam-thong dKar-po in sPa-gro. Much more important, however, is the claim in the biography of Ye-shes dNgos-grub (f. 23b) that there were many different groups in "the South" who properly descended from gTsang-ma. In the area of western Bhutan there are said to be two such groups (families, clans, tribes ?) called the Wang-gdung and the Mi'i-rgyal-mtshan. In an interlinear note someone has appended the information

that the former is also known as the Nyung-tshan, a clan (?) of "most noble ancestry". ( /... mnga'-bdag khri ral-pa-can-gyi gcung lha-sras gtsang-ma bya-ba glang-dar-gyis lhor dmag-dpon-du brdzangs-pa-las / (f. 23b) brgyud-pa'i rigs-ma'i bye-brag-gis mang-du snang-na'ang / 'dir wang-gdung / /de-la'ang nyung-tshan zhes-pa shin-tu khungs btsun-pa zhig dang / 7 mi'i rgyal-mtshan-du grags-pa'i rigs gnyis ... /)

None of these names are remembered by the western Bhutanese today, but the Wang people are those inhabiting the valleys of Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha (Aris 1976: 8 and Note 61). The Dung (or gDung) seem to have been a scattered people living in various parts of the country (as we shall see in the next section to this chapter). We may perhaps conjecture that the Wang-gdung were a western branch, presently surviving as the Wang. The relationship between the terms Wang-gdung and Nyung-tshan seems to be hinted at in an old saying quoted in LCB I (f. 7b) in a passage dealing with ancestral feuds: "Just as the Wang fight with the dGung, so do the Mang-tshan (? 'Many Families') fight with the Nyung-tshan (? 'Few Families')." (wang-dgung 'thab-pa dang / mang-tshan nyung-tshan 'thab-pa) The point of the saying seems quite lost.

Before turning to the subject of Ngag-dbang's important work (the rGyal-rigs), some notice must be given of the handling of gTsang-ma's story in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long and the way this affected later Tibetan and Bhutanese writers.

gTsang-ma is introduced as the eldest brother who became a monk apparently in his early life and who was therefore passed over in the succession, just as Glang Dar-ma was for reasons of evil character (f. 89b). This contrasts with

the sBa-bzhed where we learnt that gTsang-ma became a monk at a time just prior to his banishment, maybe as a form of safeguard while the Buddhist robes were still regarded as sacrosanct. After the rGyal-rabs, all the Tibetan histories emphasise gTsang-ma's monkhood. The La-dwags rgyal-rabs even says that he composed "a treatise which gave counsel on worldly rites" (mi-chos-la gdams-pa'i bstan-bcos, f. 20a in the Bodleian MS). As is usual with dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, in his lHo-brag chos-'byung we find an extra snippet on the subject of gTsang-ma's monastic status. As perhaps befitted a member of the royal family who had taken the cloth, he is accompanied by monks, translators and pandits on his journey to exile. On reaching the gTsang-po river a discussion is held during which gTsang-ma announces in verse:

// bdag-la sdod-pa'i dbang med sa-mthar 'gro //  
 nyes-pa med-par skrod-la thabs ci-yod //  
 dge-'dun thugs-bde 'di-nas ldog-par zhu //  
 sems thag-chad-zin gru-yi nyag-thag thong // (f. 134b)

I have no power to stay but must go to the earth's  
 end.  
 Though guiltless, nothing can be done about this  
 expulsion.  
 I beg you monks to return from here in peace.  
 My mind is decided, so cast off the boat's mooring.

As we saw above, according to this version gTsang-ma ends up at mKho-mthing in lHo-brag where he is poisoned by sNa-nam-bza'. This little side-show to the play very likely derives from a local lHo-brag tradition known to the author, himself a native of lHo-brag. The 5th Dalai Lama takes the theme of gTsang-ma's ordination to absurd lengths, with much verbiage on the prince's feelings of renunciation (f. 41b of his chronicle). All this stands in opposition to gTsang-ma's major role as an ancestor figure in Bhutan and it is interesting to observe how Ngag-dbang entirely omits mention of gTsang-ma's

ordination, even though he depends very heavily on the rGyal-rabs where it was first brought into the foreground. A monk could not be described as a man who "cohabits with an extremely beautiful young girl as his play-mate" (rGyal-rigs, f. 11b) who bears him an illegitimate son. Faced with such inconsistencies in his source material, Ngag-dbang generally attempts to resolve them through synthesis but here he has simply omitted the unacceptable.

Another point concerning the rGyal-rabs' handling of the story and the way this was put to use by Ngag-dbang is its introduction of the idea that the Bon-po ministers resorted to bribing the diviners and astrologers. They are given rewards to encourage them to put about a false prediction to the effect that if gTsang-ma resided in Tibet that year, all sorts of troubles would afflict the king and the realm. This is quite absent from the corresponding passage in the sBa-bzhed, the principal source for this whole episode in the rGyal-rabs. I would, however, argue that it does derive from a quite separate part of the sBa-bzhed (on p. 13) where it crops up in a context not very different from this one, although there it is the Buddhist minister Khri-bzang who bribes the experts in divination (the phyag-sprin dang mo-ma dang / bltas-mkhan) to make the false prediction. In order to avert astrological obstacles (sku-chags) to the person of King Khri Srong-lde-brtsan and harm to the state, they are compelled to declare that the most powerful of the anti-Buddhist ministers, the Zhang Ma-zhang, should be dismissed to a 'tomb' (mchad-pa) for a period of three years.<sup>6</sup> The young king is in fact referred to as "prince" (rgyal-bu) and this may have helped to confound the incident with gTsang-ma's story and the grand conspiracy to oust him. While the odd term mo-ma (which I take

as 'diviners' or perhaps 'female diviners') is absent from the rGyal-rabs, it turns up again in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag (as mo-ma phywa-mkhan) and in the rGyal-rigs (as mo-ma rtsis-pa). The latter work expands the story still further by saying that the fortune-tellers were bribed to declare that if gTsang-ma resided that year in Tibet, obstacles would arise both to himself and<sup>to</sup> his brother the king; we are maybe intended to understand that their stars were in such unfavourable conjunction that this would do enormous injury to themselves and to the country at large. At all events, the king is completely duped, but rather than banish his brother he politely sends him off to enquire into the welfare of his subjects in lHo-Mon, and so gTsang-ma arrives in sPa-gro on the first leg of his journey. It would appear that the Bhutanese of the east did not wish to claim descent from an exiled figure of low fortune and this would explain the particular twist which Ngag-dbang gave to the story. (It should also be recalled that in the passage from the biography of Ye-shes dNgos-grub quoted above, gTsang-ma was despatched not as an exile but rather as a general.)

Thus stripped of his character as monk and exile, the prince is all set to fulfil his destined role in Bhutan. Meanwhile in Tibet the queen, the chief minister and eventually the king all meet their end. Glang Dar-ma succeeds, the Bon-po triumph and the Buddhist monks are deprived of their privileged status and reduced to that of householders and hunters. Those who resist are killed. Such is the usual version, but dPa'-bo gTsug-lag adds a note saying that "some of the pandits who did not escape in flight were sold to Mon" ( / pandita bros ma-thar-ba la-la mon-du btsongs / f. 137b). As slaves ? There is no way of telling but if, as seems likely,



the Mon referred to here signifies the area of present-day Bhutan, and if any credibility attaches to the statement, then it seems plausible that these Buddhist scholars would have carried with them the torch of religion that was dying in Tibet. If, as it has been argued, the districts of sPa-gro and Bum-thang were already centres for the Buddhist faith during this period of the snga-dar, then the light from that torch would not have fallen on total darkness. Whether or not gTsang-ma was himself a monk, there is no doubt that he really was in the Buddhist camp and since all the indications point to Bhutan for his banishment, then he too could have helped to keep the fire burning there. What is sure is that from the earliest times certain districts in Bhutan provided a natural refuge for people fleeing from central Tibet. These districts were of a character that encouraged Tibetan refugees to settle, as the events of 1959 have again so recently demonstrated. What is more, if there existed tenuous political links between these districts and central Tibet then they would most certainly have been fitted to receive political exiles. Remote enough to prevent them from brewing trouble, these exiles could still be kept under the eye of the authorities. Such at least was the usual practice in later Tibetan history.

Although the historical associations of the story are most evident, for the traditional audience its function is mythical and concerned with remote origins. To add a contemporary dimension to the discussion I include below the translation of a version related to me in rDzong-kha by Slob-dpon bSod-nams bZang-po, the most noted lama of the 'Brug-pa school in Bhutan today and himself a native of that part of the country where these traditions are still just current. The account was

tape recorded on the 23rd July 1973 Thim-phu. Although very short, it contrasts most interestingly with the version contained in Sections 1 and 2 of Ngag-dbang's text.

lHa-sras gTsang-ma was the brother of King mNga'-bdag Khri Ral-pa-can. The latter was the eldest brother, the middle one was lHa-sras Dar-ma, that is to say Glang-dar, and the youngest was gTsang-ma. Glang-dar consulted with the demon-ministers (bdud-blon) about killing the king and about his plan to take over the throne, saying that there was no other way he could become king. The ministers, however, declared that even if the king were killed there would still be lHa-sras gTsang-ma and so he would not be permitted to become king. On discussing ways and means by which they could achieve their aim, it was said that since the king and lHa-sras gTsang-ma were of the same birth-year, it was not an auspicious year for them to reside together. The diviners (mo-btab-mi) were presented with bribes of money and told to spread this about. So the diviners declared that it was not proper for the king and lHa-sras gTsang-ma to reside together that year. gTsang-ma was told to go away and reside in a monastery, and so he was exiled to the border at sPa-gro. Finding no place at sPa-gro he wished to settle in, and not understanding the language spoken there, he proceeded on his way through Kheng to the eastern region. On arrival there he found good land and saying he would stay there, he built himself a bamboo house and took up residence. That place was called sNga-tshang ("The Ancient Abode"). But he was not happy there, so he went on his way and after crossing the pass of sKo-ra La he arrived at bKra-shis-sgang. He found the land there very pleasant and quite unlike any other he had seen. "If I reside in this place would it be of benefit to sentient beings, to myself and others?" Now his father had given him a golden arrow and a silver arrow, telling him to use them as protective amulets at a time in his life when he faced severe trouble. His father was Mu-khri bTsan-po. Firing off the golden arrow across to the opposite side of the valley, water came out from where it struck the ground. The so-called gSer-chu ("Golden River") still exists today. Firing off the silver arrow across the river, water again came out from where it struck the ground. The so-called dNgul-chu ("Silver River") still exists today. They are the so-called gSer-chu dNgul-chu. "Ah, a good auspice has come forth," he declared. Proceeding on his way he came to Byams-mkhar on the opposite side of the river to bKra-shis-sgang and a bit further down. There was a large crowd of people assembled there who all declared: "Such a handsome and tall person as you, who is quite unlike ourselves, should be kept here as our chief, our lord!" And so they consulted among each other. The prince agreed but said that if he were to reside there as chief, a palace would be needed. A palace (pho-brang) is what the Tibetans call mkhar as in "the first of the palaces Yam-bu bla-mkhar". The people agreed, saying they would

easily build a palace, using the word byams (? 'jam) for 'easy'. So the palace was built and called Byams-mkhar ("The Easy Castle"). It no longer exists today. About seven sons were born to the prince after that. It was the time when the king had been killed in Tibet, the doctrine was declining and temples were being destroyed by Glang-dar. A very large number of Tibetans fled from Tibet and arrived in this direction. One of the prince's sons, the eldest, was sent to Mu-khum, and even though a long time has elapsed since these events took place there are still descendants of his at Mu-khum who say: "At that time lHa-sras gTsang-ma gave us his son from whom this son was born, from whom that son was born, from whom that was born - who was sent at that time as a bridegroom to that family" and so on. All this is contained in writings which they still possess. This village of Mu-khum is situated above the so-called She-ri Bridge, on the opposite side of the valley to sGra-mi-rtse. Then another son was sent to Kheng-mkhar. The story of this one is also contained in writings, together with the story of how lHa-sras gTsang-ma came down from Tibet. Then recognising his youngest son as an emanation of the Buddha, even though he did not know much about religion, he sent him off to a place opposite where I bSod-nams bZang-po stay at Yong-la dGon-pa which was called Chung-mkhar ("The Castle of the Youngest"), named after him. After he had taken up residence there, many people came up from India to see him. They felt great faith in him, recognising him as the descendant of the kings of Tibet who were themselves of the Shākya lineage of India. They said they would present him with all the land stretching towards Bhutan in a line from Gauhati to Alipur. The writings concerning this are said to be kept in Gauhati even now. Having gained power over the Indian borderlands, all the people of Chung-mkhar gained faith in him and so he resided there as their king. However, besides the oral traditions, this particular story is not contained in the records preserved in eastern Bhutan. (The slob-dpon ends the account with an incident told him by the late rdzong-dpon of gZhong-sgar who had married into the family at Chung-mkhar that claimed descent from gTsang-ma. Apparently when he once made a trading trip to Gauhati in Assam he was accosted by a stranger who insisted on giving him a sum of seventy rupees, saying: "In previous times the king of Chung-mkhar was our ruler and we enjoyed great prosperity and good fortune. I have books ('kitap') about this.")

It is most unlikely that today more than a handful of people are able to give a connected account such as this. It must be borne in mind that bSod-nams bZang-po has a special antiquarian interest in old traditions, an avocation which leads him into the world of old manuscripts and half-remembered oral traditions. The major literary source for his version is, of course, Ngag-dbang's work of 1728 but since gTsang-ma is presented

unequivocally as an exile we can be quite sure that he was familiar with the story as it appears in at least one of the Tibetan histories. However, apart from discrepancies in place names, it is the rGyal-rigs which sets the pattern more or less up to the point where g'Tsang-ma starts producing the sons from whom his descendants variously issued at Byams-mkhar, Kheng-mkhar, Mu-khum and Chung-mkhar. The lines of diffusion are at total variance with that contained in Ngag-dbang's work, the names of each of the sons are lacking and so also are the genealogies which so preoccupy the rGyal-rigs. Only the general pattern remains, that of sons being invited to districts to become rulers, from whom lineages are said to be traced. My impression is that these lineages are today probably credited to families which gained prominence in the not too-distant past. However it may be, we can at least be sure of one thing: whereas in present traditions the lines of descent are credited to individual families, up to the early eighteenth century they appear to have been the preserve of several families operating conjointly as a single clan or sub-clan. In point of fact, none of the clans whose history Ngag-dbang sketched remain today. The reason for this extraordinary example of social change is all too apparent in the second work of Ngag-dbang presented in Part 2 below, the Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long which describes the campaign organised by the great Mi-'gyur brTan-pa in the middle years of the 17th century to subdue this part of the country. While we are told (on f. 24a) that the hereditary clan rulers were reinstated in their customary rights after being defeated and after swearing oaths of allegiance to the 'Brug-pa, it is beyond question that their powers were thereafter most heavily circumscribed. Reduced to the status of titular heads of their clans

possessing no real authority and with large numbers of their clansmen forced into government service as lay servitors and monks, the whole structure of clan organisation disappeared completely. At the same time it should be stressed that in many parts of Tibet and the Himalayas, clans seem to have a tendency to vanish almost without trace. The fate suffered by the eastern Bhutanese clans therefore forms part of a broad process whose true explanation may perhaps lie more in the realm of social anthropology. Nevertheless, the historical causes here seem to me sufficiently satisfying as to obviate the need to look to other disciplines.

Before trying to consider, on the basis of the rGyal-rigs, how the old clans were constituted, some thought must be given to the scope and composition of that work. Nothing is known about the author beyond the meagre information provided in the colophons to his two works, but reading between the lines it is apparent that he was born a member of the Byar clan descending from gTsang-ma's grandson, Gong-dkar-rgyal. He was probably admitted as 'monk-levy' (btsun-khral) to the state monastery housed in bKra-shis-sgang rDzong (where he wrote the rGyal-rigs) some years after it had been established in about 1657. In his old age he set down in the Lo-rgyus the eye-witness accounts of the campaign as related to him by the dbu-mdzad Dam-chos Rab-rgyas and others. In 1728 he wrote the rGyal-rigs. Certain passages suggest that he was well-travelled in Tibet where he may have gone for study and pilgrimage. By 1728 sufficient time had elapsed since the take-over of east Bhutan for the ancient ruling clans to realise that the traditional bases of their authority had been irrevocably altered. Either separately or else in a group their leaders came to Ngag-dbang and asked him to record

their genealogies for posterity. Thus the rGyal-rigs was occasioned by sentiments of preservation in the face of a collapsing clan organisation. Could these sentiments have been directed towards covert political action? The answer depends on how we interpret the opening verses (ff. 1b-4b) which describe the work as "a secret little song" (gsang-ba'i glu-chung) intended for "nobles of equal standing" (ya-rabs pho-mnyam) and not for "the audience of all ears" (kun-gyi rna-ba'i thos-rgya). It was written in the hope that in the future "a true descendant of the ancient kings might come forth like a star that appears during daytime" (rje-rgyal brgyud-pa nyin-skar byung srid-na //). There seems no easy way of deciding whether it was intended to be a 'secret history' to be kept concealed from the 'Brug-pa authorities' (whose overthrow was perhaps desired by the ruling clans displaced by them) or whether it was to be hidden from the public in general (which might misuse the history). At the same time it must be remembered that "outbreaks of genealogical fever", to use the phrase of J.H. Plumb, often take place as a result of the imposition of some form of foreign control. As David Henige (1974:6-7) comments on the phrase: "Some of the greatest historical works of antiquity were written during periods of foreign domination and with the expressed purpose of portraying the historians' peoples in a way at once palliative to their lost sovereignty and impressive to their new rulers." These circumstances would seem to fit the case of the rGyal-rigs very well but for its alleged secret nature.

On the face of it, Ngag-dbang must have been a man of somewhat divided loyalty. As a member of the ancient ruling nobility and a confidant of the ousted rulers, his inherited sympathies lay with his own people and their traditions. As a

monk dedicated to the 'Brug-pa school, essentially an alien body which had imposed itself by force on the area, he was committed to the furtherance of that school's secular and spiritual aims. His two surviving works are separately devoted to these two areas of sympathy and it is an interesting key to the man himself that the two should have been written by the same person. It is, however, the monk in Ngag-dbang which ultimately seems to triumph and the efforts towards synthesis displayed in both works doubtless provide the only true hint to his character. Ngag-dbang 'the Harmoniser' would be a fitting epithet.

We have already noticed how he deprived gTsang-ma of certain unacceptable attributes in order to groom him for his role as an ancestor figure, thus reconciling the story as it appeared in the textual sources with the oral myths known to him. In a similar manner he adjusted the literary anomalies in regard to the place of gTsang-ma's exile. Something of his methodology is revealed in his discussion of names (on f. 11 a-b) where the implication of his argument is that since one person can be known by several names, so can a single story be recounted in many, apparently conflicting, ways. Thus for Ngag-dbang an isolated version perhaps never reveals the whole truth. This becomes very clear in two instances: (1) The varying accounts of the origin of the so called gDung families of U-ra and Wol-ba-lung are reconciled (on f. 40a) by virtue of the fact that gDung lHa-dbang Grags-pa, their common progenitor, was himself the offspring of a supernatural being, a lha-klu ('nāga-god'). Thus he could assume different appearances in the sight of different persons. (2) Again a higher order is invoked to explain away all the conflicting interpretations (Bon-po, Buddhist and Brahmanical)

which could be brought to bear on the subject of clan origins, particularly the ancient theme of a god's descent to earth on "the divine rmu-ladders and the gold and silver phya-cords" (ff. 45b-46a). Only an enlightened being can perceive the real truth that lies behind these interpretations. Ngag-dbang seems to accord them an equal temporary validity.

Despite these dexterous fence-sitting solutions to the problems posed by variant traditions, Ngag-dbang would have found it impossible to write his work without attempting to bring order to rival genealogical claims. His work was intended to be a definitive account that substantiated (khungs-bcad) some versions and rejected others as apocryphal. Until material parallel to his own comes to light (and this seems increasingly likely) we have no means yet of knowing what really constituted his methodology. Very likely the character and credentials of his "wise old men of the world" ('jig-rten rgan-rabs mkhas-pa, f. 2b) who acted as his informants had much to do with it, as also the substance of his documentary sources and, not least perhaps, his own natural bias. A real impartiality, however, can be seen in the way he considers all clans, families and groups to be worthy of mention; none is singled out for special treatment, certainly not his own clan of the Byar. While this is not dispassionate history (does such a thing exist?), it does seem to contain as fair and balanced an account as any local chronicler can ever achieve. By contrast, the Addendum dealing with the history and rights of the Wang-ma clan is self-congratulatory and crudely parochial in tone, just as we might expect of its author, the ruler of a 'one-valley kingdom' in decline. It must represent the kind of text



which Ngag-dbang had to assess and use, though this particular one seems more or less contemporary with his own work.

Both the rGyal-rigs and the Lo-rgyus come closer to the notion of 'secular' history than any other work known to me from Bhutan. The reasons for this are quite evident. Whereas in the rest of the country civil authority lay in the hands of powerful religious lineages which were closely associated with various Buddhist sects, in the east of the country the situation is quite different. There we find authority vested in the ruling families of local clans, each of which enjoyed complete control over its territory. Their legitimacy depended on their ability to trace a lineage back to a royal figure and in nearly every case their choice fell on Prince gTsang-ma. By the early 18th century there were certainly families of ecclesiastical nobles in the east, notably those descending from the 'text-discoverers' Gu-ru Chos-dbang, Padma Gling-pa and rDo-rje Gling-pa, but these are not mentioned by Ngag-dbang at all. It is also clear that some of the 'royal' families, the alleged descendants of gTsang-ma, had acquired a quasi-religious status as suggested by their use of the titles of chos-mdzad and lha-btsun. In Tibet the latter always denotes a monk of royal ancestry. In the case of the Wang-ma clan of Yo-gdung we can see in the Addendum [III] that its rulers entered into the contractual relationship of mchod-yon ('priest and patron') with the abbots of a local branch of the 'Brug-pa school. It appears to have been the threat posed to this branch by the ruling dGe-lugs-pa school in Tibet which acted as one of the main causes of the 'Brug-pa campaign to take over the area. Thus by the middle years of the 17th century it could be said that

eastern Bhutan was ripe for being absorbed by the emergent theocracy of the west. Nevertheless, despite these fragmented precursors of a single religious polity in the east, the ancient unit of rule there is that of the secular principality free of monkish influence. Even though the history of the clans which ruled these little principalities was written by a monk, the abiding tone of that work remains secular to a degree and, with the exception of the opening section and the relevant myths of origin, the course of history is written in terms that are refreshingly down to earth and prosaic. Even though the two works of Ngag-dbang are <sup>almost,</sup> / (together with the autobiography of Padma Gling-pa), the only extant sources for the history of eastern Bhutan yet known to us, they seem to have been ignored by the later religious historians because of their 'profane' character. Thus the author of LCB II, who had access to the text and who indeed provides a little synopsis of gTsang-ma's doings on the basis of the rGyal-rigs, declines to make full use of it: "Although there are endless accounts of the origins [of noble families in eastern Bhutan], there is no need to count minute atoms in the world of existence, and so [matters that pertain to] religion are chiefly pursued herein." (... byung-tshul mtha'-yas-par snang-yang srid-pa'i rdul-phran bgrang-ba'i dgos-pa med pas / 'dir gtso-bo chos-kyi rjes-su 'brangs-te ... f. 68b)

For Ngag-dbang and his contemporaries this counting of "minute atoms" was a matter of some urgency because the legitimacy of clan rule, even though by then subject to the 'Brug-pa theocracy, depended on it. Do these "atoms" dispose themselves into a pattern and can that pattern be said to reflect true history? Any answers attempted to these questions must be of an interim nature pending the completion of a great

deal of work on the ethnology of the east and on other surviving texts. The picture thus gained will then have to be set against that provided by other clan histories in Tibet and the Himalayas. Nepal seems to be a likely area for comparison in view of the texts found there by Levine (1976), Macdonald (1971) and Oppitz (1968).

I take the terms gdung, gdung-rus and rus as used by Ngag-dbang to mean 'clan', literally the 'bone' which is passed down the male line as distinct from the flesh and blood which is thought to pass down the female line. In Tibet the term pha-spun ('cousin-brothers with the same father') is sometimes used to refer to the exogamous clan (Stein 1972: 95) but in this text it seems to retain its most literal meaning. The term rigs seems to signify 'family' or 'lineage' and is used in a very general and vague sense. pha-tshan (roughly 'paternal relatives') is used more precisely for 'family' in the sense of a "set of parents and children, or of relatives, living together or not" (Concise Oxford Dictionary). The words rus and gdung seem to be entirely coterminous here (the latter being simply the honorific form) and gdung-rus can be explained as a pleonastic compound. Stein (1959b: 3) however takes gdung as 'issue' or 'progeny' ("lignée") which in our text appears mainly as brgyud-pa. Clearly all these terms, and especially their compounds and derivatives, cover a multitude of meanings which have shifted from area to area and from period to period. All attempts to find equivalents in our own language must bear in mind Stein's caution: "Ce n'est qu'un pis-aller et une convention qui ne doit en rien faire préjuger du contenu sociologique réel de ces termes." (loc. cit.) Because of the paucity of material

on the ancient clans of Tibet and the way in which they were heavily schematised, no scholar has yet attempted to define precisely their nature and development. It is difficult even to suggest a makeshift model to serve as the prototype. A reading of the scattered literature on the subject leads one however to expect that a clan should have the following features: (1) It should trace its descent from a common progenitor and its diffusion from an ancestral homeland; (2) each clan or sub-clan should have its own hereditary ruler and hereditary vassals; (3) clan marriages should be strictly exogamous; (4) each clan should have its own god who is intimately associated with the person of the ruler; (5) clan territory should be well defined. Taking each of these features, let us see what Ngag-dbang's work permits us to conclude about the nature of his clans.

Common descent and diffusion. It is surely this element more than any other which gives a clan its cohesion. The six ruling clans of the Jo-bo, rJe, Byar, Yas-sde, sTung-sde and Wang-ma are alleged to descend variously from the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of Prince gTsang-ma himself. The genealogical table (no. 8) constructed on the basis of Section II of the rGyal-rigs therefore shows these clans as collateral lineages and sub-lineages issuing from gTsang-ma. The names of his immediate descendants who acted as founders of the clans all appear in an odd three-syllable form of antique appearance, and this pattern is maintained for anything up to five generations of their own descendants. As we shall see, however, one such name can be fixed to the year 1507. The names further down the table take on a very local character, many of which (such as sMan-khyi, Kha-khas, Som-dar etc.) must have been peculiar to this region. Interspersed with these

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF

THE RULING FAMILIES

OF

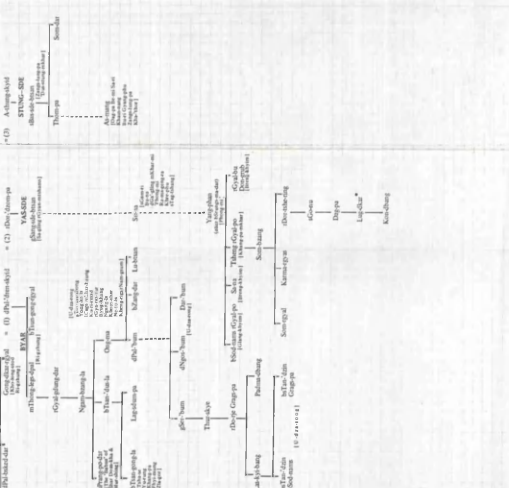
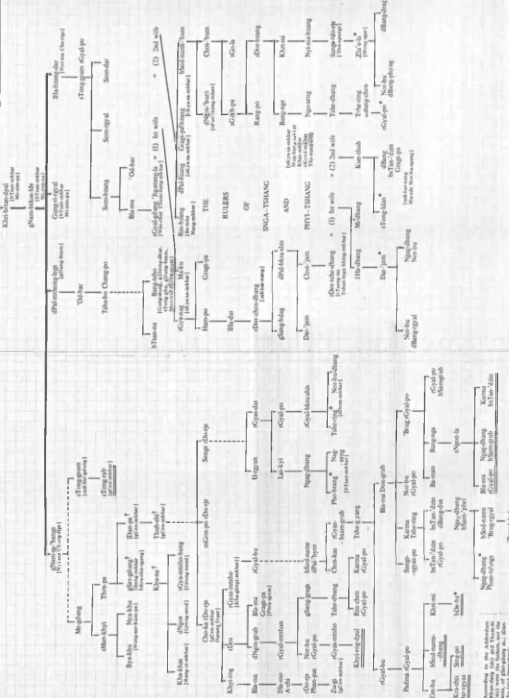
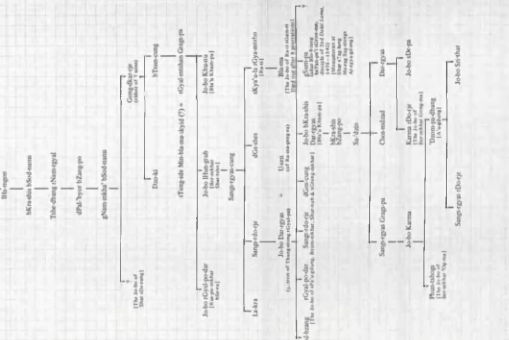
EASTERN BRUTAN

CLAIMING DESCENT FROM

LHA-SPAS GTSANG-WA

According to Chapter II of Gtsangpa Yung-shang-pul-ho-kye-mo, II, (11c, 12a)

- Notes:
- (1) Names in heavy type at the top of each branch (e.g., RNYI) are main stems.
  - (2) The right line (G) indicates descent from the main stem of a particular generation.
  - (3) Names in small type (e.g., LHA-SPAS GTSANG-WA) are names of collateral branches.
  - (4) Names in small type (e.g., LHA-SPAS GTSANG-WA) are names of collateral branches.
  - (5) Names in small type (e.g., LHA-SPAS GTSANG-WA) are names of collateral branches.
  - (6) Names in small type (e.g., LHA-SPAS GTSANG-WA) are names of collateral branches.
  - (7) Names in small type (e.g., LHA-SPAS GTSANG-WA) are names of collateral branches.



are standard names such as Tshe-ring, Ngag-dbang, bSod-nams dPal-'byor and so on. Leaving aside for the moment the fascinating case of the 'babus' of Dom-kha and Mur-shing, the only sure evidence that these pedigrees are at least partly historical lies in the appearance of two members of the Jo-bo clan, Dar-rgyas and Blo-bzang bsTan-pa'i sGron-me, who were followers of Thang-stong rGyal-po (1385-1464) and the 2nd Dalai Lama (1475-1542) respectively. Also at the end of the lines we meet with identifiable figures who are either mentioned in the Lo-rgyus for the part they played during the wars with the 'Brug-pa, or who appear in the colophon to the rGyal-rigs as among those who requested its composition. The impression we are left with is that large stretches of these lines must be genuinely derived from valid written and oral material. The upper reaches of the tree, however, seem to be mostly mythologically inspired. The delightful folk etymologies which Ngag-dbang applies to the names of the clans themselves give us to think that their true origin had long since been forgotten. It would also be most unreasonable to expect all the clans to descend in fact from gTsang-ma and we are certainly entitled to doubt whether he had any descendants at all in the area. Until more texts are found it is impossible to say where the myths end and true history begins. What is important meanwhile is the claim of common clan origin; the pains taken by Ngag-dbang to substantiate the claim were really directed towards giving the motley peoples of the east a unified identity. A single structural principle and a single mythological scheme served to account for the heterogeneity that existed among the clans and lineages. Ngag-dbang's abiding aim is to give them a corporate existence. Could this aim have caused him to ignore

schemes that did not fit the pattern at all ? The Addendum /I/ on the Wang-ma shows that it traced its line back to a certain bZhi-khri bTsan-po, but in its hopelessly garbled account of the Tibetan kings the name is applied to a brother of Ral-pa-can whose descendants come to Mon-yul; very likely gTsang-ma in strange guise and not some rival figure. A feature of the rGyal-rigs which really appears to throw some doubt on its overall scheme is the treatment accorded to the rJe clan descending from Khri-brtan-dpal, and to the 'babus' of Dom-kha and Mur-shing.

The extraordinary profusion of the collateral branches of the rJe are disposed into a medley of independent units generally described as 'royal families' (rgyal-rigs). By rights the name rJe should apply to this whole multitude acting as a single clan, but in fact it is found only once on f. 14b where it is given <sup>either</sup> as the clan name <sup>or title</sup> of Khri-brtan-dpal himself, and it never recurs in the way the other clan names do. If all the 'royal families' whose descent Ngag-dbang traces from Khri-brtan-dpal had really considered themselves members of this clan, surely its name would have cropped up again here and there. The Addendum /I and II/ provides a partial corroboration of the pedigree of the kings of gCen-mkhar who were closely associated with the Wang-ma sub-clan of Yo-gdung. They figure in the main work under the general clan name of rJe but the Addendum containing the records of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma has no mention of the name at all. Was there indeed a clan called rJe at all ? If not, then some of these ruling families might have functioned outside the clan system in the same way, for instance, as the gDung of Bum-thang (see the next section). They may indeed represent

some early stage in the break-up of the old clans even before the 'Brug-pa campaign. Whatever their true social position, they do appear to have considered themselves as preserving gTsang-ma's 'bone' and like the true clans they trace their geographical diffusion back to a place called Mi-zim-pa which is said to be at bTsan-mkhar in 'Brong-mdo-gsum. According to one informant, bTsan-mkhar is supposed to be in the area between sKur-stod and Mong-sgar, close to another place called sDom-mkhar. However, neither the name Mi-zim-pa nor 'Brong-mdo-gsum seem to be remembered now. The Addendum [I] further confirms that Mi-zim-pa was regarded as the ancestral homeland by all the ruling clans. Its proper identification remains an urgent necessity.

The other point which casts some suspicion on Ngag-dbang's work is his treatment of the so-called 'babus' of Shar Dom-kha and Mur-shing who are alleged to descend from sPrang-po-dar of the sByar clan. There are some unexpected references to this line of rulers in the Blue Annals of 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba, the lHo-brag chos-'byung of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag and in the autobiography of Padma Gling-pa, all of which complement each other in a most pleasing manner. In the Blue Annals we read that at a time when the first Karma-pa incarnation, Dus-gsum mkHyen-pa (1110-1193), was staying in a monastery called Bya-lkog:

/ der mu-dbon-la mthong-snang bzang-po mang-du byung /  
sgam-po-pas lung-bstan-nas tsha bre lnga bsnams-nas  
mon-gyi rgyal-po ga-thung-gi sar byon / des yon-bdag  
byas-nas sha-'ug-stag-sgor byon-nas bzhugs / (Nya f. 33a)

Mu-dbon had many excellent visions there. After sGam-po-pa had made a prophecy, /Dus-gsum mkHyen-pa/ took with him five measures of salt and went to the place of Ga-thung King of Mon. After he /the king/ had become his patron, /Dus-gsum mkHyen-pa/ went to Sha-'ug sTag-sgo and resided there.

Mr. Richardson has pointed out to me that a work in his



possession which contains brief lives of the Karma-pa incarnations has a reference to the same incident. It adds the information that the King's Tibetan consort acted as interpreter for Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa on this occasion. Further corroboration is provided by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag in a passage which speaks of a descendant of Ga-thung making a visit to the 7th Karma-pa incarnation, Chos-grags rGya-mtsho (1454-1506), while the latter was staying in the district of Dwags-po in south-eastern Tibet:

/ sngon rje dus-mkhyen mon dom-tshang-du sgrub-pa mdzad-dus-kyi sbyin-bdag mon-gyi rgyal-po gwa-thung-gi rgyud-pa mon / tsang-mi / ka-tsa-ra / rgya-gar-ste re-re-la khri-tsho re yod-pa'i bdag-po mon rgyal-po don-grub mjal-du sleb / 'bul-zhabs dpag-med byas / sras-po gcig phul-ste mon-du dgon-gnas 'debs-par zhus / gnas-chen dom-tshang-rong-gi sbyin-bdag bgyid-par byas-te rdor-'dzin bskos-pas gnas dar-rgyas-su gyur / (Pha f. 116a)

Don-grub King of Mon arrived to pay a visit, being the descendant of Gwa-thung King of Mon who in ancient times had been a patron while the Lord Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa was meditating at Dom-tshang in Mon. He, Don-grub, was the owner of myriarchies, one among each group of the Mon, Tsang-mi, Ka-tsa-ra and Indians. He made limitless offerings. He gave a son of his to Chos-grags rGya-mtsho and requested him to found a monastery in Mon. As he declared that he would act as the patron of the great shrine of Dom-tshang-rong, an abbot (lit. vajradhara) was appointed there and so the shrine came to flourish.

Later in his life the same Karma-pa met another king whom I take to be a son of Don-grub:

/ der shar-mon-gyi rgyal-po jo-'bag dpon-g.yog mang-po mjal-bar sleb / 'bul-ba mtha'-yas / khong-rang-yang gtsug-phud phul-zhing bstan-pa 'dzugs-par zhus / (Pha f. 127a)

There in Kong-po Jo-'bag King of Eastern Mon came with a large party of attendants to visit Chos-grags rGya-mtsho. Infinite offerings were made and he himself offered his tonsure and requested Chos-grags rGya-mtsho to establish the teachings in Mon.

As it turns out, Padma Gling-pa corroborates this passage in a most interesting and detailed account of his own visit to Jo-'bag, but before looking at that, here is dPa'-bo

gTsug-lag's notice of a final visit by Jo-'bag's son to the Karma-pa of his own day, Mi-skyod rDo-rje (1507-1554). This son is none other than sPrang-po-dar whom Ngag-dbang claims to be the ancestor of all the 'babus' of Shar Domkha and Mur-shing (rGyal-rigs, f. 24 a-b).

/'di-las ches sngon-tsam-du mon rgyal-po gwa-thung-gi brgyud-pa jo-'bag-gi sras gces-ming sprang-po-dar zer-ba-de blon-po khri-dpon bzhi dang-bcas-pas mjal-du sleb-ste kho-rang-gi skra-yang phul / go'i shri'i las-kha gnang / 'bul-ba-ni mtha'-yas-par byas-cing blon-po sin-ta-kas kyang khyad-par-du mchod / (Pha f. 225b)

Quite a long time before this the person known by the affectionate nickname of sPrang-po-dar ('Flourishing Beggar') who was the son of Jo-'bag, himself the descendant of Gwa-thung King of Mon, arrived to see /Mi-skyod rDo-rje/ together with four ministers and myriarchs. He even offered his tonsure. He was given /the initiation of ?/ the Go'i-shri'i las-kha. He made infinite offerings and the minister Sin-ti-ka also made a special gift.

All the above passages are cited in Stein (1959a: 186-187) in his analysis of the geographical framework to the Ge-sar epic, taking them to support his idea that the people of Mon can be located not only in the Himalayan ranges but also in the Sino-Tibetan marches. He interprets King Ga-thung (or Gwa-thung) to be a sort of legendary or divine ancestor of the Mon, allied to the Ge-thung 'King of dMu' who is invoked in a bsangs ritual, to the sacred mountain of dGe-tho in the Amnye Machen range, and to Khro-thung (alias Ge-thung or Ger-thung), the paternal uncle and antagonist of the hero Ge-sar. This complex of gods, mountains and epic figures has its proper location in the eastern borderlands, but Stein's discovery of Ga-thung in the passage from the Blue Annals quoted above, where the king is placed in Mon, an area normally thought to border on India, caused him to review the geographical orientation of the myth. He read the first passage from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag as a sort of gloss on

the episode related in Blue Annals, wrongly taking the whole account to refer to a visit of King Don-grub, descendant of Ga-thung, to the first Karma-pa Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa, whereas it clearly applies to a visit paid to the seventh incarnation Chos-grags rGya-mtsho while the latter was staying in Dwags-po. In this way Ga-thung acquired a purely ancestral quality in Stein's eyes, one which aligned with his mythological preoccupations. The unexplained appearance of somebody called Mu-dbon in the Blue Annals passage was taken to refer to a "uterine nephew" of the dMu deities over whom Ge-thung (of the bsangs-yig) ruled as king. While conceding a southern location to some of the kings of Mon on the unambiguous evidence of dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's first passage (but placing them wrongly in Dwags-po), Stein then took the reference in the next passage to Jo-'bag as "King of Eastern Mon" to provide the desired link with the scene of the epic. Finally, the description of Jo-'bag as "descendant of Gwa-thung" in the last of the passages quoted from dPa'-bo gTsug-lag led Stein to his statement: "Il est donc certain que Ga-thung, roi des Mon, se réfère a un premier ancêtre dont seraient issus aussi bien les Mon du Sud que les Mon de l'Est".

The Bhutanese records not only contradict these interpretations but serve to put the whole subject on firm ground. The four "Kings of Mon" (Ga-thung, Don-grub, Jo-'bag and sPrang-po-dar) all belong to a single historical lineage stretching from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries and all of them were patrons of the Karma-pa incarnations of their day.

dPa'-bo gTsug-lag may well have met sPrang-po-dar on the occasion of his visit to Mi-skyod rDo-rje who was his own teacher. He was quite aware of the traditional links between these kings and the Karma-pa; twice he recalls the figure of

Ga-thung who had forged the link with the first incarnation, presenting him not as the legendary ancestor of the kings of Mon but as their historical forebear who had initiated the special relationship with his own school. He was also perfectly aware of the true location of the area ruled by these kings; "Eastern Mon" (or "The Mon to the East") was situated east of proto-Bhutan (i.e. Mon proper) and not in eastern Tibet. Thanks to the Bhutanese records we can be even more exact. The kings had their palace in the village of Dom-kha which a Survey of India map for 1917 shows to lie at an altitude of 6,970 feet, two miles east of Moshing (Mur-shing of the rGyal-rigs) in the southern part of the Kameng Frontier District of Arunachal Pradesh.

Padma Gling-pa first met "King Jo-'phag Dar-ma of Shar Dong-kha" in 1504 while he was engaged in constructing the temple of gTam-zhing (lHun-grub Chos-gling) which is still to be seen in the Chos-'khor valley of Bum-thang to this day.<sup>7</sup> While the king was staying there, Padma Gling-pa was challenged by a rival to demonstrate his miraculous powers and so he claims to have implanted his footprint on a stone. Weeping with faith, the king begged him for it but the chief of Chos-'khor, Kun-thub by name, insisted that the stone should be kept in the temple. Later, however, it was presented to one Chos-rje Yang-ldan rTse-pa. Some four years later in 1507 emissaries from the king arrive to invite Padma Gling-pa to Dong-kha and so we are treated to a quite detailed description of the king's court (ff. 162a-164b). After a journey of thirteen days Padma Gling-pa arrived at a place called Dung-mtsho Karma-thang where he was met by the king accompanied by fifteen horsemen and by soldiers wearing armour. He was invited to sit in "an Indian litter adorned

with a dragon's head and precious jewels" (rgya'i 'do-li 'brug-mgo dang / rin-po-che'i nor-bus brgyan-pa-zhig f. 162a). He declined it and, riding a horse with silken reins, he arrived at an open ground where all sorts of food including sugar cane and rgu-ba (?) had been prepared after the Indian manner. Padma Gling-pa pauses here in his narrative to reflect on the result of his visit. The syntax of this passage is quite muddled but the sense is clear:

/ de-nas pho-brang-du slebs-pa'i dus-nas bzung-ste / rgyal-po de'i yab-mes-nas lo nyi-shu-rtsa-lnga tshun-las mi-thub-pa'i ari dang / smyung / =snyung / -dus rim-gro-la-yang / mi dang ra lnga-brya-tsam dang / ba glang gtos-che-ba bsad-nas khrag-mchod-kyis dbang-phyug-chen-po gsol dgos-pa-la / srog-gcod dang sdig-pa'i nyes-dmigs-kyis / jigs-te / sprul-sku zhwa-nag-pa-la skyabs-zhus-dus lo gsum-gyi skyabs mdzad / de-rjes bdag-gis bskyabs-pas lo so-dgur thub-cing / de-dus sras-yang 'khrungs / sdig-pa-rnams byed ma-dgos-so /  
(Pha, f. 162b)

From the time of that king's ancestor's they had to kill about five hundred humans and goats and an enormous number of cows and bulls to supplicate the great Śiva with blood-offerings on account of a demon which prevented them from reaching the age of twenty-five, and also as a ceremony at times of illness. Fearful of the karmic punishment which would befall him for killing and [other such acts of] evil, he [King Jo-'phag Dar-ma] took refuge with the Black Hat Incarnation who protected him for a period of three years. Subsequently, from the time I arrived at the palace I was able to protect him and so for thirty-nine years he was able [to refrain from blood sacrifices]. During that period a son was born to him and there was no occasion for him to commit acts of evil.

Padma Gling-pa was then led along a path lined with huge butter lamps which took him up to the threshold of the palace. Inside he was taken to a very fine Indian throne in the assembly room, to the right of which stood many images including a Vajradhara to the height of a man which was said to have belonged to the king's father, all surrounded with:

ritual objects of gold and silver. On the following day he bestowed certain private initiations on the king and gave a public blessing to his subjects who presented him with various offerings. There follows a long list of the precious objects, textiles and animals which the king offered to him on the next day. During the course of his stay at Dom-kha, a certain Rāja of Kāmata paid him a visit:

/ de-dus rgya-gar ka-ma-ta'i rā-dza yang mjal-du  
byung-zhing / mjal-dar-la dar-yug dkar dmar khra  
gsum 'bul-zhing gus-pa'i sgo-nas phyag-'tshal-ba-  
dang / khong-yang rgya-gar-gyi rgyal-po stobs-chen  
vin-pas / bdag-gis-kyang langs-nas bsdad-pas /  
bdag-gi rkang-pa-la lag-pas reg-nas / kho-rang-gi  
mgo-thog-tu bzhang-cing 'dug / de-nas yang phyag-  
btsal-te phyi-'gros byas-te song / (Pha, ff. 163b-164a)

At that time the Rāja of Kāmata also came to see me and offered a length of white, red, and striped silk as a ceremonial scarf and made his obeisance in a devoted manner. Thereupon, since he was a most powerful king of India, I myself stood up and waited. Touching my foot with his hand, he placed it upon his own head. After prostrating once again, he went outside and departed.

Before reverting to Padma Gling-pa's narrative to consider what it tells us about the kings of Dom-kha, some thought must be given to this Rāja and the reason for his appearance in the area. The ancient Hindu kingdom of Kāmata was situated at a very considerable distance from the scene of these events and had its capital, Kāmatapur, on the west bank of the Dharla river in modern Cooch Bihar, that is to say in the plains of West Bengal bordering on western Bhutan. The ruins of the city are carefully described in Hunter (1876: 362-370). The kingdom was conquered by Husayn Shāh, the Moslem Sultan or Nawab of Bengal, and the capital destroyed. The date of this has long been a subject of debate among scholars but after a careful consideration of all the conflicting literary sources and with fresh epigraphic and numismatic evidence to hand, Digby (1973:601) has decided

that the conquest must have taken place sometime between the years 1501 and 1505. There appears to have survived into the early nineteenth century a semi-oral tradition to the effect that Nilambhar, the last Rāja of Kāmata, escaped from the destruction of his capital and fled to the mountains from where he would one day return to restore the kingdom and drive out the Bhutanese, Assamese, Koch and Yāvana people (Buchanan-Hamilton 1838:10 and Hunter 1876: 370). Although the whole subject deserves much more investigation, it seems we are forced to the conclusion that the Rāja of Kāmata whom Padma Gling-pa met in 1507 was none other than Nilambhar himself who must have fled to these mountains during the Moslem invasion of his kingdom. The meeting with Padma Gling-pa was not as entirely fortuitous as we might suppose. Nilambhar's forebears had received Buddhist lamas at their court; they / <sup>probably included</sup> the great bridge-building saint Thang-stong rGyal-po (1385-1464) whose visit is described partly in mythical terms on ff. 149b-153a of his standard biography. Long before that Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po (1162-1251) received presents from "King Bhra-nan-la of rGya Ka-ma-rta" (ff. 36b-37a of his rnam-thar). All this helps to explain the excessive respect which Rāja Nilambhar showed in greeting Padma Gling-pa, which is suggestive of sentiments one would not normally credit to a Hindu monarch. The implication of the passage is that, hearing of the presence of a famous Buddhist in the area, he deliberately sought him out to receive his darshan. As we have seen, the court of King Jo-'phag Darma maintained a quasi-Indian character and that too suggests that Nilambhar would not have felt completely out of place in this situation.

Although King Jo-'phag Darma, his lamas and officers

(dpon-po) all requested Padma Gling-pa to stay at Dom-kha for a whole year, he left after eleven days on a return journey that took him north to Dirang. He was accompanied part of the way by the king and a party of musicians who played "lots of music after the manner of the country" (yul-lugs-kyi rol-rtsed du-ma dang-bcas-te / f. 164a). He had to wear armour himself on this journey as a protection against the Kha-khra (lit. "The Striped Mouths", perhaps the Aka tribesmen who live in the area immediately to the east). The king took his leave at Phu-dung. Padma Gling-pa at this point explains that the king was mentioned in the 'prophecy' of the Kun-gsal me-long as an incarnation of 'O-bran dBang-phyug who would perform services to Padma Gling-pa. The next stage of the journey took the saint to the King of Dirang (Dung 'Di-rang) whose pedigree is traced in the rGyal-rigs (f.29a) to the Jo-bo clan of lHa'u. The Addendum [1] places the Kings of sDi-rang (sic) among a list of seven kings who spread from the ancestral homeland of Mi-zim-pa. After being entertained by the king, Padma Gling-pa proceeded to the temple of O-rgyan-gling close to rTa-dang rDzong (not yet built) where he had many family connections. (The 6th Dalai Lama who was born in the village of Ber-mkhar close by traced his descent from Padma Gling-pa on the strength of these connections, but more of that later.) Next he went to bDe-stong-mkhar where he was received by sTong-sde rGyas-pa-dar (f. 164b). This is without question the place called 'Dus-stung-mkhar in the rGyal-rigs (f. 26b) where a branch of the sTung-sde clan is said to have settled. That work locates it in the village of Zangs-lung(-pa) which features as Sanglung in the Survey of India. map of 1920, just inside the present border of Bhutan, north-east of bKra-shis-sgang rDzong. The qualification of



rGyas-pa-dar as sTong-sde (= sTung-sde) is the second of just two references I can find in Padma Gling-pa to the clan names that appear in the rGyal-rigs; the first, to the Jo-bo clan of La-'og Yul-gsum, comes on f. 95b. However, he only seems to have visited this area on about three occasions and his accounts are extremely brief. Nevertheless, they do provide independent testimony to the existence of these clans in the sixteenth century. What is more, the transposition and alternation of 'Dus-stung-/sTung-sde and bDe-stong-/sTong-sde must have some bearing upon the formation of clan eponyms and toponyms, and on the nature of the other -sde clan (Yas-sde).

While the term 'babu' does not carry in Bhutanese the pejorative associations which it has in Anglo-Indian idiom, for Ngag-dbang it certainly refers to a person of lesser status than a 'king'. He uses the term in his work to refer to the petty rulers from the north who obtained a degree of power over Indian subjects to the south. In the case of the ruling family of Dom-kha he was aware of only one of their line, sPrang-po-dar, who had flourished in the 16th century some two hundred years or so before he wrote his work. As we have seen, Ngag-dbang was absolutely mistaken in supposing that sPrang-po-dar was the founder of the lineage.<sup>1</sup> There existed a long line before him stretching back at least to the 12th century and probably further still, of which Ngag-dbang was quite ignorant. Somehow these 'babus' had to be accounted for and so they were squeezed into the sByar clan allegedly descending from Prince gTsang-ma. The successive demotion of the ruler from 'King of Mon' and 'King of Eastern Mon' (in dPa'-bo gTsug-lag), to 'King of

Dom-kha' (in Padma Gling-pa), to 'babu' (in Ngag-dbang) must surely reflect certain social and political realities. The Ahom dynasty of Assam between the 16th and 18th centuries was on the ascendant, cutting back the authority of the hill people on the fringe of the plains. From the other end, the dGe-lugs-pa School of Tibet was already established in the area of Mon-yul by the 16th century, and later converted some of their monasteries into forts. The monastery of Shar sTag-lung founded by 'Jo-bo gSum-pa, alias Blo-bzang bsTan-pa'i sGron-me (see rGyal-rigs, f. 30b) is shown on the Survey of India map of 1917 as a fort ('Talung Dzong'), and it lies just a few miles south of Dom-kha. Sandwiched between the expanding sovereignties of Tibet and Assam, the kings whom dPa'-bo gTsug-lag tells us once possessed 'myriarchies' (khri-tsho) among their own Mon-pa people, among the Tsang-mi (now the Tsangla speakers of eastern Bhutan spilling over into Kameng), the Ka-tsa-ra (probably the Akas or Mijis), and among the Indian border peoples, ultimately became just one noble family among many. Almost certainly the chief of the family was one of the 'Seven Rājas' known to the Ahoms towards the end of their dynasty, whose fate was described by Gait (1926:311-312) in these words: "East of the Bhutān Duārs of Darrang is another, known as the Koriāpāra Duār, which was held by certain Bhutia chiefs called Sāt Rajas, whose hills form part of the province of Tōwang, an outlying dependency of Lhasa. Here also, there were numerous outrages and disputes until 1843, when the local chiefs ceded the Duār in return for an annual payment of Rs. 5,000, or one-third of the supposed revenue, which is handed over to them every year at the time of the Udalguri fair." Unlike the ruling families of eastern Bhutan who did

221

not survive the imposition of 'Brug-pa rule, those of the Mon-yul corridor seem to have outlasted the dGe-lugs-pa regime that was thrust upon them. Do they survive today? Who were the 'Seven Rājas' of the area and can we identify them in the rGyal-rigs? Did they all make human sacrifices to Śiva on one side and act as 'patrons' of famous Buddhist saints on the other? Who indeed were these Mon-pa and where did they come from? What was the true substance of their myths of origin? The answers to these riddles, and to many of those which also confound the early history of eastern Bhutan, all lie locked away in the Kameng Frontier District to which access is not now possible. Meanwhile we shall have to be content with stumbling around the rGyal-rigs in order to continue the discussion on Ngag-dbang's clans, some of which have begun to look like pseudo-clans.

Hereditary rulers and vassals. All the ruling families are shown to have origins external to the communities which they govern, having attained their position either by conquest or, more usually, by invitation of their subjects. Once established the office of ruler passes down the male line, but not necessarily according to primogeniture. Thus 'kingship' should never arise spontaneously within a community but always by external intervention. The claim to a 'foreign' origin may simply derive from a need to invest the line with prestigious attributes that were felt lacking in the community itself. The true condition of barbarism is "the absence of a graded order between ruler and subjects" (rje-'bangs-kyi rim-pa med-pa); all the benefits of civilisation ensue from that order once it is established. What is never really made clear in Section II is the relationship between the ruling clans and their subjects. Was it one of kinship or one of social

220

position ? The picture gained from the fragmentary testimony provided in the Addendum suggests that the ruling families which constituted the sub-clans of the Wang-ma were an elite group who were not related by blood with their subjects. Section V of the rGyal-rigs provides a list of twenty-six "clan names which differentiate the families [of subjects]" (pha-tshan so-sor 'phye-ba'i rus-kyi ming, f. 45a). Although I showed the list to many people native to the area, none of them could recognise a single name or provide any information. We must conclude that these subject clans, like those of the ruling clans, have also disappeared without trace. One wonders if they each had their own hereditary leaders who acted as vassals to the 'kings' and if the office of gtso-rgan (literally, 'chief elder') might have been their traditional privilege. The Addendum [III] provides a list of eleven incumbents (one of them acting jointly with his son) but it does not really indicate whether the office was hereditary in a single family or whether it rotated in the community at large. In eastern Bhutan and among the Mon-pa of Kameng today the gtso-rgan is the district headman, the equivalent of the 'gāp' (rgad-po) in western Bhutan. Opinions vary as to whether the office should rotate in the district or pass down in a family. Only in one instance can we be sure that there existed a vassal lineage. The Addendum [V] provides a list of eleven generations in the lineage of an Assamese family called the Tha-khur who owed allegiance to the Yo-gdung Wang-ma clan. The 'myriarchs' (Khri-dpon) of the Dom-kha kings were certainly their vassals but we do not know how they obtained office.

Exogamous marriage. The genealogical table unfortunately does not reveal much information about the prevailing marriage

system but we can confidently assume that the ruling families never obtained wives from within their own clans. Exogamy appears to be a sine qua non for all true clan systems in the area of Tibet and the Himalayas. The only marriages noted in the rGyal-rigs are those of (1) gTsang-ma himself to a lady of the Tibetan A-mi clan, (2) Gong-dkar-rgyal and rGyal-gdung 'Jig-stang-la who took two and four wives respectively, from whom separate clans and lineages descend, and (3) rGyal-mtshan Grags-pa and Dar-rgyas, both members of the Jo-bo clan, whose marriages were most probably intended to create political alliances with other clans. Except in the case of the polygamous marriages for which the details are lacking, all these unions were unquestionably exogamous. However, they cannot be taken by themselves to prove the general rule of exogamy. We can perhaps find a hint of it in Ngag-dbang's opening verses where he speaks of "[this] very time when families and lineages (or clans) have become disordered" (rigs-rus 'chol-bar song-ba'i dus-nyid, f. 2b). How else could this confusion have occurred except by a breaking of the marriage rules? Today the western Bhutanese sometimes say that the easterners are "extremely choosy" when it comes to matters of marriage, as compared with themselves and other groups in the country. If this is correct then the greater circumspection which the easterners display in selecting a bride may perhaps be a vestige of the old and strict rule of clan exogamy.

Clan gods. The clans that survive among the Sherpas and Nyinbas of Nepal each have an ancestral god whose cult reinforces the clan's unity on specific, seasonal occasions. These are called pho-lha ('god of the male'), but in Tibet they were in recent times called pha-lha ('father-god') or phug-lha

('god of the inner closet'). The clan myths link these deities to the person of the clan's founder and from him the relationship is passed down his lineage encompassing the whole clan. Much of the early mythology of Tibet and her kings is concerned with gods who must have first functioned as clan gods. However, with the exception of the 'royal' deities, it is difficult to trace the association of any of the early Tibetan clans (whose interactions would be the main concern of the historian if their texts had survived) with one particular deity. Similarly, the total silence which Ngag-dbang preserves on the subject does not necessarily indicate the absence of such cults among the clans of eastern Bhutan. Even he, 'the Harmoniser', would have found it impossible to maintain the pre-eminence of gTsang-ma as their common ancestor and at the same time speak of their individual hierophanies. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the next section to this chapter, when Ngag-dbang turned his attention to groups whom he did not wish to include in his structured principle of descent from gTsang-ma, i.e. to subject clans within his area and to ruling families bordering on his area, he was able to abandon his artificial framework in such a way as to give us a glimpse of these hierophanies.

Clan territory. It is quite clear from the Addendum (IV and V) that the clan principalities had well recognised borders (sa-mtshams). The 'kings' of these principalities ruled their territories from defensive buildings called 'royal castles' (rgyal-mkhar) which provided the names for their respective capitals. No less than twenty-four place-names appear in the text with the -mkhar affix.<sup>8</sup> The area covered by these names extends far beyond the Tsangla speaking

districts: to the west as far as Nya-mkhar in the Kheng district of Mang-sde-lung, to the east as far as dPal-mkhar in Arunachal Pradesh, and to the north across the main watershed to a place called mTsho-sna bSe-ba-mkhar. The latter probably represents the uppermost reaches of the so-called Mon-yul Corridor. To these can be added a further five sites in the Chos-'khor valley of Bum-thang whose names were supplied to me by Slob-dpon Padma-lags: lCag-mkhar, gSham-mkhar, lCam-mkhar, rGyal-mkhar and Gong-mkhar.<sup>9</sup> It was tentatively suggested in Section 2 above that lCags-mkhar might originally have been a defensive settlement of the prehistoric period. All that we can say with reasonable certainty is that the mkhar of Chos-'khor do not appear to fit the general pattern for the area further east which is made up of single castles dominating entire principalities of the nature of 'one-valley kingdoms'. A detailed investigation of the present toponymy of eastern Bhutan in contrast to the place-names preserved in the rGyal-rigs and Lo-rgyus, combined with a physical examination of the surviving ruins of these mkhar, will eventually tell us a great deal about the history and ancient function of these buildings among the peoples speaking the languages of Bum-thang, Tsangla and Mon-pa. Those who have seen the ruins describe them as stone towers of square construction and we do not have to look far to find parallels in Tibet: "From the seventh century onwards Chinese historians associate these people [the Ch'iang] with monumental stone structures, like towers or fortresses, which are still found among them, but are also to be seen in Kongpo and Lhotrak (in south-eastern Tibet), and are apparently the prototypes of Tibetan architecture in general." (Stein 1972 : 29. See also 1959a : 80-81 note 222) The latter group are said to have

"... nine or ten stories and are sometimes octagonal, sometimes square, with very thick walls. A similar nine-storied tower is reported in Kongpo, back in the early twelfth century." (op. cit. 120) The eastern Bhutanese mkhar are probably every bit as ancient as Ngag-dbang would have us believe.

Just as the account of these castles carries broad historical credibility, so also does the general pattern revealed on the subject of the southward extension of clan territories into the Indian plains of Assam. The fertile tracts of land adjoining the approaches to the Bhutan Himalaya are commonly called the duars, a word related to our own 'door'. The term used in our text to refer to these areas below the foothills in las-sgo (lit. 'work-door') which always carries the sense of a border mart at the foot of a pass and the area in its immediate vicinity. The winter migration of large sections of the eastern Bhutanese towards the warmer areas of the south must have brought them into contact at an early date with the local tribes inhabiting the plains. The clan rulers of eastern Bhutan appear to have gradually won traditional rights of taxation over these border people and both the rGyal-rigs and its Addendum are replete with cases of such rulers regarding themselves as the absolute owners of their duars. The same pattern recurs further to the east where other groups who were broadly 'Tibetan' won a measure of control over the plains. As we have seen, the Mon-pa of Kameng gained authority over the large Kariapara Duar and further east still there existed the 'Bhutias' of Char Duar and of Thebengia (B.C.Allen 1905: 53-55, and Gait 1926: 312). Many other tribal groups in Arunachal, including the Akas, Daflas and Miris, similarly won rights for themselves over



the adjoining plains. The policy of containment which the Ahom empire of Assam directed towards these southern incursions has been studied in detail by Devi (1968). Her work throws much light on the extremely complicated history of the seven Assamese duars which were formally ceded to the Bhutanese government during the reign of Jayadhvaj Singha (1648-1663). The seven duars divide into five in the districts of Goalpara and Kamrup (namely Bijni, Chapakhamar, Chapaguri, Baksa and Gharkola) and two in Darrang (Buriguma and Khaling). The last one is mis-spelt Killing in Devi (op. cit.) but appears correctly in Allen (1905:53). It is unquestionably the Kha-gling of our text (f. 19a). It was one rGyas-mtsho, son of Cho-ka rDo-rje King of gCen-mkhar, who was responsible for subjugating the area and building a royal castle there. rGyas-mtsho was probably following in the footsteps of his father, Cho-ka rDo-rje, who is alleged (on f. 18b) to have wrested the whole tract from the rDo-rong Rwa-dza who is the Darrang Rāja of the Ahom histories. This however does not accord with the Addendum [II] where we learn that the Wang-ma sub-clan of Yo-gdung was already in possession of these duars before the time of mChog-ka rDo-rje (sic) and that it was from them instead of from the Darrang Rāja that he had won them in a battle fought at rGyal-gdung sMan-mkhar. Later the ruling clans of Yo-gdung and gCen-mkhar made plans for a peace settlement. It appears that the Yo-gdung clan sent a girl to marry into the clan of their former enemies in return perhaps for a partial restitution of their rights over the duars. Certainly at the time of the Addendum's composition, the Wang-ma had regained control over a very considerable tract of the plains, as shown in the long list in part [V] of what must be Assamese villages and districts, all of them described as

las-sgo. Two of them had been lost: Nye-ba-li as a result of what appears to be a complicated family squabble [VII], and Mo-long-dga' by reason of its having been presented by them to the 'Brug-pa authorities, perhaps Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal himself [VIII].

It is most regrettable that none of this material is objectively quantifiable, nor can a single date be extracted to provide a chronological framework to the whole movement. It must also be stressed that the Wang-ma of Yo-gdung were just one clan among several who enjoyed proprietorial rights over the Assamese duars which together encompassed an area of 1,600 square miles. The biographer of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (1638-1696) maintains that it was in 1655 that the whole of the area "up to Kha-ling in the east" (f. 59b) fell to the authority of the 'Brug-pa. This refers presumably to the campaign led by Mi-'gyur brTan-pa but the Lo-rgyus which narrates the course of it has nothing to say about this duar or any other. It seems likely that for a time these continued to be controlled by the clans until their rights were ceded to the government, as in the case of the Mo-long-dga' duar. Later the government must have tried to take over full control of the Indian territories. Several officials called the rGya-drung were appointed to manage them, as we see in the bKa'-khrims (ff. 107a and 109b). The tempestuous relations which developed between the Ahom and Bhutan governments as outlined in Devi's work must surely be set against a picture of the ancient clans trying to maintain their hold on the duars in defiance of their government, or stepping beyond the terms agreed upon in the treaty signed with Jayadhvaj Singha. This stipulated that in return for an annual tribute to the Ahom ruler and presents to his vassal the Darrang Rāja,

the right of the Bhutanese to the entire area bounded on the south by a highway called the Gohain Kamal Ali was permanently recognised. (Devi op. cit. 203) Eventually an arrangement was reached whereby the three passes leading to Bhutan from the Darrang district were controlled by the Ahoms for a period of four months every year. The later history of these duars lies well outside the scope of the present study but it may be mentioned in passing that they fell partly under the control of the Burmese during their occupation of Assam. They were formally annexed by the British in 1841 in payment of a 'quit-rent', and permanently wrested from Bhutanese control during the Bhutan War of 1864-5.<sup>10</sup>

While the formal claims of the Bhutanese to these Indian lands underwent many changes in fortune, in at least two respects their relations with Assam show remarkable continuity. The themes of Indian trade and pilgrimage which find mention in the Addendum [I and IX] are still today a major preoccupation of the easterners during the winter months. Particularly interesting is the proud boast of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma that their king lNga-rigs rGyal-po and his lama, the 'Brug-pa bKra-shis dBang-rgyal, were responsible for discovering and opening the pilgrim route to 'Kūśinagara' (rTswa-mchog-grong), the place where the historical Buddha died. The place identified to be Kūśinagara was the famous Hindu temple of Mādhava at Hajo which lies nine miles north-west of Gauhati on the banks of the Brahmaputra. It was of course a mistaken identification, the real Kūśinagara being some thirty-five miles east of Gorakhpur in modern Uttar Pradesh. Yet for centuries it was to the temple of Hajo in Assam that Buddhist pilgrims are reported to have come from all over Bhutan and

Tibet, and even from as far afield as Ladakh and south-west China. Waddell (1894:307-314) is the only person who gives any information on the site and its Buddhist traditions. He explains the mistaken ascription by the fact that a village in the neighbourhood of Hajo has the name Sāl-Kuśa, and maintains that this must have sparked off a chain of associations that led to the identification.<sup>11</sup>

The eastern Bhutanese today maintain a tradition that it was Karma Pakṣi (1206-1283), the second Karma-pa incarnation, who received a vision which caused him to search for the place and find it. My informant Slob-dpon bSod-nams bZang-po claims that in this vision the Buddha revealed how since all the other holy places in India were inaccessible to pilgrims from Tibet, this one had been given a status and value equal to the true Kuśinagara in the west. Unfortunately, I can find no mention of this in Karma Pakṣi's biography. The first Karma-pa incarnation came closest to the area, to Domtshang in Kameng, but that is still far from Hajo. According to my informant, the Bhutanese never gained rights over the Hajo temple in the way they did over temples in Nepal and the Kailash area of western Tibet. Apparently guardianship of the 'Buddhist' shrine was committed to people of Khams-pa stock by the temple authorities. It was in fact a lama from Khams at Hajo who told Waddell all the traditional stories concerning the site. The identification of Hajo as Kuśinagara seems to have been fully accepted by many Tibetan authorities, including bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan (see Jäschke 1881:437), Taranatha (see Waddell op. cit. 313) and Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho (Vaidūrya-ser-po, p. 396). It was certainly known to the western Bhutanese in the 17th century, as it is

mentioned in the biography of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (f. 87b).

Certain other ancient sites in Assam were also wrongly recognised as Buddhist by the Bhutanese and Tibetans, notably Singri which lies some twenty miles or so west of Tezpur.

No less a person than Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) tried to make the journey there, but turned back after reaching Bum-thang where he heard about the dangerous paths that lay ahead (dPag-bsam ljon-bzang, p.226). In the Blue Annals (p.693) we find gTsang-pa Blo-gros bzang-po (1360-1425), disciple of 'Ba'ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang, also visiting the place. No doubt many more references to such pilgrimages can be found. In fact Assam never seems to have been a centre for Buddhism in any period and it was perhaps the vague reports concerning the activities in that area of certain Tantric mahāsiddhas like Saraha which prompted the search for early Buddhist sites.

There is no particular reason to discount the notion that the eastern Bhutanese were the people responsible for discovering 'Kusinagara' since they were certainly situated closer to it than any other group which might have had a similar incentive to find it. News of its discovery would have travelled quickly to central Tibet and Kham from where Assam is one of the most accessible parts of India. The Bhutanese were classed as 'raiders' (Gongar) by the Assamese, a word which they continue to apply both to them and their language. Similarly, in the eyes of the British in the 19th century the Bhutanese were seen as an intractable hill people who despoiled the plains. Yet for their part it is

clear that the Bhutanese regarded the Indian lands to their south not only as their rightful property upon which a great deal of their traditional wealth depended, but also as the gateway to the sacred land of their faith's origin. Although formally deprived of these lands, they still travel there in large numbers for trade every winter and although few of them still believe Hajo to be the place where the Buddha died, the myth of Karma Pakṣi's vision still permits them to hold it in reverence. The Indian attitude to their northern neighbours is much more ambivalent. While the Bhutanese stand beyond the pale of Hindu culture, the mountains they inhabit are romantically held to be the seat of their Hindu gods. The incarnation of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's son received his Indian name of Ganapati from two Indian yogins who were on pilgrimage in the area (LCB I, f. 62a gong). The devotion shown to Buddhist lamas by the succeeding dynasties of Kāṁata and Cooch Bihar cannot be explained in political terms alone.

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The nature of the eastern Bhutanese clans as revealed in this brief survey of broad historical patterns remains quite elusive. Except in regard to the hereditary and territorial aspects, the evidence of the rGyal-rigs is inconclusive as to those qualities we should expect the clans to possess. We cannot make a clear distinction between 'ruling clans' and 'local kings', or perceive their true relationship. The discussion, however, has at least served to underline the way in which the schematic preoccupations

of a local historian can so colour his writing as to alter the true order of reality. By intent and ignorance, lineages were foreshortened and some clans appear to have been invented. Ngag-dbang cannot be wholly blamed for this because many groups had no doubt already forgotten their origins and had accepted gTsang-ma as their founder. Indeed, they scrambled over each other to win him as their ancestor. For the present then, the testamentary value of the rGyal-rigs relates perhaps more to its own age than to the past of which it speaks. We shall obtain a much sharper view of the ancient clans when more texts come to light and when detailed field-work has been completed in the area. The contrasted picture thus gained of the rGyal-rigs will tell us a great deal about the formation of its schema and that of similar works from other areas.

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Notes to Ch. 2 Section 4

- 1) These passages are taken from the Sa-skya bka'-'bum, Vol. Ta, pp. 295 and 296 respectively. The text can be found (with some inaccuracies) as an appendix to Tucci's edition of the Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma (Rome, 1971 ), and a translation of it in Tucci 1947: 310 - 315. He appears to have missed the sense of bcug and dbyug, both of which are forms of the better known spyug, 'to banish'.
- 2) There is also another Sa-skya history which preserves the title Khri applied to gTsang-ma. It is the Deb-ther brdzongs-dmar, of which only one copy survives in the British Museum (Or 6751). According to Arianne Macdonald (1971:391), it was composed by Shākya dPal-bzang-po at sNar-thang in 1376. I am indebted to Mr. Richardson for pointing out to me this reference. We can probably assume that it follows Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan in referring to gTsang-pa (sic) as Khri.
- 3) Bum-thang lha'i sbas-yul-gyi bkod-pa me-tog skyed-tshal, f. 23b. On f. 22b Bum-thang is also described as "a land to which the excellent rulers and ministers of ancient times did go" ( / sngon-gyi rgyal-blon mchog-rnams byon-pa'i yul / )
4. I do not quite understand the sense of lcags-kyi srog-pa tsa sgrub-pa ma-grub-par / snyan-'phra [= snyan-phra] btsan-par byas-te. The text is certainly corrupt here but it carries an allusion to a story fully recounted in dPa'-bo gTsung-lag, Vol. Ja, f. 134b, kindly indicated to me by Mr. Richardson: Bran-ka dPal-yon fled to the north and "in a place underground carried out the rite of making his life source into iron. When he had accomplished this except for about four fingers' breath on top of his head a blind man and his guide came to that part."



- 5) The same holds for LCB II (ff. 24a-b and 68a-b) which draws on both the rGyal-rabs and the rGyal-rigs. LCB I has nothing on gTsang-ma at all. It was written at a time before the Western Bhutanese became acquainted with these eastern traditions.
- 6) My interpretation of this most difficult passage in the sBa-bzhed is tentative, but the general purport seems fairly clear.
- 7) gTam-shing was begun in 1501 and completed in 1505. See the autobiography of Padma Gling-pa, Pha ff. 140a - 154a passim.
- 8) sKya-sa-mkhar, sKyed-mkhar, Kha-gling-mkhar, Khas-mkhar, gCen-mkhar, Nya-mkhar, (Was-chur) Thum-nang-mkhar, 'Dus-stung-mkhar, sDom-mkhar, (Be-tsha) Nang-mkhar, dPal-mkhar, Phang-mkhar, Beng-mkhar, Ber-mkhar, Byas-mkhar, sBis-mkhar, Mug-ltang-mkhar, sMan-mkhar, bTsan-mkhar, Wang-ma-mkhar, Rus-po-mkhar, Shing-mkhar, bSe-ba-mkhar. Other place-names, such as lCags-mkhar-bzung, dGa'-gling mkhar-mi and so on, which do not preserve quite the same pattern have been omitted from the list.
- 9) The sites of lCags-mkhar and Gong-mkhar are now occupied by temples, that of gSham-mkhar by the palace of dBang-'dus Chos-gling, and those of lCam-mkhar and rGyal-mkhar by villages. A 'district castle' (yul-mkhar) seems to have survived at the latter place into the 14th century, if we give credit to Klong-chen-pa's allusion to the Khyi-kha Rathod story quoted in Section 3 above. Speaking of the Chos-'khor valley in general Klong-chen-pa says:

vid-'long grong-rnams 'phyong kha-phyed phibs-can //  
snyug-ma'i sbag-khang-dag-kyang grangs mang-la //  
mkhar dang khang-bzang shing-gi rgya-phibs-can //  
rgyang-nas lha'i khang-bzang mthong-ba-'dra // (f. 24a)

There are beautiful villages which are 'phyong  
kha-phyed (?) and have roofs,  
 And in addition to numerous bamboo huts (lit. 'cane-  
 houses of bamboo')  
 There are castles and mansions which have 'Chinese  
 roofs' of wood.  
 Seen from afar they look like divine mansions.

The passage of course expresses the surprise and delight of  
 a Tibetan on first seeing the free use of wood in Bhutanese  
 architecture. The 'mansions' must be the same buildings  
 we see now in Bum-thang. The 'castles' have disappeared.

- 10) Although the British records on the Assam duars are now well  
 known (see the bibliography and index in Labh 1974), not  
 much use seems to have been made yet of the Assamese records  
 of the Ahom dynasty. It may be useful to give some notice  
 of these primary sources and references to them in secondary  
 works on Assam: B.C.Allen 1905:53-55, 65-66; Barua 1951:100-  
 102, 161-164; Basu 1970:135-136, 192; Bhuyan 1930:293, 302,  
 332; Bhuyan 1933:123, 175, 151-155, 167-169, 317; Devi 1968:  
 194-209.

References to Ahom embassies and 'tribute' received by the  
 Bhutanese are found in the biography of Zhabs-drung Ngag-  
 dbang rNam-rgyal, f. 87b and in the eulogy of Shes-rab  
 dBang-phyug, the 13th 'Brug sDe-srid, ff. 24b, 36a and 73b.

- 11) It seems Csoma was the first western scholar to learn about  
 the Assamese 'Kusinagara'. It was later conflated with  
 Cooch Bihar by the editor of Buchanan-Hamilton 1838 (15 note).
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## 5. The gDung and their legends

The only patrilineal noble families preserving a lay, as distinct from a religious, character to have survived the vicissitudes of theocratic and monarchic government in Bhutan are the so-called gDung who live in the districts where the language of Bum-thang is spoken, that is to say in Bum-thang proper, Kheng and sKur-stod. Elsewhere in the country, and in the afore-mentioned districts too, there are any number of families who may be termed 'aristocratic' by reason of their descent from some famous religious teacher of the rNying-ma-pa or 'Brug-pa schools. The heads of such families are usually called Chos-rje (Dharmasvamin, 'Lord of Religion') and their line generally passes down through the eldest son. Although from the point of view of their economic status they are today often indistinguishable from the peasantry at large, they still enjoy a respected place in the local community because of their venerable ancestry. Located throughout the country, they introduce a strain of cultural homogeneity to the pattern of ethnic and linguistic diversity. For the present at least, the early history of the country has to be written largely in terms of the interactions of these ecclesiastical nobles not only because we are the slave of sources which relate the course of history in this way, but also because it is clear that for long periods civil authority lay truly vested in their hands. Nevertheless, we are bound to ask who the local rulers were before the establishment of these powerful religious lineages. Were it not for Ngag-dbang's work we would not have the slightest inkling that in eastern Bhutan there existed a whole complex of 'one-valley kingdoms' each with its hereditary ruler. The impression one receives of

212

western Bhutan is that the authority of the religious nobility was implanted there so strongly and at such an early date that if there did exist a literate culture associated with indigenous forms of rule before its arrival, then the records never survived. Certainly they would not have been of much interest to later historians who were anxious to propound the glories of their own schools in contempt of all that went before. The fate of the rGyal-rigs itself is a witness to this in regard to the east. As we have seen already, the 'rediscovered' texts of Padma Gling-pa gave expression to certain feelings of independence on the part of the central Bhutanese in Bum-thang by reconstituting old myths and stories in a way that shed great prestige on the area. These stories, however, were formed more by adapting an external mythology to the local conditions of Bum-thang than by developing the local myths themselves, and they tell us virtually nothing about historical conditions obtaining there. It is to the rGyal-rigs once more that we owe an insight into the ancient mythology of the gDung families of Bum-thang. Section III of the work is devoted to this subject and provides two alternative versions of their origins. A third version is contained in the biography of the 2nd Gang-stengs sPrul-sku, bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa'i Don-grub (1645-1726) who descended from one of these families. Before examining these in some detail, notice should be given of the present conditions of these families so far as I could determine it during a long stay in Bum-thang in 1970.

The term gdung (honorific for 'bone') should suggest something of a clan organisation by analogy with the use of the term in Section II of the rGyal-rigs. However, not even

the vestige of an organisation binding together these families is to be found today. They never seem to claim relationship with each other except by virtue of common ancestorship. This places them on the same elevated social footing but does not prevent them from occasionally intermarrying. Their corporate existence is referred to in a modern work by the term gdung-rigs, literally "the gDung families" (LCB II, f. 79b). The term gDung itself functions as a title of the head of the family (e.g. gDung lHa-dar, gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug etc.). By qualifying it with a place name (e.g. U-ra gDung, Dur-ba'i gDung etc.) it is used just as specifically to refer to their individual households. There is no difference at all between the use of the term in the literature of the 18th century and that found in common speech today. It is, as far as I can see, an institution peculiar to this region of the country and to my knowledge no exact Tibetan parallels exist. The gDung surviving today in the villages of rGya-tsha and Dur are in a greatly depressed condition having no authority over their communities whatsoever and there seems to be no sense of divine mystique separating them from their neighbours. All they retain is public respect for their ancient ancestry. Nobody, however, seemed to remember their origin myths except for one or two scholars who had read the rGyal-rigs. While their origins were never associated with religious sects as were those of the Chos-rje, and although they never functioned (except somewhat fortuitously) as lamas, it would have been impossible for them to claim legitimacy for their rule without investing their line with certain divine properties. All the myths discussed below have precisely that aim, but the search for divine origins does not seem to have altered the fundamentally

lay character of the institution. There seem to be only two exceptions to this pattern. The gDung families of Lug-khyu and Nya-la in sKur-stod claim uninterrupted descent from the great lama gTer-ston Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212-1273) through his son Padma dBang-chen (LCB II, f. 71b). It is possible they appropriated the title from the 'original' gDung families as they do not appear listed among them in the rGyal-rigs. Alternatively they might have substituted a 'religious' myth for an earlier 'royal' myth. The other exception to the pattern of lay descent is provided by the gDung of Chu-smad in Bum-thang who are intimately associated with the lineage of Padma Gling-pa through his son Thugs-sras Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan. Again this claim may represent a late 'feedback' as their family is certainly listed among the original set in the rGyal-rigs (f. 35b). It may be that Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan married into the family and in later generations was credited with the role of an ancestor. Be that as it may, as a collateral branch of the same powerful lineage that ultimately produced the present royal family, the gDung of Chu-smad escaped the fate of the other gDung families in Bum-thang. The only others who maintain the title today are those of rGya-tsha and Dur. The sDom-mkhar gDung appear to have disappeared without trace. The Ngang gDung left the area and went to sBon-sbis where they became a Chos-rje family. That at least is the implication of a passage in the biography of bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa'i Don-grub (see below) and I could find no trace of it in their original village. The line of the U-ra gDung is said to be extinct.

Unfortunately I have no up to date information about the gDung of the Kheng district. The rGyal-rigs (loc. cit?) maintains that they lived in the villages of sTung-la-sbi,

Go-zhing, Phang-mkhar, Ka-lam-ti and Nya-mkhar. A further four families of "gDung and chiefs (dpon)" are listed in the Lo-rgyus (f. 13b), those of Su-brang, Go-phu, Ta-li and 'Bu-li. There is no doubt that as late as the 17th century the gDung of Kheng still regarded themselves as the absolute rulers of their territories although it is clear that one of them, the gDung of Nya-mkhar, was trying to create some sort of a hegemony. This met with a good deal of local opposition and Nor-bu dBang-phyug, the rival gDung of sTung-la-'bi (or sTung-la-sbi), seized the chance of destroying him by inviting the 'Brug-pa forces that had steadily been taking over the areas further east to join the fray. It seems to have been one of the principle policies of the 'Brug-pa campaign to interfere in local squabbles in such a way that whole areas came into their sovereignty. In Kheng, as in gZhong-sgar and Kur-stod, the leaders of the campaign took the side of those that harboured grievances against the Nya-mkhar gDung, the most powerful of the local rulers. In voluntarily submitting to 'Brug-pa sovereignty or being compelled to do so by force, the local rulers always seem to have expected a confirmation of their traditional privileges after making suitable display of their surrender. This was granted in return for oaths of loyalty to the 'Brug-pa and an acceptance of their right to levy taxes and impose government corvée. Thus it seems in Kheng even the gDung of Nya-mkhar was able to come to terms with the invading power, though in his case he had to provide hostages as a pledge for his good behaviour (Lo-rgyus, ff. 13a-14b). It is not clear from the sources presently available how long these temporising solutions worked or when the gDung of Kheng had their traditional powers abrogated completely. Nor can it be said with certainty that today

they even preserve titles as some of their peers do in Bum-thang and Kur-stod.

Except for the U-ra gDung, all the other gDung families in Bum-thang proper appear to have lost their powers long before the establishment of the 'Brug-pa theocracy. In the valley of Chos-'khor at least it was the line of hereditary chiefs called the Chos-'khor sde-pa (or Chos-'khor dpon-po) which seems to have supplanted the gDung. In Padma Gling-pa's biography there is constant reference to dPon-po Kun-thub who must have been the incumbent of his day. Padma Gling-pa enjoyed his patronage for most of his life but in one passage he remarks: "In the Year of the Tiger (1506) I was greatly distracted by involvement in litigation on many matters with dPon-po Kun-thub and so there were not many initiations, instructions and so forth /given by me that year/." ( / stag-lo'i skabs-su dpon-po kun-thub dang / rtsa-ba mang-po'i khamchu thug-nas g.yeng-ba che-bas / dbang khrid sogs cher ma-byung / Pha, f. 159b). The legal authority to whom these matters would have been put must have been the official known as the Nang-so of lHa-lung who controlled the area of lHo-brag which bordered on Bhutan. The lHa-lung Nang-so was another hereditary office and several incumbents acted as the patrons of Padma Gling-pa during his long life from 1450 to 1521. On one occasion Padma Gling-pa addresses one of these in unmistakable terms as the overlord of the districts surrounding Bum-thang: "/You/ Nang-so are yourself the chief of the southern region." ( / nang-so yang lho-rgyud-kyi dpon-po yin / Pha, f. 223a) This official was in turn subordinate to the sde-pa of sNa-dkar-tse on the banks of the Yar-'brog lake due north of this region of lHo-brag. The ultimate authority in Tibet during this period was held of course by the princely house of Rin-



spungs which had gradually ousted the rule of the Phag-mo-gru-pa princes of sNe-gdong, although the latter continued to play an important role in politics. Padma Gling-pa appears to have been greatly respected by both the Rin-spungs and sNe-gdong families, though the former were presumably unaware of the fact that in 1502 he had performed a dmag-zlog ceremony to avert their threat of invading the territory of the lHa-lung Nang-so who is said to have annoyed them for some reason (Pha, f. 143a). In any case, Padma Gling-pa was summoned by the Rin-spungs authorities in 1503 to meet their most respected lama and ally, the 7th Karma-pa, Chos-grags rGya-mtsho. (It will be recalled that this Karma-pa was the one whom King Jo-'phag (or Jo-'bag) Darma of Shar Dong-kha met and that the king later turned from him to Padma Gling-pa as his principal guru.) Most of the Karma-pa incarnations seem to have been attached to rNying-ma-pa 'text discoverers', regarding it as one of their main duties to promulgate these teachings. Padma Gling-pa entrusted a number of his discoveries to Chos-grags rGya-mtsho, and this is corroborated in the latter's biography (f. 137b). The gift greatly pleased the Rin-spungs ruler, Don-yod rDo-rje. Padma Gling-pa points out that this ruler of Tibet was mentioned in one of his prophecies as "the subduer of dBus, gTsang and lHo-rong without exception" ( / dbus gtsang lho-rong ma-lus dbang-du sdud / Pha, f. 147a) lHo-rong is certainly here the area of Bhutan and we can take this passage as confirming that in theory the Rin-spungs hegemony extended at least to Bum-thang where the Chos-'khor dPon-po occupied the position of a minor vassal. At all events, even if nothing can be said about the crucial question of taxation, the area was only loosely attached to the complicated world of Tibetan politics and Padma Gling-pa always makes a

clear distinction in his writings between Mon (Bhutan) and Bod (Tibet), as if the two were quite separate entities. Some eight years after meeting the Rin-spungs ruler, Padma Gling-pa was summoned in 1511 to the princely house of rGyal-rtse whose members were one of the foremost enemies of the Rin-spungs-pa (Pha, f. 173a) and in 1513 while helping to perform the consecration of a new temple at bSam-yas he was invited to meet the sNe-gdong Gong-ma himself (Pha, f. 182b). This must have been bKra-shis Grags-pa who in the preceding year had even succeeded in calling a meeting of ministers above the head of the Rin-spungs ruler (Shakabpa 1967:89-90). Although Padma Gling-pa seems to accord to the Rin-spungs a degree of precedence over their rivals who also patronised him, they are all treated in his accounts more or less equally as powerful nobles who showed him favour. The impression conveyed by his writing is that if the Rin-spungs writ ran in Bum-thang then it did so as the successor to an earlier authority which had imposed itself for a time on the area, perhaps creating the office of Chos-'khor dPon-po in order to keep a hold on it. A vestige of this control remained in the links between the lHa-lung Nang-so and the Chos-'khor dPon-po. Lower down the scale in the Chos-'khor valley we find very minor officials called mi-dpon who acted as village headmen (see for instance Pha, f. 116a. and Lo-rgyus f. 7a). These were directly accountable to the dPon-po and are again suggestive of a political organisation imposed from outside.<sup>1</sup> If that was the case, then we can perhaps assume that it might have been the same external intervention which deprived the gDung families of Chos-'khor and Chu-smad of their traditional powers in the area.

It is in the light of this hypothesis that I should

like to interpret certain passages in the "Chronicles of Gyantse" translated by Tucci (1949: 662-670). I believe that they provide an independent glimpse into the early history of Bhutan in the same way that dPa'-bo gTsug-lag's history does for the area just east of Bhutan. In addition to this, although we have to depend here on reasonable guess-work, the Chronicles appear to provide confirmation of the historical connection between the areas of Bum-thang and rTa-wang. As we shall see, this is a relation the existence of which we are encouraged to suspect by the fact that, even though geographically separated from each other, they still share a unique and ancient language.

The princely house of rGyal-rtse traced the inception of its powers back to the period of Sa-skye rule in Tibet. Later they became ministers of the Phag-mo-gru-pa and supported them in their struggles with the Rin-spungs-pa. Although they were patrons of the dGe-lugs-pa school they seem to have lost their authority by the time of the 5th Dalai Lama and they never survived as one of the major aristocratic families. Their chronicles were written between 1479 and 1481 by the Sa-skye monk 'Jigs-med Grags-pa. The first of their line to really make a name for himself was dPal-ldan bZang-po (1316-1370) and the details of his long and distinguished career as a high official of the Sa-skye government occupy most of the first nine folios of the chronicle (Tucci 1949:662-664). His rise to power was intimately connected with his (and his brother's) handling of a series of military campaigns that were directed against a people known as the Dung, divided into a southern branch (the lHo-dung) and an eastern branch (the Shar-dung).<sup>2</sup> Five of these campaigns took place between the years 1340 and 1354 and because most of them seem to have

been conducted in the region of lHo-brag, Tucci (op. cit. 702 note 746) has assumed that the Dung were tribes belonging to the area of lHo-brag itself. I would myself identify the lHo-dung with the ancestors of the present gDung families of Bum-thang, and the Shar-dung with the Mon-pa people living in the vicinity of rTa-wang. If the Dung had truly belonged to lHo-brag some information on their subsequent history would surely be available since that province is well known in later periods. All the indications point to their being foreign invaders and the most likely direction they would have come from would have been the south. We can accept the Dung of the South as the gDung of Bum-thang on the simple grounds that the latter must at one time have possessed sufficient power in this region of the Himalayas to be capable of foreign invasion. The local spelling of their name does them credit with its associations of ancient descent, but as invaders their name is recorded phonetically (without the ga prefix) and takes on a strongly pejorative note in one passage where it appears as Dung-reng ("the obstinate Dung" f. 4a). One important question which must be left to hang in the air until more material comes to light is the one which looks for an explanation as to how the name of a whole people in one period turns up much later as the hereditary title of just a few families.

Turning now to the eastern group, the leader of the Shar-dung in 1353 was called Don-grub-dar (f. 5a), a name which exactly matches the -dar names so favoured by the ruling families of eastern Bhutan and Kameng listed in the rGyal-rigs. Just as the term Shar-mon in the lHo-brag chos-'byung refers to the Mon-pa living east of the main group to the south, so also the Shar-dung can be taken to live east of the lHo-dung,

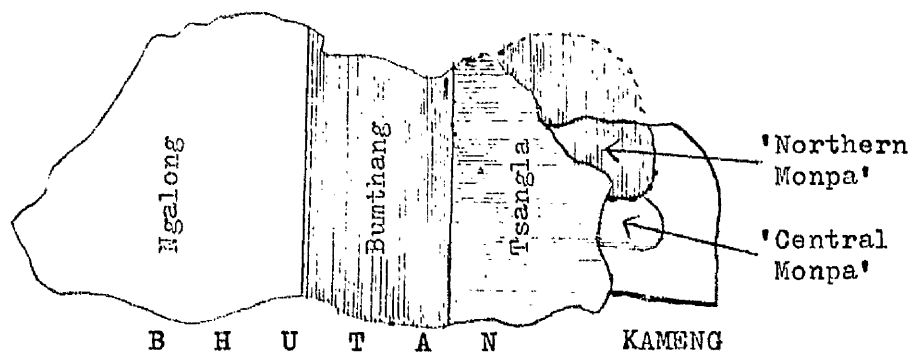
and not in some vague area to the east of Tibet. Although to my knowledge there are no families on the eastern borderland of Bhutan who use the gDung title, many of the place names of the area contain the syllable gdung as a suffix. The rGyal-rigs has mKhar-gdung, Ar-rgya-gdung, sPa'u-gdung and rGyal-gdung (ff. 20v, 30b, 31a, 50b respectively). The Lo-rgyus has Gung-gdung (f. 8b). Das Gupta (1968: i-vi) has Nyug-ma Dung, Kudung, Phudung and Mathalang-phudung. Most of these places can be found on the maps precisely in the area we would expect, that is to say among the so-called 'Northern Monpa' who live in the vicinity of rTa-wang. Similarly, the rGyal-rigs contains several personal names with the gdung syllable: gSer-gdung, Me-gdung, rGyal-gdung-dar, Yo-gdung and Dung-bu (= gDung-bu ?; ff. 18a, 20b, 24a, 50b respectively). The Lo-rgyus has dKar-po-gdung (f. 9b). However, the most concrete proof of the fact that the Bum-thang people are in reality one and the same with the Mon-pa of rTa-wang is of a linguistic nature. Table IX lists the pronunciation of the numerals 1 to 10 in all the relevant major language groups of Bhutan and Kameng. Those for Bhutan are taken from my own field notes and those for Kameng from Das Gupta (1968:164). According to Das Gupta's classification, 'Northern Monpa' is spoken in the vicinity of rTa-wang and 'Central Monpa' in the vicinity of 'Di-rang. 'Southern Monpa' has been omitted from the list for lack of data.<sup>3</sup>

It may be argued that a comparison of numerals alone provides a rather crude way of showing linguistic affinity but it does seem to me the table indicates that while Tsangla and 'Central Monpa' remain absolutely identical, the languages of Bum-thang and 'Northern Monpa' today reflect different stages in the development of the same basic speech. With the

Table IX: The numerals I to IO in the languages of Bhutan and Kameng

252

|                 |               | B H U T A N |          |          | K A M E N G      |                 |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------|----------|----------|------------------|-----------------|
| Written Tibetan |               | Ngalong     | Bumthang | Tsangla  | 'Northern Monpa' | 'Central Monpa' |
| I               | <u>gcig</u>   | chi         | tek      | thur     | hi               | thur            |
| 2               | <u>gnyis</u>  | nyi         | zon      | nigtsing | nei              | nitsing         |
| 3               | <u>gsum</u>   | sum         | sum      | sam      | sum              | sam             |
| 4               | <u>bzhi</u>   | zhi         | ble      | pshi     | pli(h)           | b(i) ci         |
| 5               | <u>lnga</u>   | nga         | yanga    | nga      | lyange           | nga             |
| 6               | <u>drug</u>   | dru         | grok     | khung    | gro              | khung           |
| 7               | <u>bdun</u>   | dun         | nyit     | zum      | niss             | zum             |
| 8               | <u>brgyad</u> | gye         | jyat     | yen      | get              | yen             |
| 9               | <u>dgu</u>    | gu          | dogo     | gu       | tugu             | gu              |
| IO              | <u>bcu</u>    | chu         | che      | se       | ci(h)            | se              |



Tsangla-speaking peoples sandwiched between them, these languages have clearly taken different paths of evolution. There is today very little contact of any sort between the two areas but one or two of my informants in Bum-thang who had had occasion to go to rTa-wang assured me that they could make out a good deal of what was said to them by the local inhabitants. In the middle years of the 14th century the two groups could still be recognised by outsiders as branches of the same people, the Dung.

On folio 5a of the 'Gyangtse Chronicles' we read that in 1352 the lHo-dung were defeated by dPal-ldan bZang-po not in lHo-brag but rather "in Rin-chen-sgang and in the environs of Phag-ri" (Tucci 1949:663). This statement could be adduced as an obstacle to the identification proposed above since Phag-ri is situated way over to the west in the Chumbi Valley and it is difficult to imagine what an invading force from Bum-thang would have been doing in that area. The most likely direction from which that invasion could have come is western Bhutan and, most conveniently, there is plenty of evidence pointing to the existence of a further branch of the Dung in that area. The spyi-dpon ('headman'?) of the gDung is said to have been among the leaders of western Bhutan who swore allegiance to Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom in the 12th century (see f. 28b of his rnam-thar). We have already met the Wang-gdung above (p.196) as descendants of gTsang-ma in a biographical tradition peculiar to western Bhutan. They were perhaps ancestors of the Wang people who still migrate between Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha. It was also noticed that the rGyal-rigs (f. 11b) records a local tradition concerning two "important clans" (rus che-ba) in the west, the rGyal-gdung of sPa-grp and the gDung-'brog of Thim-phu, both of whom it is claimed were descended from a son of Prince gTsang-ma. It is the only mention I can find of clans in western Bhutan and it may be wondered if rus here does not perhaps indicate 'tribe' rather

(contd. next page)

than 'clan'. As far as I could determine, nothing is remembered of the rGyal-gdung and gDung-'brog today. However, my informants insisted that there does survive a motley group of jungle-dwellers living far to the south of sPa-gro who are still called the gDung. They all fall under the jurisdiction of an official called the gDung Rab-'byams (formerly the gDung gNyer-pa) who used to be appointed by the sPa-gro dPon-slob but is now/by the central government. Their conversion to Buddhism is said to be fairly recent and is attributed largely to the activities in that area of the famous lama Grags-pa rGya-mtsho (1646-1719), the disciple of the equally famous refugee teacher gTsang mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan rGya-mtsho who was the biographer of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. Unfortunately the account in Grags-pa rGya-mtsho's biography (ff. 74a-76b) of his visit to gDung-yul (sic) is most uninformative. All we learn about the inhabitants is that they were hunters and that Grags-pa rGya-mtsho made them swear oaths to forego this occupation in the future. If they are indeed the remnants of one branch of the lHo-dung we may conjecture that they were pushed south to this present location either by one of the Tibetan campaigns directed against them or else by a fresh wave of migration from the north.

Somewhere in the huge corpus of Tibetan literature there must survive further references to the lHo-dung and Shar-dung but until these come to light we are wholly dependent on the scanty information provided in the 'Gyangtse Chronicles'. Nevertheless, the identification of the lHo-dung with groups in Bhutan and the Shar-dung with the 'Northern Monpa' greatly helps the interpretation of later patterns and



events which remain otherwise inexplicable. The 'Chronicles' claim success for the Sa-skya campaigns and we may infer } that some measure of control was thereafter imposed on the Dung. This may have taken the form of creating the office of Chos-'khor dpon-po in Bum-thang. It is interesting to note that in the artificial scheme proposed in the rGyal-rigs (Section IV) to account for a single origin for a number of noble families, the first Chos-'khor dpon-po is, according to one local version which does not fit the scheme, supposed to have come from sPa-gro in western Bhutan. The Hūm-ral gdung-rabs (f. 16a) confirms this and says the first Chos-'khor dpon-po was in fact the ousted king of dPal-'byor-gling in sPa-gro. These references at least indicate that there was in the 18th century a distant memory of the office having been imposed by external authority. The creation of the office must surely have coincided with the collapse of the indigenous rule of the gDung in Chos-'khor and Chu-smad and very likely explains why those families never posed a threat to the 'Brug-pa government in the 17th century. The gDung families which did survive to offer resistance to the 'Brug-pa lived in areas to the south where they had lain beyond the reach of Tibetan incursions in earlier periods, that is to say in U-ra and Kheng. As we have seen above, the Kheng group were taken over in the middle years of the 17th century by the military campaign led by Mi-'gyur brTan-pa. We cannot yet be certain of the date of this campaign but it must have occurred a few years before or after the large scale invasion of Bhutan by the dGe-lugs-pa government of Tibet in 1657. This took the form of a concerted attack by Tibetan and Mongol troops who made simultaneous incursions at several points along the border between sPa-gro and bKra-shis-sgang. They were

assisted by some of the traditional leaders within the country who were disaffected with the new 'Brug-pa regime. Among them we find mentioned gDung Nag-po of U-ra (LCB I, f. 51b). Although the invasion lasted more than nine months, it was unsuccessful and the leader of the Sa-skya school finally negotiated a peace treaty which is said to have led to stable relations between the Tibetan and Bhutanese authorities during the next thirty-seven years. The literary sources are silent about the fate of gDung Nag-po of U-ra but the oral traditions (see below) affirm that he was defeated by the 'Brug-pa government and it seems probable that this occurred in 1657. Nevertheless, his line quite clearly continued into the 18th century, as Ngag-dbang fortunately gives us to see in Section III of the rGyal-rigs. Today the line is completely extinct but there does survive in the village of sTang-sa-sbe a family which claims collateral descent from gDung Nag-po. We may perhaps conjecture that, following the usual pattern during this period, his defeat and subjection were acknowledged in an oath of loyalty to the 'Brug-pa government which partially restored to him his hereditary rights and privileges. This arrangement probably continued under his successors until, for some unknown reason, the line died out sometime in the later 18th or 19th centuries. For Ngag-dbang writing in 1728 the U-ra gDung still occupied the position of primus inter pares because, according to the origin myth of his family, all the other gDung families in the region were supposed to be the offshoots of the U-ra family. Whatever the historicity of the claim, it must have reflected certain social and political realities which obtained before and during the period when the rGyal-rigs was composed. The substance of this U-ra tradition contrasts interestingly with the origin myths of

some of the gDung families in other areas.

### The U-ra tradition

The legendary origins of the U-ra gDung centre around the simple story of a god descending from heaven on a divine rope which links the world of humans with that of the gods. This is an ancient pre-Buddhist theme which appeared at the beginning of Tibetan history in the legends of the early dynasty. The whole notion of ropes or ladders connecting sky to earth is thought to derive from the mythology of the Ch'iang people of western China with whom the Tibetans were in contact from early times. The words for these divine ropes and ladders are qualified by the syllables rmu (or dmu) and phyä (or phywa) both of which come from a word in the Ch'iang language meaning Sky or Sky God (Stein 1972 : 211). Under Buddhist influence, the account of the first kings' descent to earth from their original home in heaven was gradually replaced by legends which sought an Indian origin for Tibetan kingship, but the early mythology survived in various transmuted forms. The significance of the U-ra tradition lies in the way it preserves a relatively unadulterated version of 'royal' origins according with the most ancient Tibetan ideas. In the 18th century the legend was still held to provide a valid account of the origins of the gDung of U-ra and of the other gDung in the area who were regarded as offshoots of the U-ra gDung. Even more interesting is the fact that this was by no means the only survival in Bhutan of the old theme of descent on a rope or ladder. Ngag-dbang makes this quite clear when he says: "... some people, in recounting the various oral traditions say that the origins of their ancestors lay in a descent to the land of humans after grasping the divine rmu-ladders and the gold and silver

TABLE X: Origins of the gDung families: the U-ra tradition (according to Section III of rGyal-rigs 'byung-khungs gsal-ba'i sgron-me, ff. 32a-40a)

bSod-nams dPal-'dren  
(of Bum-thang U-ra)

gDung lHa-mgon dPal-chen  
(incarnation of  
Gu-se Lang-ling,  
divine son of the deity  
'O-de Gung-rgyal)

gDung lHa-bzang-rgyal

gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug I  
(Ral-pa sTobs-chen, alias  
Bar-skyes, acc. to the  
variant tradition of  
gZhong-sgar and gDung-bsam)

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Interregnum

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gDung lHa-dbang Grags-pa = A-lce sGron-'dzom  
(reincarnation of gDung (of Bum-thang Chos-  
Grags-pa dBang-phyug, -'khor)  
claimed to be the son of  
Jo-bo Kun-dga' Grags-pa  
of Yar-lung, descendant  
of 'Od-srungs)

|   |   |   |                               |                                |
|---|---|---|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <u>dPon-mo</u> bKra-<br>shis dBang-mo   | = | <u>gDung</u> Grags-pa<br>dBang-phyug II | <u>lHa-dbang</u><br>bKra-shis | <u>Phun-tshogs</u><br>Don-grub |
| (ancestors of the <u>gDung</u> families of Bum-thang:<br>U-ra, Chu-smad, rGya-tsha, sDom-mkhar, Dur and<br>Ngang) |   |   |                               |                                |

gDung Nyi-ma dBang-rgyal  
(ancestor of the gDung families  
of Kheng: sTung-la-sbi, Go-zhing,  
Phang-mkhar, Ka-lam-ti and  
Nya-mkhar; and of the Yong-lam  
rJe of gZhong-sgar Mol-ba-lung)

phya-cords" (rGyal-rigs, f. 45b). This comment and the ensuing passage which looks for a theological interpretation of the theme come in Section V of the rGyal-rigs which deals with the 'subject' peoples in east Bhutan. Thus, whereas the concept of heavenly descent was originally the preserve of royalty and nobility, later it appears to have been appropriated by individual communities who stood much lower on the social scale. In the case of eastern Bhutan we can probably assume that these communities were constituted into clans which occupied a position subordinate to the ruling clans. The latter, we must conjecture, held that their first ancestors had come down on 'golden phya-cords', while the servants of those ancestors had descended on the 'silver phya-cords' to act as the progenitors of the subject clans. To what extent the latter accepted this arrangement we have no means of telling. Ngag-dbang is most annoyingly silent on the whole matter. Nevertheless, further evidence on the allocated use of ropes and ladders made of different substances can be found in the mythology of the Aka people who live in the Kameng district of Arunachal. These 'tribals' are also of Tibeto-Burman extraction and were till quite recently in contact with the eastern Bhutanese. The following extract from Kennedy 1914 (quoted in Elwin 1959 : 438 note 2) relates the Aka origin myth. The passage in parenthesis is Elwin's summary of Kennedy.

Long long ago all men descended from heaven by means of ladders. The Assamese and the Akas of the royal blood came down by a golden ladder; the remaining Akas had a silver ladder; the Tibetans and Monbas /Mon-pa/ were given a ladder of iron; the Daflas and Abors had to be satisfied with a bamboo ladder; while the Cacharis and Khoas shared a plantain ladder. (All these people came to earth on the Longkapur Hill in the Lohit Valley, whence they scattered in search of land. The Assamese were the first to start and chose the plains. The Akas spent so much time resting and drinking beer that the others got the best land and they had to accept what was left.)

Given the broad universality of the descent theme and its wide occurrence in the myths of Asia, it is perhaps difficult to argue in favour of direct contact between the Aka and eastern Bhutanese versions. Nevertheless, they provide the only examples known to me of the means of descent being made of various materials in a manner that differentiates social groupings; for the eastern Bhutanese the myth affirmed the distinction between ruling and subject clans, while for the Aka it relates to the view of their place in the world at large by determining their attitude to all their neighbouring peoples, besides making the distinction between "the Akas of the royal blood" and "the remaining Akas" on exactly the Bhutanese pattern. Their common feature of a specific means of descent allocated to each group is a late development of the theme. It appears to be quite absent from Tibetan sources of any period. In view of the close geographical proximity of the Aka and <sup>the</sup> eastern Bhutanese, it would be surprising if one version had not inspired or influenced the other. If we accept the likely fact that many of the clans of eastern Bhutan originally claimed direct descent from heaven and only later accepted the prestigious figure of gTsang-ma as their ancestor, then it seems quite conceivable that the culturally 'inferior' Aka might have borrowed the descent theme from them at a time when it was still current in eastern Bhutan.

Returning now to the U-ra tradition, it is clear that although it preserves an early version of the theme, some Buddhist influence is also apparent. The people of Bum-thang, actually the original companions of Khyi-kha Ra-thod, are without a ruler to settle their quarrels and so they supplicate the God of Heaven, 'O-de Gung-rgyal. The god despatches his son, Gu-se Lang-ling, to U-ra on the "divine rmu-cord"

and he enters the womb of bSod-nams dPal-'dren who possesses the marks of a dākinī of gnosis. Despite the curses of 'Dzom-pa-sgron who is the wife of the headman of U-ra, lHa-bzang-rgyal is born to bSod-nams dPal-'dren as the incarnation of Gu-se Lang-ling. He is in fact referred to as "the divinely emanated gDung" (lha'i sprul-pa'i gdung, rGyal-rigs, f. 32b). If the legend had conformed exactly to the early non-Buddhist tradition, Gu-se Lang-ling would have come down the rope in corporal form and not as a "divine emanation". According to Tibetan mythology, the first kings not only descended to the human world on ropes or ladders but at their death they went back to heaven the same way. This continued until the time when one of them, Gri-gum bTsan-po, inadvertently severed the means of communication.

Much significance attaches to the names of 'O-de Gung-rgyal<sup>4</sup> and Gu-se Lang-ling. The former appears in a document from Tunhuang as the name of a god who turns up later in the complicated genealogies which reveal the divine origins of the Tibetan kings and clans. As the youngest of the six Yab-lha (or Yab-bla) bDag-drug, 'O-de Gung-rgyal is regarded as the ancestor of the primitive clans, particularly the Rlangs. He is also a sacred mountain in 'Ol-kha which is held to be the 'father' of eight other such mountains throughout Tibet. These god-mountains are termed "the nine gods who created the world" (srid-pa chags-pa'i lha dgu) and are generally classed as mGur-lha, divinities whose special function is to protect the royal line. Arianne Macdonald (1971: 292-309) has recently examined the royal cult of the sKu-lha (or Sku-bla) gods and her researches show beyond doubt that these were identical with the mGur-lha. Their intimate association with the person of the king is brought out in her words: "Les

Skü-bla de la tradition ancienne paraissent donc avoir été considérés à la fois comme des divinités-montagnes, des ancêtres et les supports du principe vital des rois (srog ou bla) dont ils assuraient la protection et l'existence tant qu'ils restaient liés à sa personne, mais dont ils provoquaient la mort quand ils 'abandonnaient leur vie' " (op. cit., 303). 'O-de Gung-rgyal is the foremost sKu-lha because it was from him that the first mythical kings, 'O-lde sPu-rgyal and gNya'-khri bTsan-po, were descended. Our text omits the intricate theogony in which 'O-de Gung-rgyal is normally placed and instead presents him simply as the 'God of Heaven' (gnam-lha). It is under this epithet that he is invoked later in the legend when the men of U-ra go to Yar-lung in search of the reincarnation of gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug (rGyal-rigs, f. 33b) and again in the variant tradition of gZhong-sgar and gDung-bsam where he is conflated with the Hindu god Indra (op. cit., f. 36a).

Strangely enough, the son of 'O-de Gung-rgyal who comes down from heaven on the "divine rmu-cord" to become the progenitor of the gDung families, that is Gu-se Lang-ling, is not known elsewhere in Tibetan tradition. In fact, the name seems to be preserved only in the rGyal-rigs. However, it can be tentatively suggested that the name may derive from a toponym: Gu-se or Gling Gu-se (also spelt 'Gu-zi, mGu-zi) is the name of a small principality in eastern Tibet that was formerly ruled by a chief claiming descent from the adoptive son of the epic hero Ge-sar (Stein 1959a : 128). It is a place intimately associated with the Rlangs clan, and the alternation Rlangs/Gling seems well attested (Stein 1959b : 78-79). Alternatively Lang-ling can be taken as a descriptive word suggesting 'swaying, dangling, hanging'



(Goldstein 1975 : 1114). Mention of a certain Jo-bo lHo-bu Lang-ling is found in the Tunhuang document P. 1289 (Stein 1971 : 517).

If the legend of Gu-se Lang-ling is as ancient as it would appear to be, then in its pristine form the god surely came down in person on the divine rope to the peak of a mountain in the vicinity of U-ra. The most sacred mountain in the area is sKu-lha mKha'-ri (note the form of the name: 'sKu-lha Sky-Mountain') which lies on the Tibetan border just a few miles north of Bum-thang. Nebesky (1956 : 204) noted the iconography and some of the traditions about sKu-lha mKha'-ri from the Tibetan viewpoint without, however, giving its location. The cult of the god in Bum-thang survives today only in local gsol-kha invocations but in Padma Gling-pa's day he seems to have been more important. That at least is the impression conveyed by a long passage in Padma Gling-pa's biography (ff.164b-170b) describing a vision in which this deity figures prominently under the name dGe-bsnyen mKha'-ri. He introduces himself by saying: "I protect the teachings of the dharma in the area of the South" ( / lho-rgyud chos-kyi bstan-pa nged-kyi skyong-ba-yin / f.167b). Nevertheless, he does not figure in any of the Bhutanese legends known to me and his true importance doubtless lies more in his role as a Tibetan sKu-lha associated with the southern border of that country. Within U-ra itself, however, there does survive a mountain cult unique to the valley and further investigations may one day prove it to have connections with the figure of Gu-se Lang-ling. In the autumn every year a group of ladies go to the top of a mountain in U-ra and perform a circular dance accompanied on a hand-drum. The performance is now described as A-lce

lHa-mo ('The Lady Goddess'), a term which is usually applied to the well known dance-dramas of Tibet, also performed by the Dag-pa and 'Brog-pa people of eastern Bhutan. The U-ra version of A-lce lHa-mo, however, has no dramatic function at all and consists solely of the circular dance. An extract from the accompanying song has appeared on a gramophone record prepared by the late John Levy entitled Tibetan and Bhutanese Instrumental and Folk Music (Lyrichord LLST 7258, Side B Band 5, not 6 as listed). We recorded the song at the palace of dBang-'dus Chos-gling where the U-ra ladies had come to perform it for us. There is some confusion surrounding the text of the song which, according to our informants, is supposed to be sung in gsang-yig ('secret letters'). The text written down for us at the time of the performance is a hymn of praise to the goddess A-lce lHa-mo herself and does not correspond to the words actually sung on the record.<sup>5</sup> The solution to this conundrum and to the important question of why women, rather than men, should play such a vital role in the cult of U-ra will have to await further investigations. Meanwhile it is worth noting that their ritual role has a social parallel.

A noble family whose line passes down from mother to daughter still lives in U-ra, the head of the family being called the U-ra A-lce ('The Lady of U-ra'). Matrilineal families such as this one also survive elsewhere in Bum-thang (at Zangs-gling, bSam-gtan-gling, Ngang, gTam-shing, Dur and lCags-mkhar) and in sKur-stod (at mTsho-gling, mKhos-ma and Na'i). Nothing is known about the origin of all these A-lce and today they are in a very reduced condition. It is with some amusement that people today explain how many of the A-lce are unable to find themselves husbands because of their

straightened circumstances. This is contrasted with the distant past when they are said to have been rich and powerful. The marriage of gDung lHa-dbang Grags-pa of U-ra to A-lce sGron-'dzom of Chos-'khor (rgyal-rigs, f. 35b) must have been of the nature of a political alliance. The same may hold for the liaison "on the side" (zur-du, loc. cit.,) of their son gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug II with the 'Chieftainess' (dPon-mo) bKra-shis dBang-mo of gZhong-sgar; theirs seems to have been an affair of the heart but it still carried important political implications for it was their sons and grandson who spread the institution of the gDung to all the surrounding areas. Doubtless the tradition at this point is still of a legendary character. It may relate to popular ideas about how some of the ancient matrilineal families were absorbed into, or became subordinate to, those of the gDung.

One of the most interesting points to be noted in the development of the U-ra tradition is how the theme of divine descent is ultimately replaced by one of descent from the ancient royal dynasty of Tibet. gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug I dies without issue but his line continues after a brief interregnum through his incarnation, gDung lHa-dbang Grags-pa, who is abducted from Yar-lung. Investigations made later by the U-ra people confirm that the child is descended from the Dharmarājas through a branch of their descendants that had settled at Yar-lung (rgyal-rigs, ff. 33b-35a). Exactly the same story of abduction is found in the tradition of gZhong-sgar and gDung-bsam (op. cit., ff. 39b ro 40a). This development of the legend may have arisen from a genuine break in the line of the gDung, or perhaps the break was introduced artificially in order to allow for the development. In any case it must have taken form at a time when the old pre-Buddhist

notion of heavenly descent was no longer held to confer sufficient prestige upon ruling families. Legitimate rule by this stage depended upon the ability to claim a connection with the true kings of history. Fortunately, in the traditions of the gdung this later claim never obscured the earlier versions which continued to exercise a tenacious hold on the popular imagination, as we shall also see below.

#### The gZhong-sgar and gDung-bsam tradition

Properly speaking, the legend recounted on ff. 36a-39b of the rGyal-rigs should have nothing to do with the gDung families as it really contains the origin myth of a quite separate family, the rJe of Yong-lam in gZhong-sgar. The reason why it was set down as a valid alternative version of the gDung origins appears to be quite simple. The people of U-ra today still migrate south to the warmer region of gZhong-sgar every winter. There they have estates producing rice which cannot grow at the high altitude of their original homeland in U-ra. This pattern of transhumance brought them into contact at an early date with the Tsangla-speaking people of gZhong-sgar, and the records suggest that the latter came under the sway of their northern neighbours. Thus the ruling rJe family of gZhong-sgar was, according to the U-ra tradition, the offshoot of the U-ra gDung. From the point of view of gZhong-sgar, however, the position is reversed: the U-ra gDung is held to be the offshoot of the ruler of gZhong-sgar, but not necessarily of the Yong-lam rJe. Ngag-dbang belonged to a different area of the country and could therefore adopt in his rGyal-rigs, an impartial view towards these rival claims. The two versions are neatly harmonised on ff. 39b-40a in a manner that has already been alluded to in the previous section to this chapter. The southern tradition, like the northern one

of U-ra, begins with certain ancient themes upon which the story of abducting a royal child is superimposed. However, its true substance is made up more of a compendium of themes drawn from several sources, in contrast to the U-ra tradition whose kernel revolves around a single theme. Before attempting to separate these strands, here again is the legend as it survives today in an oral tradition related to me by Slob-dpon bSod-nams bZang-po in the rDzong-kha idiom of the Ngalong language (tape recorded in Thim-phu on 23rd July, 1973. The reservations voiced above about his account of the 'Sindhu Rāja' also apply to this one, namely that it probably owes much to the literary account contained in the rGyal-rigs itself. Nevertheless, a comparison with that account shows quite clearly that the legend still survives in an oral line and this is as connected a version of it as one can hope for today.

The gDung families were actually descended from King 'Od-srungs. At that time a powerful ruler on the Indian border at a place called Khang-pa-di (sp ?) obtained for himself a wife who was the daughter of the ruler of mTsho-sna, the mTsho-sna-pa. As she was coming down for her wedding the guardian spirit (gnas-bdag), in fact a naga-demon (klu-bdud), of a place called Tsong-tsong-ma (sp ?) which is near, or rather on the opposite side to bKra-shis-sgang, made its appearance as she was sleeping the night in that place. The naga-demon took the form of a white snake and crossed back and forth over her body three times and so she conceived a child, a boy. Enormously strong being the child of a non-human, he grew up very quickly, taking but a few months whereas ordinary children require years. When he grew up he went down to India on a trading trip and on his way there was a lake which normally did nothing to people passing by. Since, however, he was the son of a non-human it became agitated, raining hail and stones on him so that he could not proceed on his way. He found no way of solving the problem and so fell to wondering what he should best do. "If I knew who my father was I could ask him for help but my mother will not tell me who he is. Before trying anything I should get the assistance of my father's brothers and his people." On the way home he sharpened his sword and then went to his mother. "Are you going to tell me who my father

is ? If you are, then tell me immediately.  
 If not, then I am going to kill you right now."  
 "You have no father," said his mother. "It's  
 no good saying I have no father," he replied.  
 So she told him the story about what had befallen  
 her at the lake while she had been sleeping there  
 for three nights, how it had happened and how he  
 had been conceived. Collecting together three  
 white kinds and three sweet kinds of medicine  
 (sman dkar-gsum dngar-gsum) he went to the lake,  
 threw them in and cried out: "Father, father !"  
 At that instant a figure emerged from the lake,  
 the top part of his body being human in shape  
 and the lower part a serpent, asking: "What is it ?"  
 "Are you my father ?" "Yes, what do you want ?"  
 "There is this lake which does nothing to harm  
 other people when they pass by, but being my enemy  
 it will not allow me to pass. I have to fight a  
 battle with this lake and for this I need assistance."  
 "That's easy. You needn't worry. I'll do it. Today  
 you stay here and I'll bring you plenty of food.  
 Tomorrow you go down there and I'll help you." When  
 he got up the next morning his father brought him  
 many kinds of food. "What sort of help are you  
 going to give me ?" he demanded. "That's easy.  
 There's nothing for you to do," replied his father.  
 He gave him a tube of bamboo with its opening  
 carefully sealed. "Now take this off with you to  
 the lake and open it up when you get there. Don't  
 open it until you arrive." "All right," he said  
 and set off. On his way he became uneasy and  
 thought to himself: "There is probably nothing in  
 this to help me. When I get to the lake I shall  
 probably drown and die." He opened up a minute  
 crack in the bamboo and two or three snakes looking  
 like monkeys (?) escaped. He quickly closed it up  
 again. The place and house where this happened is  
 called sBrul-chu-gling ("Snake-Water-Place") and  
 even today there are snakes there which are descended  
 from those ones. Later when he arrived at the lake-  
 side he opened the tube and masses of snakes issued  
 forth and went into the lake, tearing it up at its  
 top and bottom so that in an instant it all emptied  
 of water leaving just white stones lying around. He  
 went down to see what it was like and in the middle  
 of where the lake used to be he saw a large bronze  
 vessel turned upside down. Thinking this must be  
 the palace of a naga he went and turned it over.  
 Inside there was a most beautiful and attractive  
 girl holding a golden ladle with which she struck  
 him on the head, cracking his skull and killing him  
 there. His brain was eaten by a fish and since he  
 was the son of a non-human his consciousness entered  
 the fish. Wondering how he could obtain a human  
 body he went down the river and then up the river  
 which passes bKra-shis-sgang, rTa-wang and so on up  
 to Mon mTsho-sna. He went wherever the river took  
 him but could find no way out. Then he went up the  
Ku-ru Chu river to Kur-stod but there was no means  
 of exit that way either. Then he went to Grub-thob  
Zam-pa in gZhong-sgar on his way to Bu-thang (sp ?)

but at Trus-thang (sp ?) he got caught in a fish net which a man had left in the river there. As the man approached to kill him he cried out: "Don't kill me. I shall help you." "My, this fish speaks in our human tongue. It is a bad auspice. What can this mean?" said the man. He did not let the fish go but instead placed it in a box full of water and took it away thinking that in a day or two the fish would die and that he would then eat it. But on the next day it hadn't died, nor on the following day, staying just as it was. One day he went off to work and when he came back he found his food already prepared and ready to be eaten. "My goodness, what can this be? Who could have come to my house today? I have nobody myself who could have done this. What could have caused it?" Saying this, he fell to eating the food and then went to sleep. On the next day he went off to do his work at some distance and the same thing had been done for him on his return. "Now what can this mean? It must be the consciousness of the fish which is helping me. It must surely be a magical trick played by the fish." Having said this, he went out of his house, entered the forest and returned through the jungle until he came to a large tree from the top of which his house could be seen. Climbing this, he stayed to watch his house. From inside the fish which was inside the box of water there emerged a handsome youth who proceeded to light a fire and prepare food. Going as quickly as he could, the man returned and flung the corpse of the fish into the fire. "Oh, you've burnt it. That was a bad mistake. I must pull the tail out." The youth pulled his tail out of the fire and so later there came about a great abundance of meat, butter, clothes and everything in the man's storeroom. When the youth had gained immense power the people said he should become their king, the king of Trus-thang. It is said that the fortress of gZhong-sgar which nowadays still exists [in ruins] was built by him. He has a name but I ... Then everyone in that place became afraid of him and there was nobody who could match his power. He subdued everyone to his authority, treating those beneath him very well, giving them food and compelling them not to bully others. Eventually when he came near to death the people declared: "There is nobody now who would be able to support us after you die. You must take a consort now so as to produce a son who would act as your heir." He replied: "I am myself the descendant of a non-human and so you would not derive any benefit from my lineage." He had no son therefore, and when he was dying he said: "When a time comes that you are in trouble about five years from now, take this and go to Yar-lung in Tibet. In the lower part of Yar-lung there is a school for all the children. The children there will be playing dice and at that

time you must show them my dice. The child who recognises my dice is the one who will be of benefit to you. Bring him down here." [Saying this, he died.] When in accordance with these words they went to Yar-lung, at the lower end of Yar-lung there was a large school in which there were very many children, just as they had been told. They were playing dice and when the dice [the men had brought with them] was thrown amongst them, one of the children grabbed it and said: "Oh! Where have you brought my dice from?" They immediately caught him by the hand and took him off. Placing him in a wickerwork basket, they brought him down to Trus-thang which is the place where the gZhong-sgar rDzong now stands. The large estate which [the palace of] dBang-'dus Chos-gling [i.e. the present royal family] owns at Trus-thang used to be his estate. After he had come there he grew up and became chief, he the descendant of the kings of Tibet, the reincarnation who had been taken down from up there. Then he went up to U-ra and became the U-ra gDung Nag-po. Every winter he used to go down to gZhong-sgar and so he went back and forth. His sons who settled in villages in Bum-thang and Mang-sde produced the families known as gDung who are the descendants of the U-ra gDung Nag-po. After he had come this way, having become a man again after being a fish, he went to see the lake. The copper vessel was still there and he took it away with him. Inside the vessel there was an image of Phyag-na rDo-rje (Vajrapāṇi) one cubit in height. Somebody made off with it at some time and it is now at a place called Bi-gdung (sp ?) near bKra-shis-sgang. It can be seen to this day, a kind of 'lake-treasure' (mtsho-gter). The copper vessel which had been taken away was brought to U-ra and kept by the U-ra gDung Nag-po. During the time of Zhab-drung [Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal] the U-ra gDung Nag-po refused to submit to him and a force of the Shar-bod and Mang-bod [i.e. the militia from the district of Thim-phu, sPu-na-kha and dBang-'dus Pho-brang] was sent to destroy him. After his defeat the vessel was taken away and brought to sPu-na-kha where it is still kept [in the fortress] and known as the mtsho-chen rGyal-po'i rDzam ("The Pot of the King of the Great Lake").

The main divergence between bSod-nams bZang-po's oral account of 1973 and Ngag-dbang's written account of 1728 is the complete absence in the former of the complicated preamble to the story occupying f.36a-b of the rGyal-rigs. This preamble appears to be derived from a textual tradition, namely the gter-ma of Bon Thang-la 'Od-dkar which Ngag-dbang lists as one of the sources of the legend. The oral traditions of gDung-bsam



and gZhong-sgar which together form the rest of the legend seem to have been grafted upon this textual tradition. Until the gter-ma comes to light once more, that seems to be the basic picture of the legend's structure. The fragment of the gter-ma that survives in the preamble has an ancient quality despite its mention of the Hindu god Indra (posing as the God of Heaven 'O-de Gung-rgyal in the Buddhist heaven of Trāyastriṃśat). Apart from these accretions, the names that appear are all pre-Buddhist in origin (Gu-se Lang-ling, rMu in rMu-yul, rMu'i rje-dpon, rMu-btsan lHa-gnyan Chen-po and perhaps Mu-ku-lung; bSe-ba-mkhar and gDung-mtsho, see below). The name of the gter-ma itself is that of a Bon-po god, Thang-la 'Od-dkar; the form of the name (which does not seem to be found elsewhere) variously reminds one of the Bon-po god and saint sTag-la Me-'bar, of Tha-le 'Od-dkar the sister of the epic hero Ge-sar (Stein 1959a : 535), and finally of the mountain god Thang-lha (Nebesky 1956 : 205-208). Despite these considerations, the textual tradition really seems extraneous to the original form of the legend and its inclusion may simply represent an attempt on the part of Ngag-dbang to give a greater depth and significance to the whole tradition. This interpretation is borne out by the way the preamble is aligned to the local tradition as preserved in the rGyal-rigs and by the fact that it is quite missing in the contemporary oral account.

The main point of the legend, taken as a logical and consistent whole, is to show the series of adventures a divine being must experience if he is to act as a ruler of ordinary mortals. His essential nature is incompatible with that of humans and must be gradually transformed and tamed.

Upon this assumption rest all the odd permutations of existence through which Bar-skyes (alias Ral-pa sTobs-chen, alias lHa-dbang Grags-pa) has to pass before he can act as the true founder of a ruling line. Each of these permutations is associated with a particular locality in eastern Bhutan and very likely enjoyed to begin with an independent currency. The legend evolved by assimilating to it these local stories, one by one, until it developed into the final complex form recorded by Ngag-dbang. The oral recension of bSod-nams bZang-po emphasises the continuing associations which each part of the legend has with specific places; one possible approach to the analysis is therefore geographical in nature. In fact there seems to be no problem in determining the original setting of each component of the legend. The 'preamble' is set in the vicinity of Me-rag Sag-stengs inhabited by the 'Northern Monpa', the story of Bar-skyes is set in gDung-bsam (Mon-yul sTong-gsum), the story of Ral-pa sTobs-chen in gZhong-sgar (Mol-ba-lung) and the account of the latter's abduction from Yar-lung as lHa-dbang Grags-pa seems to be a direct borrowing from the U-ra tradition.

Underlying all these separate plots (except the last one) is the theme of lakes and rivers and their divine or semi-divine inhabitants. The watery element dominates the legend and helps to conceal its syncretic structure. mTsho-sna ('Lake-Beginnings' or 'Diverse Lakes') in the preamble is very important in Tibetan mythology for its associations with the origins of Tibet and the Tibetans (Stein 1972 : 37-38). It used to be the administrative capital of Mon-yul and lies just beyond the present border with Kameng. According

to the preamble, when the ancestors of the Me-rag Sag-stengs people were fleeing from their ruler at mTsho-sna, Gu-se Lang-ling was sent by the God of Heaven to help them. This took the form of assisting the god of the lake at lHo gDung-mtsho sKar-ma-thang, perhaps a local protector of those people. The lake is certainly a real, not imaginary, one as it appears in Padma Gling-pa's autobiography (f. 62a) spelt, perhaps significantly, as Dung-mtsho Karma-thang. A Dung-mtsho ('Origin Lake') is mentioned in the Po-ti bse-ru, according to the 5th Dalai Lama (Haarh 1969 : 256-7, 287-8). After various transmutations, Gu-se Lang-ling turns up again as the lake-god of Mu-ku-lung, where in the form of a white serpent he impregnates the bride of the king of gDung-bsam. She conceives Bar-skyes who later unwittingly upsets the rival nāga-demon (klu-bdud) of the lake at Ngas-tsang-long-pa. Despite the gift of a snake army by his father, Bar-skyes is killed by the rival god and his consciousness enters a fish. The fish is eventually caught by a bachelor whom it assists by performing household chores, transforming itself into a youth for this purpose when the bachelor is working in his fields. The bachelor discovers this, destroys the body of the fish and so the youth is left in his human condition and becomes Ral-pa sTobs-chen, the ruler of gZhong-sgar. The concept of a primal lake seems to be muted and overshadowed in this narrative by the idea of lakes as the home of dangerous spirits, principally the klu who appropriated the character of the Indian nāga spirits. The 'tshomem' (mtsho-smam-mo) are another class of such semi-divine beings specifically associated with lakes in Bhutan. The uncanny behaviour of the Ngas-tsang-long-pa lake (somewhere between gDung-bsam and India) is a typical example of the ominous and

sinister nature still credited to lakes in popular folklore. The strength of these beliefs is suggested by the fact that Gu-se Lang-ling, who should properly be associated with a mountain (and is in fact briefly linked in the preamble with the mountains of Gangs-ri dKar-po and Wang-seng), is finally transformed into a klu-bdud ('nāga-demon') in the gDung-bsam tradition.

The point of most central interest in this latter tradition concerns the episode when Bar-skyes, having turned into a fish, is caught by a batchelor whom he secretly assists around the house until he regains a human body and becomes the man's adoptive son. A very close parallel to this story is found in the mythology of the Thulung Rai of east Nepal. The Thulung version has been discussed at length by Nicholas Allen (1976: 102ff.). He traces the story back to one that is recorded in two separate recensions in the Tun-huang literature, namely the marriage by capture of rBeg-ga rBeg-shi (or Tseng-'gi rBag-zhing) by Gyim-po Nyag-cig (edited and translated by F.W. Thomas 1957:16-44). The first of several Thulung versions recorded by Allen may be briefly summarised as follows:

Khakcilik, a poor orphan who works as a fisherman, catches a stone in his net one day. Each time he casts it back into the water it gets caught again until finally he decides to take it home with him. The stone is actually a girl, Wayelungma, and while Khakcilik is away fishing, she slips out to sweep the house and prepare a meal. Khakcilik returns and, astonished, declares: "Who is this who has been looking after a poor orphan like me? Come and we'll eat together." One of his neighbours, an old woman, pretends that she has been helping him and so he shares the food with her. The whole business is repeated two or three times until the truth of the matter is explained to Khakcilik by another neighbour: "Pick up your net as if to go fishing. Then take a winnowing fan and broom, and hide in the corner by the doorway. When your helper /Wayelungma/ comes to get the broom, grab hold of her." Khakcilik does so and the two of them settle down as man and wife.

The two recensions of the Tun-huang version contain many unsolved textual problems and there are a number of fairly minor discrepancies in their accounts. However, their basic unity is quite evident. The following precis of Allen's paraphrasing of Thomas' somewhat doubtful translations allows itself some license in order to bring out the common features of the two recensions:

A girl (rBeg-ga rBeg-shi or Tseng-'gi rBag-zhing) changes herself into a peacock (or takes on the character of a bird) to save herself from a fiend which has killed all or most of her close kin. Gyim-po Nyag-cig, a poor and solitary figure separated from his six rich brothers, catches the peacock in a snare and takes her home. (In one version she is caught and released by him several times.) While Gyim-po is away pasturing goats or gathering wood, the girl-peacock secretly sets out a meal which he eats on returning. Pretending to go out to cut wood, he hides behind a dung-heap. The peacock-girl comes out from her place of hiding to lay out another meal. Gyim-po catches her and makes her his wife.

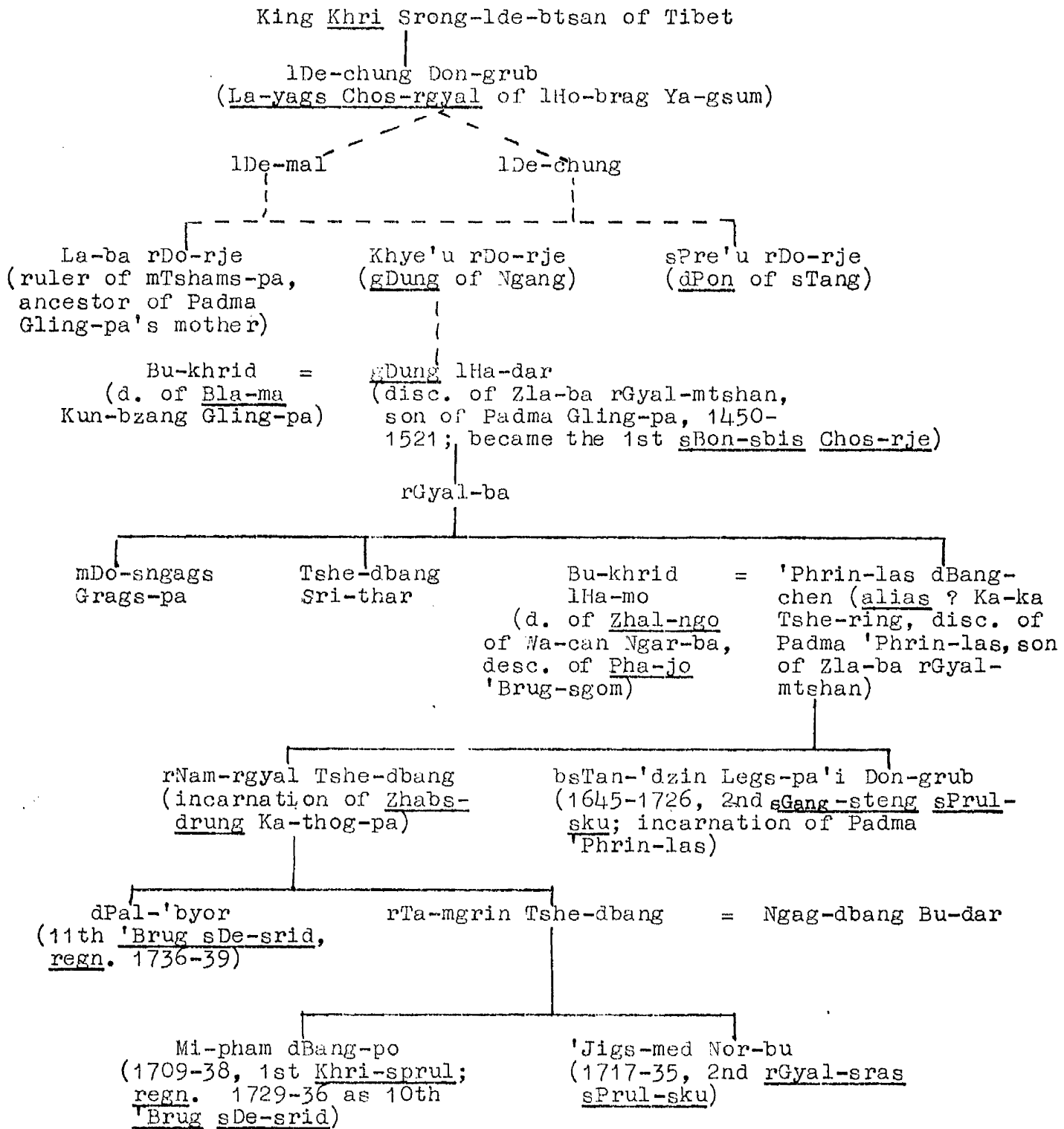
All three versions (Tun-huang, Bhutanese and Thulung) form part of extended legendary cycles having different aims and functions but in each one the man is a lonely figure (orphan, batchelor, separated brother). His bride or adoptive son is captured first in a snare or net while in a state of disguise (as peacock, fish or stone). They are finally caught red-handed in their true form while secretly performing household chores for the man who, suspecting, had pretended to go off on his work in order to lure them out. The shift from 'captured wife' to 'adoptive son' in the Bhutanese story may be explained by the fact that the latter forms a sub-plot in the legendary origins of a line of male rulers. The common motifs, however, seem to outweigh the obvious points of contrast so strongly as to suggest that the stories are truly versions of a single legend and not

merely vague and fortuitous parallels. Many explanations can be used to account for a single story occurring in several areas. The most likely one in this case would appear to be that the Bhutanese and Thulung versions share a common external ancestor derived from the Tun-huang version, though there are no means to hand of proving this interpretation. The peripheral survivals in Nepal and Bhutan may at the least be said to carry ancient associations with the mythology of Tibet's dynastic period. In Bhutan's case this tends to underline many of the conclusions reached in this chapter. It is, however, particularly apt that the old story should be found in the legends of a family calling itself rJe, for it probably represents part of one of the original myths of the huge rJe clan; all these became buried later under the scheme that claimed the figure of gTsang-ma as a royal progenitor.

#### The Ngang tradition

Two works which must have been composed at almost exactly the same time as the rGyal-rigs, namely the biographies of bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa'i Don-grub (1645-1726)<sup>6</sup> and of Mi-pham dBang-po (1709-1738),<sup>7</sup> clearly indicate that the supremacy accorded the U-ra gDung family in the rGyal-rigs was not always accepted by the gDung families of other areas. bsTan-'dzin Legs-grub was the second incarnate head of the great monastery of Gang-steng which belongs to the school of Padma Gling-pa and is situated in the Shar District of western Bhutan. He was born in a chos-rje family of sBon-sbis that descended from the gDung family of Ngang and it was for this reason that the origins of the Ngang gDung are explained in his biography (ff. 22b-24a). A closely similar account is

Table XI: Origins of the gDung families: the Ngang tradition  
 (according to the biographies of bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa'i Don-grub,  
 ff. 22b-24a, and Mi-pham dBang-po, ff. 5b-6b)



found on ff. 5b-6b of the biography of his nephew, Mi-pham dBang-po, who was the first incarnation of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (1638-1696) and who ruled as the 10th 'Brug sDe-srid from 1729 to 1736. As we might expect, in the scheme which these works adopted (illustrated in Table XI) the line of descent of these two important figures is traced back to the Tibetan kings in a late and artificial manner, but one that is not devoid of interest.

King Khri Srong-lde-btsan of Tibet is said to have had "a beloved natural son" (thugs-nye-ba'i sras zur-pa, f.22b) called lDe-chung Don-grub upon whom he conferred the province of lHo-brag.<sup>8</sup> Two of his descendants lDe-mal and lDe-chung, became the so-called Dharmarājas of La-yags, a village located somewhere across the border with Bhutan, as we know from the biography of Padma Gling-pa who knew the place (see for instance f.74b). lDe-mal and lDe-chung can very likely be identified with lDe-po and lDe-chung, historical figures who appear in a recognised branch of royal descendants settled in this area (see Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma, p. 167). The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long (f. 99a) notes that lDe-po took control of a place called 'Ban-tshigs and that the family's line passed down through his immediate descendants. lDe-chung died without issue. At this point the Ngang tradition picks up and adapts part of a scheme which is fully explained in Section IV of the rGyal-rigs where it is used to account for the origins of a motley group of ruling families, but not those of the gDung. Three brothers (La-ba rDo-rje, Khye'u rDo-rje and sPre'u rDo-rje) who descend from lDe-mal and lDe-chung come south to Bum-thang. Each becomes the first of a line of local rulers. Khye'u rDo-rje settles in the two



villages of Dur and Ngang and subdues by magic a large snake, the emanation of a klu-bdud, which had been devouring the local inhabitants on the path between the two villages. The people of Ngang are delighted, appoint him their ruler and so he becomes the first gDung of Ngang. His elder brother settles in mTshams-pa (some miles north of Ngang) and we are told that the mother of Padma Gling-pa was born in his lineage. The youngest brother becomes the ruler (dpon) of sTang. The two key figures in whose biographies this tradition was recorded were descended from gDung lHa-dar of Ngang, himself the supposed descendant of the legendary Khye'u rDo-rje.

According to Section IV of the rGyal-rigs (ff. 40a-43b) the three legendary brothers arrive from sPa-gro, not lHo-brag, and are among the so-called Six Vajra Brothers of lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje, the famous assassin of King Glang Dar-ma 'the Apostate'. The three brothers who do come by way of lHo-brag are Kha-rtsing Las-kyi rDo-rje, Pho-mtshar Grags-pa rDo-rje and sMras-mkhas sPyang-rig rDo-rje, each of whom become rulers in the areas south and east of Bum-thang. Four out of the total of six become dpon<sup>9</sup> (or dpon-po, dpon-chen, dpon-chen zhal-ngo) in Bum-thang and the area east, among them the Chos-'khor dPon-po (discussed above) who occupies here the position taken by the Ngang gDung in the biographical tradition.<sup>10</sup> Could all these dpon have been established by Tibetan authority as vassal rulers in the manner suggested for the Chos-'khor dPon-po ? We have no means of knowing. One of the remaining two brothers becomes the untitled head of the pastoral families of mTshams-pa and the other the progenitor of the Kheng-po families of gZhong-sgar, a name one would like to link to that of the Kheng people who extend into this area.

The whole schema of these paired triads with their matching names and epithets must derive from a much earlier tradition that is now lost. Indeed it must have disappeared already by the early 17th century, leaving behind simply a convenient formula that could be variously applied to fit ancient ruling families into an acceptable, unified pattern. What is not clear is the extent to which the three authors, Ngag-dbang, Shākya Rin-chen and bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, were using or adapting the formula on their own initiative. Or were they recording oral traditions in a truly untampered form as they would have us believe ? The whole twilight area of these partly oral, partly literary traditions tend to defy such an analysis.

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Notes to Ch. I Section 5

1. The mi-dpon were certainly part of the system of local administration in Tibet during this period. They are mentioned together with the brgya-dpon ('centurions') in the 'Gyangtse Chronicles' of 1481 (Tucci 1949:667). They probably had their origin during the period of Sa-skya or Phag-mo-gru-pa rule.
2. Here are the references to these five campaigns in Tucci's translation:
  - (1) "Having become his intimate and having attended to the most important affairs, he ḍPal-ldan bZang-po urged that dGe-bshes dGe-'dun rGyal-mtshan of Rong-po might accept him in his retinue in the expedition against the lHo-dung, (which he was preparing). At the age of twenty-three, in the year of the iron-dragon (1340), he went as a lay companion (in the retinue) of dGe-bshes, and in lHo-dung the enemies were destroyed." (f. 3b ?)
  - (2) The dge-bshes appears to have died in the first campaign and dPal-ldan bZang-po was appointed in his place. "At the age of twenty-five, in the year water-horse (1342), he went to bZang-yul. Among the four offices corresponding to the (four) sections in which Sa-skya was divided, the dGe-bshes dGe-'dun rGyal-mtshan had that of Shar-kha ḍthe eastern section; as he ḍPal-ldan bZang-po was appointed in his place he was exalted as the glorious Shar-kha-pa. Having conquered the Dung-reng, as the clergy and laymen were pacified, the Sa-skya-pa hierarch too had a high opinion of him." (f. 4a) In 1347 he is appointed "administrator of western lHo-brag".

(3) "In that year 1352 he ḍPal-lḍan bZang-po destroyed the lHo-dung in Rin-chen-sgang and in the environs of Phag-ri." (f. 5a)

(4) "In the following year the Shar-dung led by Don-grub-dar, having vanquished the Gur minister of Grum-pa and having asked to make an act of submission, it is said that he ḍPal-lḍan bZang-po let them remain in his retinue." (loc. cit.)

(5) "In the year wood-horse (1354) his younger brother 'Phags-pa Rin-chen-pa went to lHo-brag and conquered the lHo-dung and hence deserved well of dBus." (loc. cit.)

The 5th Dalai Lama's Chronicle (f. 100a) confirms the gist of the above: "From Sa-skya he received the insignia and the diploma of rgan-po to subdue Shar-dung and lHo-dung and of valiant archer." (Tucci op. cit., 646)

3. The sketchmap accompanying this table does great injustice to the many different languages spoken by small pockets of people throughout the area who do not fall into the major groups. A fully documented language map produced after an exhaustive linguistic survey of the whole region would reveal the interconnections of these minor 'border' languages but would not, I believe, greatly alter the broad outlines suggested in this sketchmap. The dotted boundary of 'Northern Monpa' encompasses the area now under the control of China. The inhabitants of Me-rag/Sag-stengs in Bhutan (between the sGam-ri Chu and rTa-wang Chu valleys) are almost certainly speakers of 'Northern Monpa' also. If we accept the identification of the Shar-dung (once an independent people enjoying a corporate identity) with the 'Northern Monpa', then we are today faced with the sad picture of their present dispersal under the governments

of China, Bhutan and India. An objection may be raised to this proposed identification when it is recalled that in the previous section to this chapter we noticed how Padma Gling-pa arrived at the court of the king of Dung 'Di-rang (f. 164b of his rnam-thar). This might indicate that the Shar-dung once extended south into the area occupied by the Tsangla-speaking 'Central Monpa'. Elsewhere (f. 100a), Padma Gling-pa seems to speak of the whole areas as Dung-rong ('The Ravine Country of the Dung').

4. On 'O-de Gung-rgyal as the divine ancestor of kings and clans, and as a sacred mountain, see Tucci (1949 : 728, 730 and 733), Nebesky (1956 : 208-209), Stein (1959b : 83 note 226), Haarh (1969 : passim), A. Macdonald (1971 : 302).
5. The following is Philip Denwood's translation of part of the text supplied, the original of which is presumably still among the late John Levy's papers now preserved at the Institute of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh:

Ache Lhamo's conveyance is a horse.

Ache Lhamo's incense is from mulu and pulu wood.

Ache Lhamo's drink is arak and ambrosia.

Ache Lhamo's couch is a white woollen cloth.

Ache Lhamo's tea has ginger and sugar.

The land of Gangto is pleasant

Surrounded by a wall of jewels.

6. rGyal-kun khyab-bdag 'pro-ba'i bla-ma bstan-'dzin rin-po-che legs-pa'i don-grub zhabs-kyi rnam-par thar-pa ngo-mtshar nor-bu'i mchod-sdong (123 folios, undated) by bstan-'dzin Chos-r yal, 10th Head Abbot of Bhutan (1701-67, regn. 1755-62).

7. Byang-chub sems-dpa' chen-po ngag-gi dbang-phyug bstan-'dzin mi-pham jigs-med thub-bstan dbang-po'i sde'i rtogs-pa brjod-pa lbyangs-can rgyud-mang (83 folios, undated) by Shākya Rin-chen, 9th Head Abbot of Bhutan (1710-59, regn. 1744-55).
  8. The texts refer specifically to the Ya-gsum (or Ya-bo-gsum) of lHo-brag, an ancient territorial division of a province into three parts (cf. Klum-ro'i ya-sum in a Tun-huang ms. quoted in Haarh 1969:242). I would take ya or ya-bo as cognate to yan-lag, 'limb', 'member', 'section'.
  9. The kings of the present dynasty in Bhutan, the 'Brug rGyal-po whose ancestral home is Bum-thang, are still referred to by members of their family and by people from that area as dpon, pronounced 'pon' in the local manner, not 'pön'.
  10. It is perhaps worth noting that the dPon of sTang is (sTobs-ldan) La-ba rDo-rje in the rGyal-rigs, but sPre'u rDo-rje in bStan-'dzin Legs-grub's biography. Similarly, the ruler of mTshams-pa is (mGar-ba) Khye'u rDo-rje in the former and La-ba rDo-rje in the latter.
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## 6. Patterns and prospects

In this chapter an attempt has been made to examine the historical background to the themes which imbue those myths which survive today as accounts of what happened at the dawn of Bhutanese history. As a convenient basket into which the best known of these stories have been placed, the chapter reflects the diverse nature of the material itself. The texts which form that material have been studied on their individual grounds and merits, and the conclusions reached are those which have been suggested in the course of analysis. Underlying these conclusions, however, are a few common factors which can now be briefly summarised.

One generalisation that holds true for the early myths of Bhutan is that they are 'early' only in regard to the events of which they speak. In the form in which they have come down to us they date from the 15th to the 18th centuries, ignoring here the legend of Srong-btsan's temples which is properly speaking Tibetan. In a certain sense, these 'early' myths of Bhutan may be said to be the 'late' myths of Tibet but the latter carried direct echoes from the dynastic period that led to Buddhist conversion in the 7th to 9th centuries. By picking up these echoes in the written and unwritten traditions of their own age, Padma Gling-pa and Ngag-dbang were able to adapt them to their own circumstances of place and time. Not only could their reconstituted versions carry validity precisely because of these ancient associations, but they gave powerful expression to the local aspirations of their audiences in Bhutan in a way that ensured their works success. Their authors were not inventing fanciful tales for the entertainment of illiterate peasants but rather fulfilling a basic need in their respective societies for

a share of the divine source. Without that source lineages would remain meaningless, the ground unhallowed and all institutions of rule unfounded. (The phrase 'byung-khungs med-pa (lit. 'sourceless') is most often used in Bhutan with the derived meanings of 'stupid' and 'upstart'.) For the historian the chief interest in texts which 'substantiate the source' ('khungs chod-pa), whether by revelation in the case of gter-ma or by simple investigation in the case of chronicles, lies in the way these reveal the local complex that is adapted to the source. Here we meet with truly historical phenomena and the search for these has taken us to temples, pillars, rulers, clans and families. It has been no part of the aim to 'debunk' the myths, but in the meantime the line between fact and imagination has become a little clearer. It may be argued that this is a rather circuitous way of revealing the past, but in the absence of other source material of a more concrete nature we are forced to consider this chain of mythological testimonies. In any case, surely the substance of myth is as revealing of a people's inner aspirations and history as hard fact.

If there is a single thread which more than any other links together the myths examined above it is the way they all look upon the region that later became Bhutan as a borderland where foreign rulers could find refuge and re-establish their authority. They arrive as exiles, refugees and outcasts, or are brought there by abduction or sent as emissaries or generals. All these figures carry the divine aura of kingship and the local inhabitants, yielding to them as subjects, come to partake of that aura in a relationship that is passed down from generation to generation among their descendants. At no time does there arise a universal



king and the local polities seem everywhere circumscribed by the ethnic boundaries which divide the land into its many units.

The traditions of east Bhutan were recorded by Ngag-dbang during a period when the ancient institutions of rule peculiar to that region had already been undermined by the expansion of the 'Brug-pa theocracy from the west. The traditions very soon ceased to have any relevance and are today almost forgotten. Certainly they never passed into the mainstream of Bhutanese historiography whose inspiration and provenance has since the 17th century been largely limited to the west of the country. On the other hand, the traditions 'rediscovered' by Padma Gling-pa, himself an easterner, survived into quasi-orthodoxy because they were cast in a legendary religious mode acceptable to all forms of rule in all periods. Moreover, they were not concerned with real institutions as in Ngag-dbang's case, but rather with remote figures who had never given rise to ruling lineages that survived into the period of 'Brug-pa dominance. The ultimate success of Padma Gling-pa's portrayal of the 'Sindhu Rāja' and Khyi-kha Ra-thod was above all due to the inseparable associations which these kings had with the key figure of Padmasambhava, the 'second Buddha'.

The traditions concerning Padmasambhava himself form a constant leitmotif. Here we move into a world of mystical revelation that stands apart from our present concerns, rooted as they are in the sphere of the mundane. For the local chronicler Bhutanese history really begins with Padmasambhava who is said to have visited countless places throughout the country which later became his shrines (see particularly LCB I, f. 6a-b, LCB II, ff. 62b-67a and gTam-tshogs, f. 118a-b). He quite overshadows

the person of Srong-btsan sGam-po who is credited with the foundation of the two temples in Bhutan at a period earlier still. All the mythic complexes reviewed above can to a greater or lesser extent be linked to historical phenomena, but this is not possible in the case of Padmasambhava's traditions in Bhutan, whatever significance the manuscript Pelliot tibétain 44 may have for his associations with Nepal and Tibet. For this reason it has been thought best to leave him mostly in the heaven from whence he came. Nevertheless, a study of the last of his eight forms, rDo-rje Gro-lod, will eventually tell us much about the growth of the Bhutanese tradition for it was under this aspect that he is said to have travelled to thirteen 'tiger's nests' where he revealed the teachings on Vajrakīla (gTer-rnam, f. 13b). Foremost among these is the shrine of sTag-tshang in the sPa-gro valley. Another of them is Senge rDzong north of Kur-stod. Some traditions hold that the pregnant tigress which acts as the mount for this form of the Guru is none other than the transformed daughter of the 'Sindhu Rāja'. The child she is to conceive is the wisdom latent in all beings but, given the ancient association of the country with tigers, she symbolises in particular the inhabitants of Bhutan whose barbarism is transmuted by the wrathful activity of the Guru into spiritual awakening. The country as a whole is transformed by him into the spiritual Arcadia of a 'hidden land' (LCB I, f. 6b, LCB II, f. 59a et. seq.). The role attributed to Padmasambhava in Bhutan as the first bringer of religion, who came both in person and by magic to tame the country, has of course many parallels throughout the Himalayas and in many parts of Tibet too. His direct, though legendary, associations with each locality

give the inhabitants a new and special status which is contrasted with the one they had in the age of darkness before his arrival. This did much to offset the Buddhist notion that border people stood beyond the pale of the doctrine. Indian tradition sometimes identified the border barbarians with the "mleccha-rājas who dwell in the Himālayas" (Blue Annals, p. 45). Tibetan traditions took this up without hesitation, as we see in the words of the Kun-bzang bla-ma'i zhal-lung:

kLa klo [mleccha] is a designation of the inhabitants of any of the thirty-two border regions beginning with the kLo.kha.khra. It is the habit of the kLa.klo to call killing a virtue and so they count the slaughter of living beings as something good. Although the kLa.klos of the border regions look like human beings, their minds do not work properly and so they cannot be turned toward the Noble Doctrine (Guenther 1959:23).

The Bhutanese sometimes see themselves as descendants of the Kha-khra ('Striped-Mouths') referred to here, a vague term applied by the Tibetans to the pre-literate tribals of Arunachal (cf. note 23 to Section I above and the rGyal-rigs note 20). As late as 1714 Lajang Khan could address the 8th 'Brug sDe-srid of Bhutan in writing as "barbarian king" (kla-klo'i rgyal-po/mleccha-rāja, in MBTJ, f. 104b). The term kla-klo is still occasionally used by Tibetans today when seeking to insult the Bhutanese. The sting lies particularly in the way the term repudiates, even ignores, their 'historical' conversion to Buddhism by Padmasambhava and the many centuries that were filled with their own Buddhist saints.

Returning now to the vestiges of true history, what scope is there for finding further material, written or otherwise, which might help us achieve a sharper picture of the country before the arrival of the Buddhist saints and rulers who occupy the next chapter ? Unless some particularly interesting trouvailles, real gter-ma in fact, should come to light, it seems unlikely that we shall ever learn much more about the west of the country from the literary records. In the east, however, there must surely be considerable scope for enhancing the picture given by Ngag-dbang in his works, particularly if some of his own sources are found. These may well be preserved in scattered private collections on both sides of the eastern border. Not only will these tend to illuminate each other, but their true import will gradually be revealed as corroborating material is found in the independent sources of Tibet; so far the best interpretive insights seem to have been those afforded by the Rin-chen gter-mdzod, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag and the 'Gyangtse Chronicle', but many more 'tie-ins' can surely be culled from the bottomless pit of Tibetan literature. Of equal potential value would be the pursuit of archeological, ethnographic and linguistic research throughout the country. These would help to determine the early pattern of diffusion and settlement in a manner that would certainly demand a re-appraisal of the existing records. The tools of social anthropology as applied to the content of oral traditions and the nature of social change could also perhaps be used with some profit in this area. It may be <sup>hoped</sup> / these disciplines

will one day produce solid grist to the historian's mill  
which has here revolved almost exclusively around the  
fragile husk of the texts available to date.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### THE EMERGENCE OF BUDDHIST SCHOOLS

Just as the early monarchy in Tibet came to be followed by diversified religious polities which were finally dominated by a single school, so also in Bhutan secular principalities appear to have given way to small units of ecclesiastical rule which were in the end replaced by a single, unified theocracy associated with one particular school. The comparison is, however, a crude one in that it does not take into account the direct transition from secular principalities to full theocracy in eastern Bhutan. As an historical model, therefore, this picture of development really only holds for the west of the country and even there it rests on hypothesis; we still lack means of revealing the units of lay rule which must have existed there prior to the arrival of Buddhist princes. It was, however, the area that later formed the territorial basis for unification, and so the model may perhaps stand - together with its imperfections.

To separate the mundane from the spiritual concerns of those iconesque figures who fill the pages of early Bhutanese history is an invidious task. Not only do these levels continually overlap but in the last resort both are presented as reflections of a higher order just as, in philosophical terms, the relative truth of kun-rdzob and the ultimate truth of don-dam are held to disappear into something altogether removed from present dualities. Thus to subject the literature to a search for the secular is to do it enormous injustice and any such survey is bound to give a very distorted account of the culture from which it sprang. Nevertheless, a Buddhist teacher in the capacity of ruler always demanded, and sometimes

even received, the same unquestioning obedience from his subjects as he would have from his immediate personal disciples. The perpetuation of his rule, using that term in the widest sense possible, depended on a human lineage (as distinct from an ordination or disciple lineage) which passed down his authority. The interaction of these lineages (whether from father to son, uncle to nephew, or from incarnation to incarnation) with their subjects, spiritual and temporal, is what constituted 'history' as we know it. All these human lineages were identified with particular schools of Buddhism which had achieved distinctness more from efforts to promulgate their individual traditions than from overt doctrinal differences. Certainly each had its own set of ritual cycles, meditative techniques and philosophical interpretations, but they rarely stood in conflict with those of any other order. The late 'reformed' school of the dGe-lugs-pa did contradict some of the doctrinal foundations of the older schools but it never held full sway in Bhutan.

All the schools that came to be established in Bhutan were implanted there from Tibet where they had their origins. The most that can be attempted here is a minimal account of their Tibetan antecedents, the story of their introduction and development in Bhutan, and their subsequent fate at the hands of the 'Brug-pa theocracy. Little attempt will be made to distinguish between their individual teachings as that would take us into matters too abstruse and rarefied. The present concern is simply to establish something of the human record of these schools, bearing in mind however the reservations expressed above on the difficulty of separating the mundane from the spiritual. Each school will be treated in what appears to be the chronological order of its arrival in the

country. Some attempt will be made to determine the nature and reliability of their historical traditions, probing behind the formulaic character of the texts to try and determine the substance (or void) upon which they rest.

# I. Bon-po

Despite continuing Tibetan assertions to the contrary, the 'assimilated' Bon tradition which developed during the so-called 'later flowering of the Doctrine' from the late 10th century onwards so concerned itself with adaptations of Buddhist doctrine and ritual that it lost its 'pagan' character and became one among many schools of Buddhism. It did, however, maintain a complex substratum of pre-Buddhist beliefs and practices in a more overt manner than the followers of the 'true' chos. The process of adaptation was achieved largely through the medium of 'rediscovered' texts and this movement seems to have begun at about the same time as the rNying-ma-pa rediscoveries. Bhutan is alleged to have been one of the major centres of rediscovery in the 11th and 12th centuries both for the Bon-po and the rNying-ma-pa. We find the same figures claimed by both traditions making their rediscoveries in the sPa-gro and Bum-thang districts. The most important of them is probably Khu-tsha Zla-'od who is credited with the disclosure of a large group of Bon-po texts known collectively as the sPa-gro-ma.<sup>1</sup> These in turn constituted one of the major components of the 'Southern Textual Treasures', all of which are said to have had their provenance in Bhutan and the Tibetan border region adjoining it.<sup>2</sup> Khu-tsha Zla-'od's recoveries were made at a place called Phug-gcal in Spa-gro, where the texts in question had been hidden by Mu-thug bTsan-po and Khyung-po Gyer-zla-med (see p. 164 above). They included Bon, Buddhist, astrological and medical texts, and



among them is mentioned a group dedicated to the Vajrakīla cycle with which sPa-gro always seems to be associated. Phug-gcal, the site of the discovery, must be identical with gCal (or gCal-kha, 'Chekha' in Bhutanese pronunciation), a place to the north of the main sPa-gro valley, now occupied by a military check-post. The Buddhist tradition claims Khu-tsha Zla-'od as one of its gter-ston under the name Ku-sa sMan-pa ('Ku-sa Doctor'), but denies his identity with the famous physician g.Yu-thog as maintained by the Bon-po.<sup>3</sup> mGar-ston Khro-rgyal, son of his disciple mGar-nag 'Bum-chung, is also held to have found texts in sPa-gro at the Yang-'dul temple of sKyer-chu. They too included rites dedicated to Vajrakīla.<sup>4</sup> Other gter-ston known to Buddhist tradition who are asserted to have found both Buddhist and Bon-po texts in Bhutan during this early period are Bon-po Brag-tshal,<sup>5</sup> Khyung-po dPal-dge<sup>6</sup> and Ra-shag Chos-'bar.<sup>7</sup> Their dates are never given but they are said to have lived in the 1st rab-byung: 1027-1086.<sup>8</sup> The last of the Buddhist gter-ston in Bhutan to be appropriated by the Bon tradition seems to have been rDo-rje Gling-pa (1346-1405),<sup>9</sup> whom we shall meet again in the rNying-ma-pa context.

The interdependence of the Bon-po and rNying-ma-pa in the matter of their gter-ma is attested in the late histories but its true nature will only be revealed after a careful survey of the contents and colophons of the texts in question. Meanwhile it can be noted that the Bon tradition in its developed form never gained a proper hold on Bhutan and the tradition of Bon-po texts discovered there is properly speaking Tibetan. A single exception is provided by the undocumented claim that some Bon-po monasteries were founded in the Shar district at the start of the 'later flowering of

the Doctrine'.<sup>10</sup> One Zhabs-drung mTshan-ldan bDe-ba from the monastery of Ra-la g.Yung-drung-gling ("a seat of the upholders of the order of gShen-rabs, Teacher of the Everlasting Bon") is said to have founded the monasteries of sKu-'bum, Se-ba-sgang and others. Nothing of them remains, but "... the continuity of the oblations (bskang-gso) according to the Bon tradition and the invocations (gsol-kha) of Srid-rgyal-mo<sup>11</sup> survives up to the present." Here the author is speaking from direct experience and we may conclude that although the formal institutions of Bon never survived, some of their ritual practices still hold sway on the village level. These no doubt form part of the liturgical repertoire of certain local priests called Pha-jo who are today especially found in the districts of Shar and Krong-sar. They are said to be adepts in divination (mo) and 'village rites' (grong-chog). In his youth Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521) studied Bon rituals at his home in Bum-thang.<sup>12</sup> Those performed today by the Pha-jo could well be the same ones, though it is perhaps unlikely that any priest would now refer to himself or his practices as Bon-po. A quite separate issue here is the survival of genuine, non-assimilated pre-Buddhist folk rituals standing outside the domain of Bon as it is now conceived. The cult of the dpa'-bo mediums comes most readily to mind in this regard.

## 2. rNying-ma-pa

Loosely constituted and lacking a universally accepted hierarchy, the 'Old Order' of the rNying-ma-pa is one of the most complex phenomena in the Tibetan world. What separates this school from the other Buddhist orders is the claim that it maintains intact the teachings and traditions introduced into

Tibet during the royal period. These are said to have survived the collapse of Buddhism in the 9th century through to the official restoration in the 10th century and beyond. In contrast to the rNying-ma, all other schools are known collectively as 'the New' (gSar-ma) and they trace their origins without hesitation to the period of restoration. The unbroken continuity of the rNying-ma-pa tradition is held to have been achieved in two ways: by the direct transmission of doctrinal texts (known as bka'-ma) from the time of their founder, Padmasambhava, and by the rediscovery of texts hidden by Padmasambhava (known as gter-ma). A third method, that of direct revelation (dag-snang), can perhaps be regarded as another form of gter-ma in that it is allied to the notion of 'mind-treasure' (dgongs-gter). Whatever critical view is adopted towards this arrangement (though none seems to be warranted yet by detailed research), it reflects a peculiarly Tibetan solution to the problem of authenticity. Moreover, it is one which encourages constant attempts towards resynthesis in a way that permits new formulations to develop. The history of the rNying-ma-pa is scattered with the names of famous teachers who succeeded in bringing order to the mass of 'original' texts. At the same time there were others who appear to have been independent and original scholar-sages within the traditional framework. The distinctness of the doctrinal expressions that lie behind the rDzogs-chen ('Great Perfection') system of meditation was one of their particular achievements.<sup>13</sup> Despite their cultivation of disciplines as rigorous as those of the 'New' schools, the rNying-ma-pa were so closely associated with the everyday life of the people in their capacity of married tantric priests that when rivalries arose it was easy to charge them with being bogus hedgepriests

(no doubt some of them were). The slur tended to cast its shadow on their monastic life which, however, does not seem to have been any the more lax, generally speaking, than that of the other 'non-reformed' schools. All this, combined with theological attacks on the nature of their scriptural texts and on their doctrinal positions, forced the rNying-ma-pa into defensive arguments and justifications. The strength of these, together with the pervasive, practical role of the rNying-ma-pa on the village level and the fact that they never ceased producing saintly figures, are some of the reasons for their continuing survival. Another cause seems to be the fact that insofar as any Buddhist school in Tibet could remain apolitical, the rNying-ma-pa never wielded concerted temporal power and this was ultimately a source of strength rather than weakness. They remained diffuse, popular and wholly credible, even if on occasion not entirely respectable.

A full account of the rNying-ma-pa in Bhutan, as that of any other school settled in the country, would have to take into account all the subtle permutations of their history and doctrine in Tibet. That lies well beyond the scope of this study. All that can be done here is to point to names, dates, places and lineages as these dispose into a general pattern.

(i) lHo-mon Ka-thog-pa

The first rNying-ma-pa to arrive in a formal sense came from the monastery of Ka-thog in eastern Tibet, situated on the east bank of the Yangtse in the sPa-yul district.<sup>14</sup> It was founded in 1159 by Shes-rab Seng-ge (1122-1192), the first of a line of thirteen abbots (known as rGyal-tshab).<sup>15</sup> According to sources available to the author of LCB II,<sup>16</sup> the fifth incumbent in this line, dBu-'od Ye-shes 'Bum-pa (1245-1311), came to sPa-gro sTag-tsang on his way to Sikkim and

391

founded there the monastery of O-rgyan rTse-mo. The building today, which stands on a cliff immediately above the main shrine of sTag-tshang, is a modern construction on the site of the old Ka-thog-pa monastery. Two of the disciples of Ye-shes 'Bum-pa, namely bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan and his son, rNam-grol bZang-po, settled at sTag-tshang and built a further two temples at a site called sPang-dkar-po. I have myself seen an old dbu-med manuscript containing a work by bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan, dated Iron Tiger (?1290) which he wrote at O-rgyan rTse-mo.<sup>17</sup> There are reputed to be various versions of his biography by a certain rNam-grol bZang-po, and an autobiography. The proliferation of the sub-school of the Ka-thog-pa known as the lHo-mon Ka-thog-pa or Mon-lugs Ka-thog-pa seems to be attributed largely to the work of bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan and his son. It divided into two main branches, the one founded in sPa-gro and the other founded in the Shar district by Ka-thog sPrul-sku bsTan-'dzin Grags-pa whose dates I cannot give. The main monastery was sPyi-rdzong at Lud-mtsho-ri with its principal branch monasteries of Ba-ling and Theg-chen-sgang in the region of mKho-thang. However, the sPa-gro branch seems to have been more important and a number of Chos-rje families belonging to this branch of the Ka-thog-pa school gained prominence there. They were attached to the monasteries (or temples) of Dol-po Sha-la-brag, mKha'-'gro sPyi-'dus, bTsan-stong Chos-sdings and Byi-dgon Gong-ma. Most of the information provided in LCB II concerns the family of Dol-po Sha-la-brag which seems to have acquired considerable holdings in and around the side valley of Dol-po ('Dōp' in the vernacular).<sup>3</sup> The names of six of their successive chos-rje are given, the line passing either from father to son or from uncle to

nephew. The third, gSang-sngags Kun-legs, was a disciple of the 10th Karma-pa, Chos-dbyings rDo-rje. There is nothing to suggest that they maintained connections with the mother house in eastern Tibet and by the time the 'Brug-pa were firmly established in the country they seem to have been absorbed into the new state, but not without difficulty. Two Ka-thog-pa monasteries (or perhaps lineages) which were opposed to Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal are mentioned in a letter he wrote in 1640 to the gTsang sDe-srid with whom he was attempting to come to terms after a long period of enmity (PBP, f. 109a-b). The Ka-thog-pa may have been included in the so-called 'five groups of lamas' (bla-ma khag lnga) who opposed his creation of the unified state. No trace remains of their families today, but their temples are all said to be standing. The guardianship of the great shrine of sTag-tshang is said to have passed into the hands of the Zhabs-drung, when he went there in company with the famous rNying-ma-pa teacher, Rig-'dzin sNying-po, in 1645 (LCB I, f. 42b, PBP, f. 133b & f. 301b of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas rnam-thar). Nothing is remembered locally about the Ka-thog-pa school except that it once had charge of this important shrine. Much more will come to light when the sources used so briefly by dGe-'dun Rin-chen in LCB II are made available.

(ii) rDzogs-chen-pa

The 'School of Great Perfection' never appears to have been an organised sub-sect associated with any particular monastery or group of affiliated monasteries. It was more in the nature of a religious movement within the rNying-ma-pa, one which passed down the 'heart-drop precepts' (snying-thig) in a line that is said to stretch back to the Indian teacher

Śrīśiṃha. Other formulations of these meditative precepts are claimed to have been revealed in vision or as gter-ma. An important set of the latter is said to have been hidden by the Indian Vimalamitra and discovered in the 11th or 12th century by one lDang-ma lHun-rgyal. They are known as the Bi-ma sNying-thig and formed one of four groups of such precepts codified later by Klong-chen-pa (see below) in his sNying-thig ya-bzhi. Long before this codification took place, the chief disciple of lDang-ma lHun-rgyal known as Kha-rag sGom-chung is supposed to have come to Bum-thang where he founded the little temple of Lug-gi Rwa-ba, perhaps at the instigation of his disciple lHo-pa ('the Southerner') who finds mention in the Blue Annals (p. 557). Nothing is known about the history of the temple, and even its ascription to Kha-rag sGom-chung depends on oral traditions. Some affirm that it later became the head of a group of monasteries in Bum-thang. A stūpa alleged to contain the relics of the founder is preserved in the temple whose walls are covered with paintings of different periods and schools, including those of the Karma bKa'-brgyud-pa and the rNying-ma-pa.

The importance of Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363) is best summarised in the words of Gene Smith (1969a:4-5): "The figure of Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa was for the Rdzogs-chen school what St. Thomas Aquinas was for Christian scholastic philosophy. In a number of magnificently original treatises like the Mdzod bdun Klong-chen ordered the philosophical and psychological truths and corollaries of Rdzogs-chen into a cohesive system. For stylistic lucidity and structural organisation Klong-chen has seldom been equalled in Tibetan literature. Nyingmapa philosophy is Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa." His personal name was Dri-med 'Od-zer but he is more commonly

referred to by his epithet which he received from the great Ta'i Si-tu Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan, the effective ruler of Tibet during this period of the early Phag-mo Gru-pa supremacy. It was a protracted quarrel with Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan lasting ten years which caused Klong-chen-pa to take refuge in Bhutan and some of the surrounding areas. In Bhutan he founded eight monasteries<sup>18</sup> and wrote some of his finest treatises, including the short but important guide to Bum-thang referred to in Chapter I above. Padma Gling-pa (1450-1521) claimed to be his incarnation and provided a fascinating sketch of his life at the start of his own autobiography. It was surely based on local traditions concerning the master as they survived in Bum-thang a century or so after his death. Padma Gling-pa explained the whole question of how Klong-chen-pa, a monk, came to have a son by a nun at the monastery of Thar-pa-gling. The son, Zla-ba Grags-pa, was later incarnated in a long line of rDzogs-chen teachers known as the Thugs-sras ('Mind-Sons'), the first being Grags-pa 'Od-zer (b. 1416).<sup>20</sup> Several of them were born in Bum-thang where they held the seat of bSam-gtan-gling. The formal continuity in Bhutan of Klong-chen-pa's systemisation of the rDzogs-chen tradition must have been partly ensured by the existence of this and other related lineages. In the west of the country the monasteries he founded do not appear to have lasted long in their original form. Two of his sPa-gro monasteries were taken over by the Hūm-ral family of the 'Brug-pa school.<sup>21</sup> dPal-'byor rGyal-mtshan, one of Klong-chen-pa's chief disciples, had founded a number of monasteries and temples<sup>22</sup> dedicated to his master's teachings to the east of sPa-gro in the Shar district, and these seem to have fared



better than the western group. dPal-'byor rGyal-mtshan was himself reincarnated in the line of the mDa'-stong sPrul-sku, one of the very few, and certainly the most ancient, of the incarnation lineages in the west of the country to survive today. However, during the time of the mDa'-stong sPrul-sku O-rgyan Phun-tshogs their rDzogs-chen traditions are said to have merged with the gter-ma traditions of Padma Gling-pa.<sup>23</sup>

The rDzogs-chen school is generally divided into two historical streams: the sNying-thig Gong-ma ('Upper Heart-Drop Teachings') of Klong-chen-pa and the sNying-thig 'Og-ma ('Lower Heart-Drop Teachings') of 'Jigs-med Gling-pa (1730-1798). The latter stream is said to have achieved a revitalisation of the school, and certainly in the case of Bhutan it gave wonderful impetus to the founding of new monasteries by 'Jigs-med Gling-pa's main Bhutanese disciple, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan (alias 'Jigs-med Kun-grol).<sup>24</sup> He had started his career as a lay servitor in the 'Brug-pa fortresses of western Bhutan, rising to the post of 'keeper of the meat-store' (sha-gnyer) in Krong-sar rDzong in central Bhutan. Revulsion for his work caused him to flee to the great rNying-ma-pa monastery of sMin-grol-gling in Tibet where he took up studies that brought him into contact with 'Jigs-med Gling-pa at bSam-yas. After a period of close association with the master, Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan returned to eastern Bhutan where he introduced monastic communities at mTho-ba-brag in Bum-thang and at Yong-legs dGon-pa in gDung-bsam. This second wave of the rDzogs-chen was taken from there to the western region of the country by his disciple, Sangs-rgyas rGyal-mtshan, founder of the monastery of bDe-chen Chos-gling in the Shar district. Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan figures strongly in

the biographies of the 1st and 2nd Pad-tshal-gling sPrul-sku of Bum-thang: rNam-rgyal lHun-grub<sup>25</sup> and 'Jigs-med bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan (1788-1850).<sup>26</sup> The rDzogs-chen in the 18th and 19th centuries never became affiliated to powerful lineages in Bhutan, and the direct lines of continuity which link its present practice with that period of the second wave appear to have been marked more by the ties of master and disciple than by lineal inheritance within families dedicated to the school. The rDzogs-chen-pa, like the whole rNying-ma-pa school, never suffered official proscription in Bhutan.

(iii) gTer-ston

More than a score of 'text-discoverers' active in Bhutan between the 11th and 16th centuries are treated by Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas in his biographical sketches contained in the gTer-rnam. He in fact traces the whole movement from its beginnings in western Tibet in the 11th century to its greatest diffusion in central Tibet and Bhutan (referred to as lHo-mon) up to about the 17th century, and thence to eastern Tibet where it was revived in the 19th century.<sup>27</sup> Although other schools include some of these gter-ston among their leading patriarchs, the movement as a whole is associated with the rNying-ma-pa. A full study will one day have to take into account not only the multifarious sources used by Kong-sprul in his work but also certain other histories of the movement which are known to have been written and which may yet come to light. Critical investigation of the texts alleged to have been found will also be of the greatest importance. Meanwhile we are dependent mainly on Kong-sprul himself. The gter-ston associated with Bhutan

fall into two categories: those who came down from Tibet, discovered texts and departed, whose traditions and lineages did not take root in Bhutanese soil and who are quite minor figures from the Bhutanese standpoint; and those major figures, either Tibetan or Bhutanese, whose lineages and traditions remained.

The first group of minor gter-ston to arrive were the four figures who are alleged to have found Bon-po works in Bhutan in the 11th century, as noted above. Most of those following them are also considered relatively minor figures by Kong-sprul in that they are not the subject of those prophetic statements contained in the Padma Thang-yig which are deemed to foretell the great discoverers. Four of them are placed in the 1st and 2nd rab-byung: 1027-1146. Se-ston Ring-mo is said to have got the list of books destined to be found in gCal-kha at the top of the sPa-gro valley. This had been entrusted to two monks by its original discoverer, lHa-btsun sNgon-mo. The monks had been killed by the people of the adjoining valley of Ha and the list eventually came into Se-ston Ring-mo's hands. Kong-sprul notes that these discoveries did not survive into his own day.<sup>28</sup> rGya Phur-bu (Phur-bu-mgon of the rGya clan)<sup>29</sup> is associated with discoveries at the temples of sKyer-chu in sPa-gro and dGe-gnas in Bum-thang, referred to jointly as the Bum-lcags lhan-dril (as noted on p. 121 above). rGya-ston brTson-'grus, Senge-dar, is credited with the discovery of a ritual text devoted to the protective deity rDo-rje Brag-btsan. It was later widely used by the 'Brug-pa school.<sup>30</sup> Gru-gu Yang-dbang is said to have found in sPa-gro a large cycle of similar ritual texts dedicated to the deity Hayagrīva.<sup>31</sup> A further set of five gter-ston are placed, again vaguely,

in the 3rd and 4th rab-byung: 1147-1266. Bal-po A-hūm-'bar, a native of southern gTsang, not Nepal as his name might suggest, is said to have found numerous texts at gCal-kha.<sup>32</sup> The only ones found by A-jo dPal-bo of bSam-yas to have survived into the 19th century are those claimed to have been discovered by him in "the temple of Bum-thang" (i.e. Byams-pa'i lHa-khang).<sup>33</sup> La-stod dMar-po (Dam-pa dMar-po of La-stod) was one of the many gter-ston whom the traditions link with the cave at gCal-kha in sPa-gro.<sup>34</sup> A certain Bla-ma Grum and his patron, one mKhar-nag of sPa-gro, are jointly credited with finding a book called the Bar-snang hom-khung-ma from within a leather box hidden inside the image of a garuda at sKyer-chu lHa-khang in sPa-gro.<sup>35</sup> They and Tshe-brtan rGyal-mtshan (alias Chos-kyi Blo-gros),<sup>36</sup> who found texts at Chu-mo-phug in sPa-gro, are believed to have been prophesied in the Padma thang-yig. The latter may himself have been a Bhutanese. mGon-po Rin-chen of the Shud-bu family of gTam-shul in lHo-brag found in his youth the 'list' (kha-byang) of his destined discoveries in Bum-thang, but had to wait till his fifties before these came to light in the mTsho-sna region.<sup>37</sup> A line descending from his nephew (dbon-rgyud) is said to have survived in Gru-shul. He is placed in the 7th rab-byung: 1387-1446. Kong-sprul is unable to give even approximate dates for the last of the minor gter-ston who had associations with Bhutan. He is Sar-po Bya'u-mgon, discoverer of the Srog-gi chan-pa nag-po bum-thang-ma'i skor which is claimed to have lain hidden in the old temple of dGe-gnas in the Chu-smad valley of Bum-thang.<sup>38</sup>

Among those classed here as major gter-ston, the first was a true Bhutanese and came as early as the 1st rab-byung (1027-1086): Sar-ban Phyogs-med, born in sPa-gro. He is said

to have found a text called the 'Jam-dpal rdzogs-pa chen-po'i chos-skor from a "turquoise encrusted rock" at the principal shrine in sTag-tshang.<sup>39</sup> He was followed by the very famous Gu-ru Chos-dbang (1212-1270), native of lHo-brag.<sup>40</sup> He found texts in Bum-thang. The gdung families of Lug-khyu and Nya-la in Kur-stod claim descent from him through his son Padma dBang-chen.<sup>41</sup> Much more important, however, were the families claiming descent from rDo-rje Gling-pa (1346-1405),<sup>42</sup> many of whom survive to this day. rDo-rje Gling-pa was active in both Bum-thang and sPa-gro. All the families are said to trace their pedigrees back to his son Chos-dbyings rGya-mtsho who took control of his father's monastery at Gling-mu-kha. The custodians of the temples of Bya-dkar and lCags-mkhar in Bum-thang are among the minor nobility descended from him. The family of O-rgyan Chos-gling in the sTang valley of Bum-thang makes similar claims. In the nineteenth century it was a powerful force in local politics. One member, mTsho-skyid rDo-rje became the governor of eastern Bhutan (Krong-sar dPon-slob). One of rDo-rje Gling-pa's own disciples, O-rgyan bZang-po who was born in Bum-thang, is regarded as having been a gter-ston in his own right.<sup>43</sup> In the west of the country, rDo-rje Gling-pa's traditions were kept alive not only by his descendants but also by his reincarnations. Two of them, mChog-ldan mGon-po and mDo-sngags 'Byung-gnas, established new monasteries in the Shar district.

Another important gter-ston was Shes-rab Me-'bar, born in Khams in the 5th rab-byung (1267-1326).<sup>44</sup> He is said to have come to Bhutan late in life after making many discoveries in Tibet. In sPa-gro he was forced by the local chief to extract gter-ma which were not his due share - with disastrous

results. The chief died and so did the gter-ston himself before long. His body is said to have been preserved and later kept in the rdzong in sPa-gro until it burnt down. The head had been removed before the fire and is said to be at the temple of sPang-pa'i-sa in sPa-gro to this day. Shes-rab Me-'bar is held up as an example of a gter-ston who broke the rules of the cult. Before the episode that led to his death, he "mistook the auspices" while removing gter-ma from a lake west of Ha. Most of the gter-ma were lost, and the gter-ston had to flee from the wrath of the guardian spirit, Khyung-legs-rtsal, appeasing him later with certain oaths. Various temples in sPa-gro are still associated with the name of this gter-ston, and he is often confounded with Padma Gling-pa who is alleged to have rediscovered some of the scrolls of texts which he had reburied after their untimely extraction. In Bum-thang there is a very small, recently restored temple at sTang-sa-sbe ('Tangsbzhi') in U-ra which is said to have been founded by him.

Two important Bhutanese gter-ston of the 14th-15th centuries were Ngag-dbang Grags-pa<sup>45</sup> and his disciple Tshe-ring rDo-rje.<sup>46</sup> Both were born in sPa-gro, and the former was the son of sPrul-sku dPal-'byor rGyal-mtshan whom we met above as one of the chief disciples of the great Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363). Both are credited with the discovery of certain rdzogs-chen texts in sPa-gro and in various places in central Tibet. Ngag-dbang Grags-pa founded the monasteries of Bod-mo-ri and gNas-phu in sPa-gro and was reincarnated in the line of the gNas-phu sPrul-sku which continues to this day. At the time of a certain sPrul-sku gSang-sngags rGyal-mtshan, the rdzogs-chen tradition which

they maintained became merged with the gter-ma traditions of Padma Gling-pa and Nyi-zer-sgang (see below). Today the line seems to be quite absorbed into the 'Brug-pa school and all that is said to remain of their early rNying-ma affiliations is the continuity of certain rituals dedicated to the guardian deities. Exactly the same fate was experienced by the line descending from Tshe-ring rDo-rje. His incarnation and descendant, sKal-ldan rDo-rje, founded the monastery of Kun-bzang Chos-gling at gDong-dkar in sPa-gro. One of his embodiments, Ngag-dbang Shes-rab, turned to the Padma Gling-pa and 'Brug-pa schools. Nothing remains of their early rDzogs-chen tradition and the only rNying-ma-pa character still maintained derives from surviving gter-ma rituals of Padma Gling-pa. Otherwise they are indistinguishable from the 'Brug-pa at large. The monastery of Kun-bzang Chos-gling is in a good state of repair but I do not know if or how the line of Tshe-ring rDo-rje continues.

One lineage whose origins is difficult to trace is that of the Nyi-zer sPrul-sku who have their principal seat at the monastery of dGe-'dun Chos-gling at Nyi-zer-sgang in the Shar district. They are the reincarnations of one 'Ug-pa Gling-pa. The author of LCB II speculates that he may have come as early as the 4th or 5th rab-byung: 1207-1326.<sup>47</sup> He was the descendant of a certain Zur-gdan-pa 'Ug-bya-lung-pa and followed a fusion of the bka'-ma and gter-ma traditions of the rNying-ma-pa. The line is said to have merged with the 'Brug-pa at the time of 'Gro-mgon 'Phrin-las Rab-rgyas, disciple of Yon-tan sTha'-yas, the 13th Head Abbot of Bhutan (regn. 1771-1775), who was largely responsible for the forging of official links between the 'Brug-pa and rNying-ma-pa schools at this time. Several branch monasteries of Nyi-zer-sgang were

founded by 'Phrin-las Rab-rgyas and his successors. The present Nyi-zer sPrul-sku 'Phrin-las lHun-grub is at the moment reigning as the 67th Head Abbot of Bhutan.

Almost all that is known of the vast majority of the text-discoverers is the long litany of their improbable names and the even more improbable finds credited to them. Behind these cult figures lie certain historical realities for there can be no doubt that they were real people and there is no reason why their dates, even if vague, should not be accepted. However, they all conform to a type in the surviving literature; this is not only a reflection of later attempts to systematize the tradition but seems to stem also from the highly developed role of the gter-ston themselves, who appear to have had a professional code governing the established procedure for locating and finding their destined texts. Although one must certainly concur with the statement that "no imaginative and roguish group of Tibetans sat down to invent all the stuff out of their heads" (Snellgrove and Richardson 1968:172), it is hard to accept the face value of the traditional assertions concerning the origins of the gter-ma. No attempt at a rational account is made here, other than suggesting that some of the best clues to a deeper understanding of the cult seem to be provided in the personal memoirs of Padma Gling-pa, the 'discoverer' par excellence for the Bhutanese.<sup>48</sup> His autobiography was written with the specific aim of clearing the doubts entertained by his disciples on the matter of his gter-ma. As was seen above (in Chapter I Section 3) in regard to his account of the discovery of the guidebook to mKhan-pa-lung, he is always most circumstantial. Each discovery is, moreover, heralded by a prophecy contained in a text previously revealed, all of them forming in this way an uninterrupted and self-sustaining sequence. Whatever their true origin might



have been, there seems little doubt that Padma Gling-pa was himself convinced of his role. This sense may have been so strong in him that what appeared to others as a process of forgery was perhaps for him simply a justified means towards achieving his destined end.<sup>49</sup> His writings, particularly his poetic effusions, show him to be a true visionary, but at the same time a man of considerable practical abilities. Both of these qualities must have been at work in the production of his gter-ma. It is with some relief that we also notice an absence of the scholastic preoccupations which so often disfigure much of the biographical writings of other lamas. His language is simple, direct and untutored, and contain passages of what seems to be true spiritual sensitivity.

Padma Gling-pa was unique in many ways. He never acknowledged anyone as his master (except the divine guru Padmasambhava), admitting to his famous contemporary 'Brug-pa Kun-legs that: "I have no lama and am not myself a disciple."<sup>50</sup> Several ladies bore him children, and his affairs with them are all duly recorded. He paid frequent visits to Tibet where he was received with great respect by the Phag-mo Gru-pa, Rin-spungs and Karma-pa hierarchs of his day, as was noticed above.<sup>51</sup> Apart from his activities as a gter-ston which formed the most constant thread to his life, he is also remembered today in Bhutan as a celebrated artisan who worked chiefly in metal. This would seem to be a valid oral tradition; he himself recorded how, following the birth of his elder brother, his mother had been unable to suckle him and so gave him into the charge of a blacksmith called A-mi Yon-tan Byang-chub who reared him on a mixture of flour and honey, and who taught him the art of metalwork.<sup>52</sup> He was also the originator of a



spent on the construction or refurbishment of temples throughout eastern Bhutan, all of which seem to be still standing. In fact it would be facile to point to the attraction of these offerings as an important motive. Padma Gling-pa spent most of his winters on begging trips in the Bum-thang and Mang-sde-lung districts, collecting together sufficient stores of food to see him through the year in exactly the same manner as religious persons do in that area to this day.

The account of his life is particularly important for all the precise and dateable information provided on the religious society of his day as he experienced it on his many travels within and far beyond the present borders of Bhutan. His travels were made at the invitation of powerful lay and religious potentates anxious to meet a genuine gter-ston, and more specifically on the enigmatic business of his 'discoveries'. The long list of his disciples<sup>55</sup> show them to have come from the entire area where Tibetan Buddhism held sway, except Mongolia. This fact, combined with the efforts of his successors aimed at promulgating his teachings, explain how some of his ritual compilations (particularly the Bla-ma nor-bu rgya-mtsho<sup>56</sup>) came to enjoy such wide and enduring diffusion. His importance for the gter-ma movement as a whole is shown by the fact that he is classed as fourth of the five 'text-discoverer kings' (gter-ston rgyal-po).<sup>57</sup> Among his personal disciples are numbered six other gter-ston,<sup>58</sup> but they do not seem to include the one who is best remembered by later tradition: Las-'phro Gling-pa (alias Nam-mkha' rDo-rje), born of the sNyi-ba family of gNyal-stod in Tibet, the 'discoverer' of many gter-ma at sTag-tshang and sKyer-chu in the sPa-gro valley.<sup>59</sup> However, the only gter-ston in Bhutan who came

after Padma Gling-pa still widely remembered today was a certain 'Brug-sgra rDo-rje. His biography has not yet come to light but he appears to have been active in the first half of the 18th century. Fragments of what appear to be his political prophecies are still current in Bhutan. His guide to the shrine of Chu-mo-phug ('Chumphu') in the sPa-gro valley, dated chu-stag (1722 ?), is preserved in the Musée Guimet, Collection David Neel No. 320.

A complex network of lineages descend from Padma Gling-pa, all of which seem to have been well established soon after his death in 1521.<sup>60</sup> Their importance can be realised by the fact that one line produced the 6th Dalai Lama, Tshang-dbyangs rGya-mtsho (1683-?1706), and another line the present Royal Family of Bhutan. Some preliminary attempt has to be made to sort out the basic pattern.

All the traditions affirm that Padma Gling-pa was born in the gNyo clan which had been established in Bum-thang by two of the sons (or perhaps descendants) of rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (1164-1224), the founder of the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud school.<sup>61</sup> According to the Vaidurya Ser-po (p. 399), one of them was called sMyos mGar (alias Mgar lCags-kyi rDo-rje).<sup>62</sup> Together they founded the temple of gSum-'phrang (or So-'brang) in the U-ra valley of Bum-thang. Padma Gling-pa's father, Don-grub bZang-po, was the descendant of one of them in a collateral line to that of the gSum-'phrang Chos-rje. This latter line survives to this day and the present Chos-rje, Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin, recited to me a list of seventeen incumbents stretching in an unbroken succession from Padma Gling-pa's father down to himself. In fact Padma Gling-pa's father was not a gSum-'phrang Chos-rje but, as indicated above a collateral descendant from their ancestor. Unfortunately

Padma Gling-pa himself tells us nothing about his family besides the names of his parents, that his clan was the gNyos and that he belonged to a line of rNying-ma-pa priests (rnying-ma'i sngags-brgyud).<sup>63</sup> By his day it is unlikely that the clan name would have meant very much. For him, just as for the 6th Dalai Lama, it served to point to distant and respectable origins, not to a living social institution. Besides, the clan system did not exist in Bum-thang as it did in the area further east. There, 162 years after Padma Gling-pa's death (six generations later according to the Vaidurya Ser-po, p. 400), the 6th Dalai Lama was born at Ber-mkhar in Kameng in a line descending from Padma Gling-pa that had merged with the local clan of the Jo-bo.<sup>64</sup> Yet the Dalai Lama's clan is never held to have been the Jo-bo, but instead the non-existent gNyos. On one of his trips to that area, Padma Gling-pa had helped to arrange the marriage of O-rgyan bZang-po, perhaps his nephew,<sup>65</sup> to the daughter of one Jo-bo Don-grub, the hereditary incumbent of the temple of O-rgyan-gling. This lady, rDor-rdzom, had been having an affair with O-rgyan bZang-po but the "gossip" (mi-kha) feared by her father and Padma Gling-pa was not caused by the illicit nature of the affair so much as by the prejudice against the union of people coming from "different racial stock" (mi-rigs mi-gcig-pa). This prejudice was disregarded on the grounds that Padma Gling-pa and Jo-bo Don-grub had a karmic bond from their previous lives. The marriage took place and the descendants of the couple could thereafter claim a pedigree going back to Padma Gling-pa and his ancestors. This turned out to be a mixed blessing for the 6th Dalai Lama whose amorous exploits could be interpreted as unorthodox rites of sexual magic inherited from his ancestor in the old 'unreformed Red Hat Sect'.

The noble families descending from Padma Gling-pa in eastern Bhutan may turn out to have their own records but these have not yet come to light. Until then we are mainly dependent on the oral traditions.<sup>66</sup> Padma Gling-pa's three most famous sons were 1) Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan, 2) Thugs-sras Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, and 3) mKhas-grub Kun-dga' dBang-po. The first of these inherited his father's principal temple of gTam-zhing in the Chos-'khor valley of Bum-thang and from him descend the family of the gTam-zhing Chos-rje. The second, Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, settled at sPra-mkhar ('Prai') and his descendants became the Chu-smad gDung. The third, Kun-dga' dBang-po, settled at mKho'u-chung in Kur-stod and started the line of the mKho'u-chung Chos-rje. A branch of this family was established by one bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan who moved to a place called Dung-dkar, also in Kur-stod. After four or five generations, the line of the gDung-mkhar Chos-rje produced two brothers known by their nicknames as Pha-la and Phi-la. Pha-la (whose real name was mGon-po dBang-rgyal) was in turn the father of the Krong-sar dPon-slob 'Jigs-med rNam-rgyal: the most powerful figure in Bhutan in the second half of the 19th century, the chief opponent of the British, and father of O-rgyan dBang-phyug who became the first hereditary king of Bhutan in 1907. At least one factor in the rise of his dynasty was the prestigious position occupied by his family as descendants of the great 'discoverer'. In the 18th century the family had established a link with the central government by virtue of the fact that a son born to the gDung-dkar Chos-rje was recognised as the third incarnation of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje, son of the great Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the founder of the Bhutanese state.<sup>67</sup>

Alongside the diffusion of all these families came the proliferation of three incarnation lineages associated with Padma Gling-pa's teachings. The gSung-sprul ('mind-incarnations') of Padma Gling-pa himself began with bsTan-'dzin Grags-pa (1536-1597), the first of a line of ten embodiments who had their seat across the border at the important monastery of lHa-lung in lHo-brag.<sup>68</sup> They were all very closely associated with the area of eastern Bhutan and several of them were born into the families mentioned above, as was the case for the Thugs-sras mChog-sprul incarnations of Klong-chen-pa's son who also had their seat at lHa-lung. This monastery became the true centre for Padma Gling-pa's teachings in their monastic form and it extended a constant influence on the Bhutanese monasteries of the school to the south from just across the border. Another Thugs-sras incarnation line, apparently also based at lHa-lung, was that descending from Zla-ba rGyal-mtshan, Padma Gling-pa's son who had settled at 'Prai' in Bum-thang. Yet another line was that of his son, Rig-'dzin Padma 'Phrin-las, who founded the large monastery of sGang-steng in the Shar district. The incarnation line of the sGang-steng lama was the most significant from the point of view of the school's hold on western Bhutan. The second in this line, bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa's Don-grub (1645-1726), enjoyed close relations with all the great figures of the ruling 'Brug-pa school. The institutional acceptance of Padma Gling-pa's traditions by the government at this time is ascribed to him and to his well-known disciple, Ngag-dbang 'Brug-pa of mTshams-brag.<sup>69</sup> Today the sGang-steng monastery survives as the only private foundation outside the 'Brug-pa school to maintain a flourishing community in western Bhutan. However, like most of the important lineages, that of the

sGang-steng lama appears to have gone into decline in the last century, and it is not clear whether there is an incumbent today.

These lines which descend from Padma Gling-pa, his son and grandson intermingled both with each other and with the families claiming human descent from the 'text-discoverer'. The monasteries of lHa-lung and sGang-steng, and all their daughter houses, kept up a constant exchange right down to the time of the recent annexation of Tibet by China. Several reasons could be suggested to account for the school's survival under 'Brug-pa rule. Like the rNying-ma-pa at large, it remained loosely constituted and diffuse, never wielding concerted authority. Perhaps more important is the fact that it was, in its origins and development, an essentially Bhutanese phenomenon, closely wedded to local interests and aspirations. No matter to what degree other schools became implanted in Bhutanese society, in the last resort they seem to have remained local offshoots of their Tibetan source. Consequently they stood at the mercy of those historical currents which arose within the country itself. The single exception to this picture is provided by the case of the 'Brug-pa school which, as we shall see, became so closely associated with local interests in the west of the country that to all intents and purposes it could be considered Bhutanese. Certain circumstances eventually arose to enable this school to emerge as the dominant political force. The best symbol of its support for the order of Padma Gling-pa is provided by the fate of Padma Gling-pa's earthly remains; the stūpa containing them was removed from the temple of gTam-zhing by the 'Brug-pa campaign which subjugated this area of the country in the middle years of the 17th century.



Far from being despoiled, the sacred reliquary was taken to the capital at sPu-na-kha where it was eventually placed alongside the mortal remains of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the founder of the 'Brug-pa theocracy.<sup>70</sup> The ashes of Padma Gling-pa and the corpse of the 1st Zhabs-drung were together removed to safety during each of the successive fires which reduced the capital fortress to a smouldering ruin. They were restored, phoenix-like, to their original positions side by side in the central tower after each rebuilding of the rdzong. Together with the relic of gTsang-pa rGya-ra (1161-1211), the founder of the 'Brug-pa school, they are still today the objects of greatest veneration. Another clear token of the enduring hold of Padma Gling-pa's heritage is seen in the history of his descendants, among whom the present Royal Family now stands foremost. The complicated story of how in this century it came to replace the theocracy with its own form of hereditary rule lies well beyond the scope of the present study.

### 3. bKa'-brgyud-pa

The 'School of Oral Transmission' is made up of a bewildering complex of sub-schools all of which trace their origins to the figure of Mar-pa Chos-kyi Blo-gros 'the Translator' (1012-1097) who instructed a few carefully chosen disciples in certain esoteric practices which he had received from his Indian master Nāropa. In the West the school has come to be associated with the figure of Mar-pa's most famous disciple, the poet-saint Mi-la Ras-pa (1040-1123), whose biography and songs have long been rightly recognised as among the finest examples of Tibetan literature. What served

to stimulate the popular reputation of these works more than anything else was the notion that they preserved an authentic tradition which had been set down very soon after the master's death. This gave great piquancy to the esoteric and mystical content of the works which had found its setting in the account of an ascetic life whose details of character and circumstance argued direct experience. The ineffable was seen to be firmly locked to the practical realities of place and time. We owe it to Gene Smith (1969) that the authorship of the biography and the compilation of the songs are now properly credited to gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507) who completed the first blockprint edition at La-stod in about 1495, that is to say some 372 years after the death of Mi-la Ras-pa. The works now have to be seen in the context of a considerable cult developing over many centuries. Their reputation, however, is not likely to suffer from the retrospective interpretations which have now come partly into view for they remain masterpieces on their own grounds. Nevertheless, it is in the light of the cult that Mi-la Ras-pa's association with Bhutan has to be seen. It finds mention in a quite rare and separate collection of six of his songs entitled rDo-rje mgur-drug, compiled by lHa-btsun Rin-chen rNam-rgyal (1473-1557), the chief disciple of gTsang-smyon (Smith 1969:27). lHa-btsun drew on the same material available to his teacher, the full details of which are still lost. The song in question was not known to the Bhutanese until very recently when the author of LCB II gave notice of it.<sup>71</sup> Had Bhutanese historians of earlier times been aware of its existence it is certain they would have made much of it, for the name of Mi-la Ras-pa is as much a household word in Bhutan as it is in Tibet and other neighbouring countries. The song

is an exposition of the 'Ten Signs',<sup>72</sup> of yogic attainment and was composed by the master after he had spent a period of three months meditating at the sacred shrine of sTag-tshang in the sPa-gro valley. He is said to have sung it in reply to a group of four yogins who refused to believe him capable of sustaining himself without food for so long. Stray, yet significant, encounters of this kind marked the beginnings of the bKa'-brgyud-pa school, and it was only later that lineages, monasteries and patrons arose to create that extraordinary complexity which still partly survives.

Mi-la Ras-pa is said to have "transmitted the lineage of meditation" but the more formalised teachings of his master as received in four 'currents' (or 'commandments', bka'-babs) were passed on by three of Mar-pa's close disciples who, together with Mi-la, are known as the 'Four Pillars'.<sup>73</sup> One of these, rNgog-ston Chos-sku rDo-rje (1036-1102), is held to have been the founder of certain monasteries in Bhutan, including that of Glang-mo-gling which still stands in the sTang valley of Bum-thang, just south of Mar-pa's home in lHo-brag.<sup>74</sup> If the tradition is correct then the monastery may perhaps have later been attached to the school of the rNgog-pa bKa'-brgyud based at sPre'u-zhing near rGyal-rtse where the descendants of Chos-sku rDo-rje kept it flourishing until about the 15th century.<sup>75</sup> The Glang-mo-gling monastery is today a government temple of the 'Brug-pa order, its custodian being appointed from the state monastery of Krong-sar.

No doubt many more references to the area's associations with the unformalised beginnings of the bKa'-brgyud-pa could be found. Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa (1110-93), founder of the Kam-tshang (or Karma) bKa'-brgyud-pa, certainly visited sPa-gro.<sup>76</sup>

Although his school became the dominant force in Tibet from

the late 15th to the early 17th centuries, it never gained a proper footing in Bhutan. The only monastery which seems to have come into its hands is Thang-kha-sbe in the Chos-'khor-stod district of Bum-thang, which preserves a clay image of the 8th Zhwa-dmar-pa ('Red Hat') incarnation, Chos-kyi Don-grub. He went there in company with the 12th Zhwa-nag ('Black Hat') incarnation, Karma-pa Byang-chub rDo-rje. That the foundation existed long before their time is clear from the autobiography of Padma Gling-pa (f. 39a).

The evolution of the bKa'-brgyud-pa into what came to be regarded as four 'major' schools deriving from Dwags-po lHa-rje (1079-1153) and eight 'minor' schools deriving from Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rGyal-po (1110-70) still awaits detailed investigation but the broad lines are already clear.<sup>77</sup> The classification into 'major' and 'minor' is chronological and does not reflect the size or duration of the schools in question. These in turn gave rise to a host of offshoots which are not directly accounted for in the above classification. In western Bhutan three of these orders took root; one of them (the 'Brug-pa) is reckoned as 'minor' and the other two (lHa-pa and 'Ba-ra) as 'offshoots'. The lHa-pa came first, followed by the 'Brug-pa and 'Ba-ra.

(i) lHa-pa

The lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud appears to have been the first school to gain a broad measure of control of western Bhutan. Its introduction there was achieved by its founder, rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa alias gZi-brjid rDo-rje (1164-1224), from whom this school takes its name. We have already met him above as the ancestor of Padma Gling-pa. He was a disciple of 'Jig-rten mGon-po (1143-1217), founder of the important 'Bri-khung school, and for this reason his own order is sometimes regarded

as an offshoot of the 'Bri-khung but in reality it had an independent existence. It remained very much a family interest allied to the important clan of the gNyoſ which provided its prince-abbots. The family had been associated with Bhutan for many generations before the emergence of the lHa-pa school. The great-great-grandfather of lHa-nang-pa was the famous Yon-tan Grags-pa 'the Translator of gNyoſ', the contemporary of Mar-pa in whose company he travelled to India. According to the history of the gNyoſ clan (the Kha-rag-gnyos-kyi rgyud-pa byon-tshul mdor-bsdus), "the translator [Yon-tan Grags-pa] was offered all the estates, monasteries and rights which belonged to rGya-pa in the Southern Land of Four Approaches."<sup>78</sup> It is not clear if rGya-pa was a person, family or clan, or what the origin of these holdings was. It was presumably these which rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa inherited a century or so later from his father, gNyoſ-nag Grags-pa-dpal, the great-grandson of the translator. lHa-nang-pa spent a period of eleven years in Bhutan, mostly at gCal-kha to the north of sPa-gro, the site of all the gter-ma discoveries discussed above.<sup>79</sup> The building there was ruined by an earthquake in the next generation and his nephew Rin-chen rGyal-po transferred the seat of the school across the present border to Phag-ri Rin-chen-sgang. gCal-kha was restored, however, as we find two of Rin-chen rGyal-po's sons (i.e. gZi-brjid rGyal-po and bSod-nams rGyal-po) visiting the place. This is as much as is apparent from the available Tibetan records which otherwise concern themselves with the major centres of the school at lHa-nang and Gye-re, probably located in the Kailash area of western Tibet. Nothing seems to be known about the school in Tibet beyond the 14th and 15th centuries when their own history and the Red and Blue

Annals give us a picture of its flourishing condition.

In Bhutanese tradition the lHa-pa are depicted as the bane of the 'Brug-pa school which ultimately triumphed. No account of their own view of their position has survived for the reason that they were proscribed during the time of the 1st Zhabs-drung. The official view is totally coloured by the role given to the lHa-pa in the biography of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, a somewhat doubtful authority if we consider the story of its compilation. It purports to have been written by Pha-jo's son Dam-pa (in the 12th century) and later rediscovered by Ngag-dbang bsTan-'dzin (son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, 1455-1529) when he was fifty years old, i.e. in about 1580.<sup>80</sup> The blockprint we now have is a second edition prepared at the behest of an unidentified rdzong-dpon of Thim-phu, bSod-nams dBang-rgyal. It is full of appalling spelling mistakes, yet the work remains one of the most popular in the country for the story it tells of the arrival of the first 'Brug-pa lama and his struggles with the lHa-pa. The accounts given in LCB I (ff. 7b-11a) and LCB II (ff. 92a-97b) are entirely based on it.

The enemy is referred to as gNyo or lHa-pa but he can very likely be identified with rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa himself, as the dates seem to fit.<sup>81</sup> Pha-jo, we are told, first came into direct contact with this gNyo "chief of the South" (lho-nang-gi dpon-po, f. 21b) when, sometime after his arrival from Ra-lung, he received a contemptuous letter from lHa-pa at gCal-kha in which it was declared that since nobody who refused to subscribe to the lHa-pa sect was allowed to stay in the area, Pha-jo could only do so if he agreed either to look after one of their monasteries or else become one of their herdsmen, failing which he would lose his life. In his reply Pha-jo

dismissed the order and justified his presence on the grounds of the prophecy given by gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161-1211), namely that he, Pha-jo, should be sent to the South to take the 'Brug-pa order there. On receipt of this, lHa-pa resolved to kill him in an act of ritual murder by removing his heart and placing it in the temple dedicated to the guardian deities at gCal-kha. An outbreak of 'tantric warfare' ensued with both sides working their magic against the other. In the course of this, the fortress of lHa-pa at gCal-kha was burnt to the ground. The local rulers of western Bhutan (described as the spyi-dpon of gDung, sGod-phrug, Has, Cang, Wang and sDong) gained faith in Pha-jo and told him of their plight under the lHa-pa rule. Every year each district was made to supply huge quantities of rice, butter, cotton, srin-do (?) and iron, in addition to undertaking three periods of corvée.<sup>82</sup> If they failed, then "laws according to Tibetan practice" were exacted on them, and so they begged Pha-jo to replace these with "the legal customs of a lama", swearing allegiance to him. lHa-pa then fled to the sBed-smad district where he built the fortress of lTo-kha rDzong. From there he sent two of his monks to serve poisoned sugar to Pha-jo. The effect of the poison was slow, and Pha-jo died of it eventually at the age of sixty-eight; this would have been in 1276, if we accept his birth date as 1208 (sa-pho-'brug, f. 2a). In his dying will he foretold the continuation of the struggle with the lHa-pa and the ultimate triumph of his own school of the 'Brug-pa.

This synopsis has excluded all the rest of Pha-jo's doings to highlight the theme of his struggles with lHa-pa, but we shall meet him again below as the ancestor of the powerful families of the 'Brug-pa school in western Bhutan. In both

capacities he is cast in such a legendary role that it is not possible to accept the 12th century origin that is claimed for his biography. The account of the struggle with lHa-pa has an exact ritual parallel in the sacred drama that is enacted annually at the temple of Cang Nam-mkha' lHa-khang in sPa-gro. During this festival, which just precedes the celebration of the Agricultural New Year, five 'generals' act the part of the magical army emanated by Pha-jo.<sup>83</sup> This dramatic version, like the written account, serves to explain and justify the final triumph of the 'Brug-pa in Bhutan. The written account must surely have been produced on the basis of various traditions as they survived in the 17th century when the lHa-pa and the 'Brug-pa were locked in strife. The 'discovery' of the work in about 1580 by Ngag-dbang bsTan-'dzin, son of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and incarnation of Pha-jo's son Gar-ston, is also suspect. One is tempted rather to look to this person's own son, Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin (alias rTa-mgrin rGyal-mtshan) who claimed to be the incarnation of Pha-jo himself and who lived from 1574 to 1643.<sup>84</sup> The core of the 'secret' biographies of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs which deal with this mad saint's encounters in Bhutan is attributed to him, the grandson of the saint.<sup>85</sup> Significantly the poetic refrains which extol the sexual exploits of Pha-jo and 'Brug-pa Kun-legs are found almost identical in both works; the one attributed to the latter is rather more polished.<sup>86</sup> Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin was the close ally of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the founder of the Bhutanese state, and he must have been deeply involved in the latter's contentions with the lHa-pa. He also shared one of his wives with the Zhabs-drung (see p.<sup>407</sup> below). The lady, Dam-chos bsTan-'dzin, came from another family of the religious nobility claiming descent from



Pha-jo, that of lCang sGang-kha in the Thim-phu valley.<sup>87</sup>

The lHa-pa, unfortunately, never come to light in the records. They are cast in the symbolic role of chief enemy, "head of the five groups of lamas" who opposed the Zhabs-drung (LCB II, f. 84b). Their final submission seems to have taken place just before they handed over their old fortress of rDo-rngon rDzong (or rDo-snyug rDzong) in Thim-phu in the year 1641.<sup>88</sup> This was turned into the summer capital of the 'Brug-pa government under the name of bKra-shis Chos-rDzong. It is now the permanent seat of government. The other fortresses of the lHa-pa, probably defensive monasteries, appear to have been destroyed by fire during the struggles when the enemy lamas joined forces with the gTsang sDe-srid in 1632 and after. They included Bya-thal rDzong<sup>89</sup> and sBed-med lTo-kha rDzong. Towards the end of the 17th century there were still groups whose earlier associations with the lHa-pa were remembered, and who were therefore regarded with some disfavour by the central government.<sup>90</sup>

(ii) 'Brug-pa

This school naturally receives tremendous emphasis in the Bhutanese histories, but it is introduced chronologically in the middle of this chapter to indicate that it was in reality just one among several established orders before it rose to dominate and unify the country. The short account given here takes the story from its origins down to the start of the 17th century when the movement towards consolidation was begun by Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.

The 'Brug-pa school had its beginnings in one of those sustained outbursts of devotional asceticism which so marked the 11th to 12th centuries. Its founder was gTsang-pa rGya-ras

Ye-shes rDo-rje (1161-1211)<sup>91</sup> who is linked in the formal pedigree of the school to the main bKa'-brgud-pa order through his own master, Gling Ras-pa Padma rDo-rje (1128-88), the disciple of Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje rGyal-po (1110-1170). Ye-shes rDo-rje was the 'discoverer' of a number of esoteric doctrines which included the Ro-snyoms ('Equal Taste [of Appearances]') hidden by Ras-chung-pa and the rTen-'brel (a meditative cycle on the pratītyasamutpāda). These texts formed the particular teachings of his school which came to be named after the monastery of 'Brug founded by him in about 1189. The monastery took its name from the 'thunder-dragons' ('brug) which are said to have resounded through the sky on the occasion of its consecration. The whole of Bhutan ('Brug-yul) eventually took its name from the school, not the other way round as maintained recently by Tucci (1973:63-4).

The 'Brug-pa appear to have had a wide appeal for people who wished to pursue their vocations as simple meditants intent on salvation through solitary meditation rather than as members of large communities where the formal study of Buddhist scholasticism was paramount, though it was not long before this latter side developed too. To begin with at least, "... the hermits belonging to the 'Brug-pa school were devoid of the prejudices and dissensions of sectarian and scholastic partiality and were all extremely humble" (Blue Annals, Nya, f. 118a). The founder himself is said to have dispersed his many followers to all the major shrines of the Buddhist world, in Tibet, India and China - an area referred to as 'eighteen days flight of a vulture' (bya-rgod nyin-lam bco-brgyad). This gave rise to the often quoted saying in Tibet:

Half the people are 'Brug-pa,  
Half the 'Brug-pa are beggars,  
Half the beggars are saints.

The proliferation of the school into three distinct branches is traced to three disciples of Ye-shes rDo-rje, namely

- 1) the Bar-'brug ('Middle 'Brug-pa') from Sangs-rgyas dBon-ras Darma Seng-ge (1177-1237), nephew of the founder, 2) the sTod-'brug ('Upper 'Brug-pa') from rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po rDo-rje (1189-1258), and 3) the sMad-'brug ('Lower 'Brug-pa') from Lo-ras-pa dBang-phyug brTson-'grus (1187-1250). From the point of view of Bhutan the only important one was the dominant middle branch, which came under the control of a line of prince-abbots in a family of the rGya clan descended from Ye-shes rDo-rje himself. Nevertheless, the other two branches were represented in the country, if only briefly, before being absorbed into the 'Middle 'Brug-pa'. Lo-ras-pa founded the monastery of Chos-brag (or Chos-rje-brag) in Bum-thang, on the cliff just above the later and more famous monastery of Thar-pa-gling founded by Klong-chen-pa.<sup>92</sup> It was later administered as a state monastery of the 'Brug-pa from western Bhutan and survives today as a nunnery of the rNying-ma-pa order. Lo-ras-pa also travelled in the west of the country where the story of his conversion of the demon dByar-sa-pa is still remembered. The 'Upper 'Brug-pa' was introduced to sPa-gro by sPyil-dkar-ba, disciple of rGod-tshang-pa, who founded a monastery now called sPyi-dkar-kha where his remains are said to be still preserved.<sup>93</sup> From him descended an important family of the religious aristocracy which maintained a large estate in sPa-gro. This was the family of the gZar-chen Chos-rje which still has its seat at the family temple of bSam-gtan Chos-gling in the village of gZar-chen-kha. Their line did not begin in fact until seven generations after sPyil-dkar-ba when a certain brTan-pa founded the temple, also certain other temples on the sKyid-la Pass to Ha, where his brother and uncle took up residence.<sup>94</sup> Even by

this time the family was more associated with the main 'Brug-pa school based at Ra-lung than with the branch established by their ancestor's master, rGod-tshang-pa. (One important offshoot of that branch, the 'Ba'-ra bKa'-brgyud, did establish itself in Bhutan and is considered separately below.) It comes as no surprise to find the family of the gZar-chen Chos-rje among the chief allies of the great Zhabs-drung in the first half of the 17th century. In the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs (see below) we find them intriguing against their rivals, the Hūm-ral Chos-rje, to win tax dispensations from the Zhabs-drung. A charter signed bDud-joms rDo-rje (the personal name of the Zhabs-drung) is still in the possession of this family today.<sup>95</sup> They produced a number of famous abbots and statesmen in later history.<sup>96</sup>

Much more important, however, were the many families in western Bhutan who claimed direct descent from Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po and who were thereby linked to the powerful 'middle' 'Brug-pa based at their seat at Ra-lung. Whatever reservations we may have about the authenticity of Pha-jo's biography, it must be based in part on historical reality. Padma dKar-po (f. 303a-b of his chronicle) maintains that: "His (i.e. Sangs-rgyas dBon-ras) disciple, 'Gro-sgom Zhig-po subjugated the Southern Region of Four Approaches." This form of his name, based on ancient sources, may turn out to be the original one. Kong-sprul, writing in the 19th century, alludes briefly to Pha-jo's discovery of a Hayagrīva gter-ma and to the fact that his descendants were reputed to survive at Nang-chen in Tibet (gTer-rnam, f. 196a). In the Bhutanese biography long sections are devoted to the gter-ma in question, but all of his four surviving sons are alleged to have been born within the country. (Three of the original seven, it is said, turned out to be demons and were drowned in an ordeal by water). Pha-jo

achieved his will in western Bhutan by deputing his sons to the control of its various districts. He himself stayed at the important monastery he founded at the head of the Thim-phu valley. It was called rTa-mgo ('Horse-head') after the saint's associations with the deity Hayagrīva (rTa-mgrin, 'Horse-necked'). When he was there, King Bhra-nan-la of Ka-ma-rta (Kāmata) is said to have sent him presents which included a talking parrot (ne-tsho smra-mkhan), 'grape-wine' (sgun-'brum-gyi chang) and other things (ff. 35b-36a). Similar presents were received from the 'man of substance' (phyug-po) of Mon-yul rTsang-sgang, perhaps the 'Tsangla' area of eastern Bhutan. His sons were deputed as follows:<sup>97</sup> 1) Gar-ston was appointed to gDung, Ha and sDong, and to control the eastern passes (las-sgo), his descendants becoming the Zhal-ngo families of Wa-can and many other places in the Shar district;<sup>98</sup> 2) Nyi-ma was sent to dGung and lCang (in Thim-phu) from where he was told to control the 'outer' passes; his descendants became the sGang-kha Zhal-ngo (see below); 3) dBang-phyug was sent to control the passes of Thed-lung (sPu-na-kha) and 'O-'dus (?); and from him descended the gSang-ma'i Zhal-ngo of dGon-stod (the region bordering on Tibet); 4) Dam-pa inherited his father's seat at rTa-mgo and established two further foundations at Nam-mkha'i lHa-khang (or sNang-dkar lHa-khang) in sPa-gro and bDe-chen-phug in Thim-phu. From him descended all the 'Brug-pa nobility of sPa-gro. However mythical these origins may have been, there is plenty of evidence pointing to the existence and strength of all these families. One of them, which preserved the line of the Hūm-ral Chos-rje in sPa-gro, kept their records. They have come down to us in the form of a work entitled: Grub-mchog hūm-ral drung-drung yab-sras-kyi rnam-thar mdo-tsam gleng-ba rin-chen do-shal (Hūm-ral gdung-rabs for short, 71 folios,

abu-can ms.)<sup>99</sup> It was written in 1766 (me-pho-khyi) by a member of the family called O-rgyan Tshe-dbang (alias Kun-dbang). Coming as it did just half a century after Ngag-dbang had composed his clan records in the east, the work must have been occasioned by much the same motives of preservation in the face of the sweeping changes that had been introduced in the course of the 17th century. Among the oral and written sources mentioned in the colophon to the work appear some of a truly primary character, namely "the draft documents, dedicatory colophons and important papers written by successive ancestors" (pha-mes rim-pa'i zin-bris dkar-chags gal-yig 'dug-pa-rnams, ff. 70b-71a). Covering the whole period from the 12th to the 18th centuries (some fifteen generations), it presents a fascinating story of shifting alliances with collateral branches of the same 'Brug-pa nobility in other valleys, of the founding of daughter monasteries, and of the rights and privileges exacted from the subject 'patrons' attached to the family. A very close relationship persisted between the Hūm-ral family and the head monastery of their school of the Bar-'brug at Ra-lung in Tibet. The Hūm-ral family were among the chief local patrons of the school and a large number of them received their religious training at Ra-lung, studying the ritual and meditational cycles peculiar to the 'Brug-pa, which they would then disseminate on returning to Bhutan. For their part, the prince-abbots of Ra-lung made frequent visits to this area of the country, promulgating their teachings, consolidating their ties and extending their holdings. These affiliations, covering the whole spectrum of religious and political endeavour, were to have far-reaching consequences for the creation of a unified country; it was surely due to them that

Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the prince-abbot of Ra-lung, was able to build his state after arriving as a refugee in 1616. They were, in a traditional phrase, "prefigurative auspices" (snga-ltas-kyi rten-'brel, LCB I, f. 12a). A brief attempt can be made to determine their history and nature.<sup>100</sup>

The first prince-abbot of Ra-lung to come in person to western Bhutan was the 7th incumbent to that position, Kun-dga' Seng-ge (1314-1347). He was invited by the grandson and incarnation of Dam-pa, sPrul-sku Blo-ldan rGyal-po, who had his seat at his grandfather's monastery of bDe-chen-phu. That place has ever since been regarded as the 'palace' of the guardian divinities of the 'Brug-pa school in Bhutan. Kun-dga' Seng-ge is said to have subdued and converted the god dGe-bsnyen Chen-po Jag-pa Me-len and turned him into the 'protector' Srog-bdag gShan-pa dMar-po. The abbot was then brought to the sGang-kha temple further down the valley by another of Pha-jo's descendants, Bla-ma bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan, presumably the grandson of Nyi-ma. (At this place he is claimed to have introduced a monastic community, which must have involved an expansion of the original building. It was perhaps at this time that the extraordinary paintings which still survive there were executed. They depict a host of subterranean, terrestrial and astral deities in a cosmological arrangement that stems no doubt from a particular ritual cycle in use at that time. The figures (particularly those of the nine planets and the twenty-eight lunar asterisms) combine what appear to be certain features of Central Asian dress with ancient Indian motifs. The paintings may well be the oldest in the country and seem to have been preserved because the temple in which they are found is classified as a mgon-khang

dedicated to guardian spirits. These are not so often subjected to that continuous process of refurbishment which has effaced the ancient art of the country.) Kun-dga' Seng-ge also founded the bDe-chen-sdings monastery at dGon-kha in sPa-gro. While in the north of the country he married a daughter of a certain Bla-ma dPal-ldan Seng-ge (another of Pha-jo's descendants) and to them was born the next of the prince-abbots of Ra-lung, Blo-gros Seng-ge (1345-1390). After his installation and education at Ra-lung he returned to his homeland in the northern mountains and established a further monastery. Two more, sPol-dud dGon and mDo-sde-brag in Thim-phu, were founded by Nam-mkha'i rNal-'byor, whose position in the family is not clear.

In the 14th century the 'Brug-pa school rose to occupy a powerful position in the complicated Tibetan politics of that time. It acquired large landholdings in central Tibet as a result of the patronage of the Mongol king Togon Temür (d. 1370) but its temporal authority never really equalled that of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, Sa-skyapa, Karma-pa or 'Bri-khung-pa schools which all rose to various degrees of dominance under Mongol patronage. Factional rivalries eventually depleted the holdings of the 'Brug-pa and military and political defeats further weakened it, but the prestige of the school was maintained by the line of scholar-sages who occupied the family throne at Ra-lung. The area of western Bhutan was linked to this monastery (east of rGyal-rtse) by an easy road from the Chumbi valley and there must have been a constant reciprocal movement along it from the 14th to the early 17th centuries. The ties were very much strengthened by the activities of the 13th incumbent, rGyal-dbang-rje Kun-dga' dPal-'byor (1428-1476), incarnation of the founder (gTsang-pa rGya-ras) and one of the best known savants of his age. He



came to the area, as far west as Bum-thang and as far east as sPa-gro, on three extended trips during which he founded a host of monasteries, temples and retreat centres, most of which are still standing. The most famous of these is probably rDo mChod-rten in sPa-gro, where he spent a long period in meditation in company with his chief local follower, Drung-drung (alias rGyal-mchog) from whom the Hūm-ral family descended. Drung-drung was one of two sons (the other was rGyal-'dzom) born to Blo-ldan rGyal-po, the patron of Kun-dga' Seng-ge (see above), and therefore another of Pha-jo's descendants. His biography (ff. 8b-26b of the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs) is enormously interesting for its realistic account of family feuds intermixed with the details of his spiritual life (skabs 'gar 'khrugs-pa-re dang / skabs 'gar grub-rtags-re bcas bzhugs-pa-las / f. 19b). He was the founder of the fortress called Hūm-ral rDzong, named after the local protective deity Hūm-ral mGon-po with whom he had a special relationship. It was this building which his descendant in the seventh generation, Bla-ma 'Brug bSam-gtan, offered to the first Zhabs-drung in 1645, the latter converting it into the provincial fortress of Rin-spungs rDzong. Drung-drung was also the patron of Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal (1465-1540) who succeeded rGyal-dbang-rje as the 14th abbot of Ra-lung in 1476. This figure established no less than eighteen new foundations in sPa-gro, Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha. Drung-drung assisted in the case of the well-known temple of 'Brug Chos-sdings which stands in the sPa-gro market, but he seems to have been more directly concerned with the construction of a series of water-driven 'prayer-mills', nine of which are named. This gave rise to the saying: "The 'Brug-pa have built monasteries, so don't get up off your knees. The Hūm-ral-pa will introduce

prayer-mills, so don't divert the source."( / pus-mo ma-slong-shig / 'brug-pas dgon-pa btab-song / sna-chu ma-gzar-shig / hūm-ral-pas chu-rang btsugs-yongs / f. 19b)

Another contemporary of the two Drung-drung brothers was the mad saint 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-1529), the younger relative of Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal. He only appears briefly in the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs (loc. cit.) for his composition of a song about the brothers, but there is wide scope for collating all the Bhutanese traditions concerning him, a great number of which are found in the local biographies cited in Note 85 above. These will one day have to be set against the accounts of his life still sung in verse by the wandering bards ('manip') and, most of all, they will have to be contrasted with the standard edition of his own anecdotes, so finely translated into French by Stein (1972). For the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa Kun-legs always represents everything that is most belovedly unorthodox; and yet the shocking irregularity of his conduct is thought to have been the reflection of a free, yet disciplined, spirit that embodied the very essence of their religion. The growth of the Bhutanese tradition with all its emphasis on sexual humour and village bawdiness marks a genuine departure from the somewhat more sober picture conveyed by the saint's own memoirs. A selective process was clearly in unconscious operation to enable him to fill the role of cultural hero. That process was certainly assisted on a formal level by his descendants in the 17th century who rose to positions of great favour and importance in the new state.

Throughout the 16th century the monastic estates which had been established by the princes of Ra-lung, particularly Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal, were kept in a flourishing

condition. His two sons were especially active in this regard. The eldest, bsTan-pa'i rGyal-mtshan (alias Ngag-dbang Grags-pa, 1506-38) ruled as the 16th abbot of Ra-lung. He spent some time at his father's monastery of sPang-ri Zam-pa in Thim-phu, which still stands, and founded new ones in the Shar district. His younger brother, Ngag-gi dBang-phyug (1517-54), is claimed to have founded monasteries in eastern Bhutan on sites where a chain of fortresses were constructed a century later under dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa. They are listed in the modern work LCB II (f. 101b) as Krong-sar Chos-'khor Rab-brtan-rtse, Bum-thang Bya-dkar rDzong, Kur-stod lHun-grub-rtse and bsTi-mu-la. With the exception of the last, which I cannot identify, all these appear in the Lo-rgyus as new constructions dating from the middle years of the 17th century, quite unconnected with earlier foundations. The claim made for them in LCB II has therefore to be viewed with some suspicion. Ngag-gi dBang-phyug, however, must have been active in the area because both his son, Mi-pham Chos-rgyal (1543-1604), and his grandson, bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma (1567-1619), followed him into this region where the 'Brug-pa do not otherwise appear to have had much of a hold.<sup>101</sup> In fact bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma seems to have been only to the east. A son, bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-sgra, born to him in the Mang-sde district eventually succeeded to the regency of his true heir, the great Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (see the next chapter).

Meanwhile in the west of the country the 'Brug-pa nobility of the 16th century rose to ever-increasing prominence as testified by the proliferation of the Hūm-ral sub-lineages. Some of these arose as a result of the

founding of new monasteries by younger sons, and others by the arrangement of political marriages with collateral lineages descended from Pha-jo. The issue of such marriages were regarded as 'uncle-families' allied to the principal family based at the ancestral seat in sPa-gro (e.g. zhang-tshan-gyi mthongs dang / srid-phyogs gcig-pa de-ltar byung; Hūm-ral gdung-rabs, f. 39a). The rights and privileges of the head family were such that in the dedicatory colophon to a manuscript copy of the bKa'-'gyur, Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan (son of Drung-drung rGyal-mchog) could make the claim that the males of his family were "kings of the Southern Country" (lho-yul rgyal-po drung-drung yab-sras, op. cit., f. 31a-b). There is nothing to suggest, however, that their powers extended beyond their own estates in the western valleys, and their constant feuds with other groups there alone point to the extraordinary fragmentation of all rule at this time. Interposed between the domains of the local nobility stood the growing fiefs attached to the 'mother-house' at Ra-lung in Tibet. The 'auspices' for unified 'Brug-pa rule had truly been prepared but, as we shall see below, their potential would never have been realised but for the life and character of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the true founder of Bhutan.

(iii) 'Ba'-ra-ba

This school takes its name from the epithet of its founding patriarch, 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang (1310-1391).<sup>102</sup> He was recognised as the re-embodiment of Yang-dgon-pa (1213-1258), himself the founder of a separate branch of the sTod-'brug known as the Yang-dgon bKa'-brgyud-pa. rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang was born in the Shangs district and

his school is therefore also called the Shangs 'Ba'-ra. This has sometimes led to its confusion with the quite independent school descending from Khyung-po rNal-'byor known as the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa, which stands outside the main bKa'-brgyud-pa complex.<sup>103</sup>

rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang founded the monastery of Don-grub-sdings at 'Ba'-ra-brag in his home of the Shangs valley north-east of gZhis-ka-rtse,<sup>104</sup> and most of his activities were concentrated in Tibet proper. He did, however, make at least two journeys to Bhutan. A good source of information is found in the prose passages he wrote introducing his sacred song-poems.<sup>105</sup> These he composed throughout his long life in reaction to a wide variety of experiences. We learn (on f. 107a) that his first visit to 'the South' was made on pilgrimage to the shrines of sKyer-chu and sTag-tshang in company with his chief local disciples. About two years after his return to Tibet he heard news that the rdzong-pa of sTag-tshang (no doubt one of the Ka-thog-pa lamas) and the forces of the dBus province of Tibet were waging war. One hundred followers of the rdzong-pa had been defeated, perhaps killed (f. 110b). He also heard that the rdzong-pa was involved in troubles with the sMon-pa (Mon-pa ?) of Shangs-mthong and that this had led to the death of a certain dBon-po Ne-tso from Gur (f. 113b). The following autumn his Bhutanese patrons sent him a letter insisting he should come back to sPa-gro. It was a time of conflict in Tibet; no details are given but the troubles may have been those occasioned by the struggle between Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan and Sa-skya (c. 1345-58). rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang decided to escape by accepting the invitation. He resolved to spend three years in 'the South' where peace had

returned, where the inhabitants had faith in religion and where the old ties of 'priest and patron' continued ( / lho dus bde-ba dang / chos-la mos-shing yon-mchod rnying-pa yin-pas ... f. 114b). He was met at Phag-ri by a large number of porters and bodyguards, the latter in order to protect him from brigands (jag-choms srung-ba'i go-rje mang-po, f. 119a). He recalled later how during the three years spent in the area he had been able to mediate peace settlements on three occasions between contending parties (f. 125a). One of these settlements of which he was particularly proud involved a feud between his two chief followers, the teachers (slob-dpon) Sa-mkhar rDo-rje and Khro-rgyal. They had been allies previously and were so powerful that nobody could rival them. Fearing their strength, others had sought to separate them with false slanders, and in the feud which followed someone had been killed. Both of them had been responsible for building him a new monastery at 'Brang-rgyas-kha in sPa-gro with a view to making him settle down under their patronage, as they had felt some shame at his having accepted the favours bestowed on him by other of his followers, particularly the grant of another monastery at 'On-'dul which had been left to him on the death of the previous owner, his disciple 'Phags-pa rDor-rgyal (ff. 119a-120a). The new monastery of 'Brang-rgyas-kha seems to have become his favourite seat in this area, and it was there that his successors in the 'Ba'-ra-ba school later came. rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang appears to have had a very considerable following from all over the west of the country, and many of these ties were doubtless also inherited by his successors. One of his disciples was the so-called brgya-dpon (an official responsible for one hundred families) of sTengs-chen-kha in Wang-yul. On

the point of death he was persuaded to forbid the slaughter of cattle for his funeral rites; normally, we are told, it was the custom of the area to kill two or three hundred cattle when an important person died (f. 121a). Regrettably, no inkling is given as to how the brgya-dpon had received office, whether by heredity or by Tibetan or local appointment.

This sketch of the master's doings in Bhutan gives one a sense of how the spiritual affairs of a great teacher carried with them enormous temporal responsibilities. In fact no such distinctions would have been present in the minds of those involved in the relationship of 'priest and patron' for it was one that, ideally speaking, involved the whole person, not parts of it, in an act of total submission. These contractual bonds were of a permanent nature, to be kept inviolate not just in this lifetime but also through successive rebirths and down the human descent of the family too. Conflicts of interest and loyalty were inevitable as the pattern changed with the rise of new luminaries, their schools and their sub-schools. What may have begun in an act of great selflessness could eventually, through the permutations of history, become warped into vicious and narrow sectarianism. So human an institution was it that the act itself of entering into the special relationship of mchod-yon seems to have been prone to abuse. Nevertheless, it had strong appeal and continues to do so today.

The sources do not permit us to see how the relationship was passed down in the case of the little school of the 'Ba-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud. It evidently expanded under the control of the main monastery of 'Brang-rgyas-kha in sPa-gro. Branches were established at Yul-tshe-phug in the north of the country, at sNang-gsal dGon-pa and 'Go-'bur dGon-pa in

sPu-na-kha, at rGya-mdud dGon-pa in Ha, and also at rDo mChod-rten and Che-bal mDze-chu dGon-pa in sPa-gro (LCB II, f. 90a). The last two also had ties with the 'Brug-pa, but their associations with the 'Ba-ra-ba in the 15th and 16th centuries find mention in the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs (ff. 20b and 41a). The reincarnations of the founder, who had their seat at Don-grub-sdings in Shangs, continued to pay visits to the area and control of these local monasteries together with their patrons was probably vested in them. One of them, sPrul-sku Nam-mkha' rGyal-mtshan, is mentioned in LCB II (f. 90a).

The school came to blows with Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal when he was creating the unified state. In about 1636 he is claimed to have killed by magic a lama of the school at dGon Tshe-phug (or Yul-tshe-phug) in the north (LCB I, f. 35a). The 'Ba'-ra-ba is therefore reckoned among the 'five groups of lamas' opposed to the Zhabs-drung (LCB II, f. 90a). The defeat of the school may be connected with the exodus of a group of refugees from dGon who settled across the border in Tibet (LCB I, f. 43a). Their main monastery at 'Brang-rgyas-kha was taken over by the 'Brug-pa and it became the seat of the monk official who controlled the sTag-tshang shrine. The first incumbent was the well-known lama sByin-pa rGyal-mtshan, brother of the even more famous bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (see the next chapter). It is not clear when it ceased to be used in this way. All that remains today is a single temple in a somewhat poor state of repair. No trace of its former associations is to be seen. The same is probably true of all the others. Two of them (the one in Ha and sNang-gsal lHa-khang is sPu-na-kha) were taken over by famous teachers of the 'Brug-pa school (LCB II, f. 90).

I am indebted to John Ardussi for pointing out to me



that in the gser-'phreng devoted to this school (to which I have not had access) it appears that the attachments of the 'Ba'-ra-ba with western Bhutan were partly revived in the 18th and 19th centuries. Two of the figures who stand in their lineage, lHo-pa Ngag-dbang Chos-kyi rGya-mtsho (1755-1831) and Chos-dbyings rDo-rje (1772-1838), paid a succession of visits to the area. They were cordially received by the Bhutanese officials and their local patrons are mentioned too. Nevertheless, it seems most unlikely that their monasteries and estates were ever restored to them, and the ties were no doubt of a more or less informal nature.

#### 4. lCags-zam-pa

One of the key figures in the cultural history of the area is the 'iron bridge builder' (lCags-zam-pa) Thang-stong rGyal-po whose dates are now usually given as 1385-1464. This interesting figure is not only remembered for his many iron chain suspension bridges and boat ferries, but also as the alleged composer of all the occupational songs (to accompany threshing, building etc.) and of a series of dance-dramas known as A-lce lHa-mo. He was also a 'text-discoverer' and, furthermore, he has been given an important role in the Ge-sar epic. In Bhutan he is said to have constructed about eight of his bridges and founded several monasteries and temples (LCB II, ff. 75b-76b). The latter appear to have been affiliated to each other in such a way that they represented the independent interest of a separate school, known as the lCags-zam-pa. The head monastery of the school was at Ri-bo-che in Tibet, founded by Thang-stong rGyal-po in 1444. It was there that his incarnations had

their principal residence.

The standard biography<sup>106</sup> of Thang-stong rGyal-po has long been a source of disappointment to scholars. Tucci (1949:163) remarks: "... in this biography actual facts are overcome by legends and accounts of miracles to such extent that little can be gleaned from it of which we may be certain." Also: "... historical reality is wrecked on myths, contours are lost, facts fade away." The dates it supplies for Thang-stong rGyal-po (i.e. 1361-1485) are improbable and in conflict with its own statement (f. 171b) that he lived to the age of 128. Consequently, most authorities prefer to accept the dates given in the Vaidūrya dkar-po and the dPag-bsam ljon-bzang (i.e. 1385-1464).<sup>107</sup> The biography itself is claimed in its colophon (ff. 172b-173a) to have been written in sa-mo-bya (1609) by one 'Gyur-med bDe-chen, who based his work on an earlier one written by a nephew of Thang-stong rGyal-po called dKon-mchog bDe-ba'i 'Byung-gnas, the incumbent of a temple at Phag-ri, just across the Bhutanese border. A reading of the biography in this recension does indeed suggest a mixing of fact and legend, but the two seem rather to work in counterpoint to each other and have not entirely coalesced. It is perhaps at the vital beginning and end of the work that the legendary and miraculous quality most dominates. In the body of the work there appears a mass of detailed and practical information which helps to engender confidence. The role assigned to the saint in the Ge-sar epic is lacking, there is no mention of his alleged theatrical interests, nor do we find any connection with the rite of exorcism known as pho-bar rdo-gcog which he is claimed to have instituted and which was till recently performed by itinerant monk-actors from Spiti in the western Himalayas.<sup>108</sup>

Instead, Thang-stong rGyal-po is cast in the typical role of a tantric lama, but one who achieved particular distinction through his association with bridges and ferries. He was also noted for building a number of stūpas on geomantic principles to ward off the evil influence of local spirits and to counter a Hor invasion. His practical avocations aligned him to all the strange Indian mahāsiddhas (grub-thob) who are said to have achieved enlightenment through the mindful pursuit of ordinary professions and he is consequently often classed in their ranks.

The bridge-builder's connections with Bhutan were first noted as long ago as 1783 by Turner who greatly admired the bridge at Chu-kha on the road to India south of sPa-gro. He recorded the architect's name in the quaint form of 'Tehuptehup' (= grub-thob).<sup>109</sup> Had he turned left at the confluence of the sPa-gro and Thim-phu rivers instead of proceeding to the capital on Hasting's affairs, he would have passed the monastery of rTa-mchog-sgang built by 'Tehuptehup' and heard more about this 'dewta'. Another of his bridges stood there until it was washed away in the floods of 1969. The monastery (which now lacks a community) is the seat of a family known as the rTa-mchog Chos-rje. It claims descent from a certain Mon-pa bDe-ba bZang-po, a local disciple of the saint. During my stay in Bhutan I obtained brief access to what I then thought was the standard biography of Thang-stong rGyal-po, in a manuscript copy preserved by the present rTa-mchog Chos-rje. I therefore only copied the two passages (ff. 130a-135b and 140b-143b) which deal with the activities of its subject in Bhutan. On return to England, I compared these excerpts, together with the title and colophon, with those that appear in the standard biography, only to discover

that the Bhutanese version is without doubt an earlier recension and consequently of tremendous potential value for approaching the true, un-mythicised figure of the bridge-builder. Unfortunately only those excerpts made in Bhutan are presently to hand, and these are of no use in solving the many problems of chronology that mark the standard version. In the meantime, twenty volumes of the saint's collected works are said to have come to light in Bhutan and these are being reprinted in India. It is to be hoped that the biography will resurface in this collection to await exhaustive study.

The work (hereafter A) is entitled Bla-ma thang-stong rgyal-po'i rnam-thar gsal-ba'i sgron-me. It is an dbu-can manuscript containing 294 folios and is divided into 108 chapters. The scribe, Sangs-rgyas Don-grub, seems to have made the copy at the behest of one of the rTa-mchog Chos-rje (referred to as "Uncle Lama"). It is full of crude spelling mistakes and contains many small lacunae. The colophon proper<sup>110</sup> is in two parts. The first attributes the work to a certain dKon-mchog dPal-bzang, the subject of one of the saint's prophetic statements, who wrote it apparently at Chu-bo-ri. He seems to have based his information on the 'discourses' (gsung-'gros) of the saint in person, and on those of rJe-btsun A-sgron Chos-sgron, the saint's wife. To these he added the prophecies of the saint which were not given in the 'discourses' and which would presumably have been contained in a separate text. The picture conveyed in this first part of the colophon is confused by that given in the second part, according to which the work was composed by Mon-pa bDe-ba bZang-po, who had also been the subject of prophecy. It is claimed that he wrote it in a cave hermitage

attached to rTa-mchog Nor-bu-sgang "on the border of sPar /sPa-gro/ and Wang /the district under Thim-phy/". This second attribution looks suspicious and may have been interpolated by a member of the family of the rTa-mchog Chos-rje which claims descent from this figure.<sup>111</sup>

The person named dKon-mchog dPal-bzang in the first part is in fact identical with dKon-mchog bDe-ba'i 'Byung-gnas, the author of the original source of the standard biography (hereafter B).<sup>112</sup> There seems every reason to conclude, therefore, that A was itself the original source for B. Colophons apart, the following should help to make this clear.

Chapters 61 and 64 in A deal with Thang-stong rGyal-po's visits to Bhutan and correspond to ff. 81b-85b and 99b-102a in B. The first of these visits took him to western Bhutan and the second to central Bhutan. While the western visit seems to have lasted the best part of a year (1433-4 according to B) during which he built many bridges and temples, the later visit to central Bhutan was more in the nature of a pilgrimage. The account of this latter trip is taken up with the saint's visit to the shrine of Padmasambhava at sKu-rjes and with the story of how someone who had fallen into an ice crevice on the Mon-la Pass was saved from death by his faith in the saint. The accounts in A and B are substantially the same, but the latter has clearly summarised the itinerary found in the former.<sup>113</sup> As far as I could determine, there are no traditions in this region about the saint's visit, whereas there are a great many still related in the areas to the west and east.<sup>114</sup>

Thang-stong rGyal-po's western visit seems to have been made with the express purpose of collecting iron for

his most famous suspension bridge over the gTsang-po at Chu-bo-ri, the site of his main monastery.<sup>115</sup> He had probably heard of the old iron-workings in western Bhutan which produced the material from which the fine swords and daggers of the country used to be made. His journey took him from Chu-bo-ri to Phag-ri by way of sNa-dkar-rtse, Ra-lung and gNas-rnying. On the border he is said to have been welcomed by all the old mountain gods, including Jo-mo lHa-ri, rDo-rje Brag-skyes of sPa-gro and Khyung-bdud of Ha, who promised to give him the iron he wanted. On arrival in sPa-gro he went directly to sTag-tshang from where he recovered his most famous gter-ma, described (in A, f. 131a) as "a scroll, ten spans in length containing the Man-ngag 'phrul-gyi lde-mig, the profound essence of all sūtras and tantras."<sup>116</sup> At this point the author of B interpolated a passage (ff. 82b-83a) concerning a miraculous visit of the saint to the Assamese shrine of Singri (Shi-gi-ri, see p. 237 above), a place still held to be a Buddhist site by the eastern Bhutanese. The account is totally lacking in A, which passes directly to the story of the saint's construction of the beautiful little stūpa-temple of Zlum-brtsegs lHa-khang in sPa-gro. This exquisite building, still standing in sPa-gro, was sited geomantically in order to tame the malignant spirit of the snake-shaped mountain which divides the main sPa-gro valley from that of Dol-po. The exceptionally fine wall paintings on its three floors are of a late period, having been commissioned by the 25th Head Abbot of Bhutan, Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (regn. 1836-9).<sup>117</sup> He enlarged the ground floor with a bigger outer wall and restored the basic edifice with a set of huge pillars whose sides bear the names of the villages from which they were carried. The basic structure is, however, undoubtedly the one built by Thang-stong

rGyal-po as confirmed by both versions of his biography and all the local traditions. The account in the biographies<sup>118</sup> is particularly interesting for the mention of the saint's followers from the Indian kingdom of Kāmata who later made offerings to the temple. Thang-stong rGyal-po's encounter with the king of Kāmata after a later journey which took him through western Bhutan down to India is found in B (ff. 149b-153a). I do not remember seeing mention of this in A but certainty on this point will only be reached when the work becomes available again.

The narrative continues with the story of how the saint went about collecting offerings of iron for his bridge at Chu-bo-ri and how he built a number of local bridges in this area. The first of them was the one at rTa-mchog-sgang, where he also built the temple that was to become the seat of the rTa-mchog Chos-rje (A, ff. 131b-132a). A further bridge was built at Bar-grong close to dBang-'dus Pho-brang (f. 133a); it is no longer standing and all that remains is a pile of the original chains on the river-bank. He built another at the confluence of the Chu-mo and Chu-pho rivers in the Shar district (f. 134a), probably not to be confused with the Pho-chu and Mo-chu rivers of sPu-na-kha. His journeys were marked by several unsuccessful attempts on his life by people who wanted to steal from him the gold and turquoise he had received as gifts. The iron he collected was forged into seven thousand links by eighteen blacksmiths from five villages in sPa-gro. At least one of these villages, that of Bye'u, is still inhabited by families of blacksmiths. The links, together with all the gifts of grain and other things he had received, were packed into 1,400 loads and taken by the sPa-gro people across the border to Phag-ri. B (f. 84a)

maintains they did this because a bridge at Chu-bo-ri would help them to make the pilgrimage to lHa-sa. It also says (on f. 86b) that Kun-bzang 'Phags-pa, the Chos-rgyal of rGyal-rtse (also referred to as bDag-po Rab-brtan) assisted with the construction of the saint's new temple at Phag-ri and with the transportation of the iron links to Chu-bo-ri. This prince's edict (dated 1440) appears in the 'Chronicles of Gyantse' translated by Tucci (1949:662-670); there is specific mention (on f. 36) of the obligations of the Phag-ri people to transport loads for the government. The edict was issued just six years after the alleged date of Thang-stong rGyal-po's visit to western Bhutan.

The miraculous element in version A of the biography is just as strong as in version B, but it is clear that the former work forms a more solid basis for any approach to the saint as an historical figure. Unfortunately, our sources do not permit more than a bare glimpse at what happened to the legacy of the saint in Bhutan. The family of the rTa-mchog Chos-rje very likely maintained a link with Chu-bo-ri where the incarnations of Thang-stong rGyal-po held authority. The other temples he built in Bhutan (namely Phur-rdo dGon-pa, Dol-steng Sil-ma'i lHa-khang and Zlum-brtsegs lHa-khang) may have been affiliated to rTa-mchog-sgang. The latter place is almost certainly the one referred to as belonging to the lCags-zam-pa school in a letter written by Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal to his enemy, the gTsang sDe-srid (PBP, Vol. Nga, f. 109a-b). It is mentioned along with two Ka-thog-pa monasteries as being opposed to the Zhabs-drung's rule. The author of LCB II says (on f. 76b) that the lCags-zam-pa in Bhutan were among the five schools



of enemy lamas, and that their principal seat at rTa-mchog-sgang was destroyed. It was later restored by the 4th 'Brug sDe-srid, bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (regn. 1680-95). He commissioned the rDzong-dpon A'u Tshe-ring to undertake the work of reconstruction as a penance for his sins. The family must have been reinstated with some of their old rights and privileges at that time. Today they preserve a 'noble' status only in regard to their origins and are otherwise indistinguishable from the peasantry at large. The heritage of the bridge-builder is preserved in the country through the continuity of his 'life-sustaining' (tshe-grub) rituals which are still quite popular. The iconographic form of the saint shows him holding in his left hand the vase (tshe-bum) which symbolises this ritual cycle, and in his right hand a few links of iron chain which represent his bridges.

##### 5. gNas-rnying-pa

The great monastery of gNas-rnying which lies some miles south-east of rGyal-rtse has enjoyed a continuous history from the ninth century, if we are to believe its chronicle contained in the gNas-rnying chos-'byung <sup>119</sup> and allow for a period of interruption during and after the reign of Glang Dar-ma. What remained of its ancient frescoes and sculpture after the serious damage inflicted on it during the Younghusband Expedition of 1904 has been studied by Tucci (1932-41: Vol. 4) who first drew attention to the chronicle. It is one of the most convoluted works in Tibetan literature and is used here mainly in regard to the large number of Bhutanese monasteries which were affiliated to gNas-rnying from the 14th to 17th centuries.

334

King Ral-pa-can (805-c.836) is said to have rewarded his minister mGos Khri-bzang with the grant of a large land-holding that came to be called mGos-kyi Phag-ri (after the name of the principal settlement in the Chumbi Valley) or mGos-yul sTong-gsum. The southernmost limit of this principality was marked by the old temple of sKyer-chu in the sPa-gro valley of western Bhutan.<sup>120</sup> gNas-rnying itself is held to have been founded by mGos Khyang-mgos-rtsal, one of the two sons of the minister. He installed as abbot the family guru, 'Jam-dpal gSang-ba of the rGya clan and it was a family belonging to this clan which is claimed to have provided the successive incumbents to the abbacy, just as another branch of the rGya supplied the incumbents of the principal 'Brug-pa foundation at Ra-lung, as we have seen above. The rGya of gNas-rnying were intermixed with the family claiming descent from the founder in the mGos clan, but their lineage is traced confusingly to one dByil rGyal-ba Grub-pa of the La-stod district of gTsang. The monastery was reconsecrated by the great Indian teacher Atīśa who arrived in Tibet in 1042 and it was presented with all its estates to one of his disciples, mKhan-po Yol-chen-po, by a member of the family called rGya Jo-sras Phur-ba. gNas-rnying appears to have become one of the important centres of the bKa'-gdams-pa school which stems from Atīśa, though the religious interests of the family also linked it to all the other emerging schools. The monastery clearly underwent many changes of fortune, and the list provided in the chronicle of its forty-four successive abbots properly begins with one dKon-mchog-mkhar of La-stod, the associate of 'Bre Shes-rab-'bar (a chief disciple of Atīśa), Kun-dga' sNying-po (1092-1158, founder of the Sa-skya

school) and the famous yogin Khyung-po rNal-'byor. The bKa'-gdams-pa character of the monastery, however, seems to have been preserved and it is no surprise to find it later becoming very closely associated with the so-called 'New bKa'-gdams-pa' or dGe-lugs-pa school founded by Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419).

According to Bhutanese tradition it was an abbot of gNas-rnying called 'Chi-med Rab-rgyas, a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, who not only brought the monastery into the fold of the dGe-lugs-pa but who also extended its influence south into Bhutan. The long list of monasteries<sup>121</sup> which are claimed to have been founded by him in the western valleys probably represent most of the holdings of the gNas-rnying-pa school in Bhutan; they are in fact more likely to have been established by a succession of the gNas-rnying abbots. The gNas-rnying chos-'byung never seems to have been available to Bhutanese historians though at least a part of it was written at the specific behest of one of their followers from the Bhutanese monastery of dGon-gsar-kha called Bla-ma bDe-legs. It was he who requested the monk Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan from gNas-rnying to compose sketches of the lives of two of the head abbots of gNas-rnying who had had close relations with Bhutan. The abbots, who were brothers, were Rin-chen-grub (1403-52) and rGyal-mtshan Rin-chen (1405-68). Their lives occupy ff. 47a-53b of the gNas-rnying chos-'byung and were included in the work at the time of its compilation. The life of the elder brother was written in 1457 (me-mo-glang) just five years after his death. That of the younger brother was probably also written soon after his death, though no date is provided. Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan points out (on ff. 49a and 53b) that he had written extended biographies of

the two abbots but I do not know if these have survived.

The father of the two brothers, Rin-chen rGyal-mtshan, had preceded them as abbot of gNas-rnying. In spite of severe criticism, he had received permission from the prince of rGyal-rtse, bDag-po Nang-chen Kun-dga'-'phags, to give up his vows and take a wife in order to ensure the continuity of his line. The lady he chose came from the sDing-ma (or lDing-ma) family who were close allies of the Sa-skya-pa hierarchs. The sons born to this couple received some of their training at the hands of the two most famous disciples of Tsong-kha-pa, namely mKhas-grub-rje (1385-1438) and rGyal-tshab-rje (1364-1432). The elder brother, Rin-chen-grub, ruled as the abbot of gNas-rnying for thirty-one years from the age of twenty to fifty (more tibetico), in the course of which he paid two visits to what are described as "our main and branch monasteries in the Southern Land of Four Approaches". However, it is in the biographical sketch devoted to his younger brother, rGyal-mtshan Rin-chen, that most of the information concerning these monasteries is found. Unfortunately, only one of them, rDzong-brag-kha in the sPa-gro valley, has its origins properly explained, but these come to light in a way that ties up most interestingly with the picture afforded in a local text. This is the untitled 'guide' (gnas-yig) to rDzong-brag-kha, preserved in a manuscript belonging to the present rDzong-brag Chos-rje who kindly allowed me to copy it. Byang-chub bZang-po, provincial abbot of the state monastery in sPa-gro, composed the guide, probably in the 19th century, after completing certain works of restoration and enlargement there.

rDzong-brag-kha ('The Rock Fortress') is one of those spectacular cliff-hanging complexes which are found all over

the area. In sPa-gro it stands second only to sTag-tshang for the beauty of its location and architecture. Its foundation is ascribed in the chronicle (f. 50b) to Grub-thob mGon-po rDo-rje who was the nephew of a certain Kun-mkhyen Mu-srang-pa dPal-ldan Seng-ge from "the old and proud monastery (dgon-rnying dregs-pa-can) of Mu-srang at sTag-rtse in La-stod Byang". Both the chronicle and the guide<sup>122</sup> assert that mGon-po rDo-rje was sent south to Bhutan by one of the gNas-rnying abbots, rNam-mkhyen Rin-chen bSam-gtan, whose dates I cannot provide but who appears to have lived in the 14th to 15th centuries. The grub-thob, it is said, was directed by the abbot to recover a gter-ma in the form of "a relic of the Sugata" from a particular rock in sPa-gro. The story explaining how mGon-po rDo-rje did this is recounted with all the zest of high adventure. In the course of it we are supplied with folk etymologies for several of the place-names at the lower end of the valley and these are all reproduced with the accompanying legend in LCB II (ff. 85b-86b). The quest for the gter-ma ended with its discovery at rDzong-brag-kha and the construction of a brick stūpa there to contain it. It is the famous mChos-rten dKar-mo 'Gul-shes ('The White Stūpa Which Moves'), so named because it is said to shake of its own accord on certain occasions. There are constant references to it as a place of pilgrimage in all the later biographical material from Bhutan. The line of the rDzong-brag Chos-rje claims descent from an unnamed incarnation of mGon-po rDo-rje and one of its two branches still act today as custodians of the main temple at rDzong-brag-kha. The other is said to have died out. The fact that their temple once contained a flourishing community of the gNas-rnying-pa school has been completely forgotten and the only reference

to this in the local literature comes in the guide in a hidden form (see Note 122 above). As we shall see, the family had good cause to forget its true origins. The present chos-rje maintains that mGon-po rDo-rje was a lama of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa. He has no male heir or nephew and the local opinion is that the line will shortly be extinct.

The impression given in the chronicle is that by the first half of the 15th century the gNas-rnying-pa were very firmly established in the western valleys. The biographical sketch devoted to rGyal-mtshan Rin-chen deals almost exclusively with his activities in Bhutan. We find him fully occupied there in renewing the links formed by his predecessors, quite apart from founding new temples and monasteries. In sPa-gro he took the initiative in settling a bitter feud between the villages surrounding rDzong-brag-kha and a group of villages further north up the valley. He made substantial gifts to all the contending parties and extracted from them an oath to renounce the feud for a period of twelve years. In Thim-phu and sPa-gro we find him enjoying close and friendly relations with some of the 'Brug-pa families who descend from Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, particularly Drung-drung rGyal-'dzom (whom we met above) at the monastery of bDe-chen-phug. It was still the age when sectarian rivalries were more the product of conflict between lay patrons than the result of institutional narrowness. The gNas-rnying-pa themselves appear to have drawn on all the emergent schools and it is unlikely that they would have considered themselves part of the dGe-lugs-pa order during this period. It is not clear how their Bhutanese monasteries were administered or how they were formally linked to the mother-house at gNas-rnying.

Some of the wealth derived from the monastic estates would have been payable to gNas-rnying as a form of tax in the same way that one presumes the branches of some of the other schools had to fulfil certain secular obligations to their head monastery in Tibet.

At all events the gNas-rnying-pa were a late arrival. Although certain families must have risen to positions of power and authority as their patrons, these probably never compared with the old 'Brug-pa families who had risen to prominence long earlier. While in terms of the number and diffusion of their monasteries they seem to have come close to the 'Brug-pa, their foundations did not lie so deep in the Bhutanese soil. Consequently they appear to have collapsed as an integrated force when Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal unified the country under 'Brug-pa rule in the first half of the 17th century. Nothing is revealed about how this happened, but they are now affirmed (in LCB II, f. 88b) to have been among the schools attached to the group of five enemy lamas who aided with the gTsang sDe-srid against the Zhab's-drung. The leader of the gNas-rnying-pa at that time may have been Bla-ma dPal-ldan of Wang Glang-ma-lung who led the attack on the Zhabs-drung's fortress at Srin-mo-rdo-kha in about 1530 and who lost his life in the battle (LCB I, f. 33b). In sPa-gro the story is still told how one of the gNas-rnying-pa monasteries, dPal-ri dGon-pa, was stripped of its golden roof ornament as a mark of official proscription. On the opposite side of the valley to that monastery stand the shrines of the rDzong-brag-kha complex whose hereditary incumbents have quite forgotten their former affiliations with the gNas-rnying-pa school. In the biography of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (1689-1713) the troubles that led to his murder are attributed to the fact

that his enemy sDe-srid 'Brug Rab-rgyas (regn. 1707-19) was the incarnation of the rNas-gnying rJe-btsun-ma (f. 117b). The latter had sworn vengeance on the Zhabs-drung when the gNas-rnying-pa were being deprived of their livelihood and were facing expulsion from the country.

#### 6. Sa-skya-pa

With the exception of the rNying-ma-pa, the only order permitted to flourish alongside the ruling 'Brug-pa school was that of the Sa-skya-pa which had dominated Tibet under Mongol patronage during the century from 1254 to 1354. They were the last to arrive on the scene in Bhutan and, in view of their later survival, it is surprising how very little they come to light in the records.

An isolated temple that probably had connections with Sa-skya is lHa-lding to the north of sPa-gro. It is said to have been founded by a lama called dPa'-bo sTag-sham-can in the 5th cycle (1267-1326). His consort, Me-tog gSal-sgron, came from the ruling family of Sa-skya and it is from there, the chief monastery of the order, that the main image of lHa-lding is said to have been brought (LCB, ff. 86b-87a). Almost all that we have to go on for the true history of the Sa-skya-pa in Bhutan, however, is the statement in LCB II (f. 89a-b) that one 'Phrin-las Rab-yangs founded a number of monasteries in the 8th cycle (1447-1506). These included sPyi-zhing in Wang-yul, Shel-dmar dGon-pa in sKyabs-khra and sNe-ba dGon-pa in Shel-sna, the first of these being the main seat. 'Phrin-las Rab-yangs belonged to the disciple-lineage that stemmed from Kun-dga' bZang-po (1382-1444), the founder of the Ngor-pa sub-school of the Sa-skya-pa. He is said to have been followed by another lama belonging to the



Ngor-pa branch, a certain Grub-thob Nya-rong Don-grub, who founded two monasteries in the northern region of Bhutan, namely Ri-tshogs dGon-pa and Dol-ma-can. The main branch of the Sa-skyapa was introduced, about the same time it seems, by the rKyang-'dur Pan-chen sGra-pa who established sPa-gar dGon-pa in Wang-yul, Shar-wang dGon-pa in Nags-rnying and Phang-ye dGon-pa in the Shar district. Each of these sets of Sa-skyapa monasteries is said to have had its own lineage of lamas, the most famous being the one attached to Phyi-zhing. Their chronicle, known as the Phyi-zhing bla-ma'i gdan-rabs, is rumoured to exist. sPa-gar the principal monastery of the group founded by the rKyang-'dur Pan-chen, was 'colonised' by mKhas-grub Kun-dga' rGya-mtsho, a famous 'Brug-pa lama of the early 18th century. The place must have already gone into decline by the time he brought it into the 'Brug-pa fold. In fact all the Sa-skyapa foundations appear to have died a natural death in the face of 'Brug-pa supremacy. Memory of the Sa-skyapa is preserved in folk tales still recited in the Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha valleys. They all tell of the humorous exploits of bKra-shis, the lay servant of the Phyi-zhing Bla-ma, who constantly outwitted his master. Another set of satirical stories centre in the same way around the figure of an ordinary layman, Wang 'Brug-rgyal, who occupied himself in discomfiting the powerful rDzong-dpon of Thim-phu. Both bKra-shis and Wang 'Brug-rgyal correspond to the legendary Tibetan joker, A-khu sTon-pa.

The reason why the Sa-skyapa were permitted to co-exist with the 'Brug-pa is perfectly clear. The Zhabs-drung enjoyed close relations with the leaders of the Sa-skyapa school throughout his life.<sup>123</sup> As we shall see, he twice employed them to act as intermediaries after he had come to Bhutan when

he was in conflict with the Tibetan authorities. In both cases the Sa-skyapa intervention led to temporary peace.

Later a marriage was arranged between the / <sup>Zhabs-drung's</sup> son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje and / a lady from an important family allied to the Sa-skyapa.<sup>124</sup>

In view of these friendly relations it is hardly surprising to find him and his successors favouring the branch of their school that had been established in Bhutan some two centuries or so earlier.

### 7. Some conclusions

One of the apparent failings of the source material is that it assembles the complex mosaic of Buddhist schools that took root in Bhutan in such a way that the basic, emergent pattern might apply to almost any region of the Tibetan world; at no point are we in touch with the features that distinguish Bhutanese life and society from those of its neighbours. The conceptual categories of Tibetan Buddhism, the unchanging qualities of the literature, the very purpose and nature of that literature have together exerted a powerful equalising effect upon all circumstances of place and time. We are transported to the 'shared' world of Tradition where one century looks like any other and where human motivation is always simple as in a fairy story. Moreover, while the lay strata remains elusive, the dominant spiritual forms are invariably expressed in terms of universals. The strength of the recording tradition seems to depend largely on those instances when certain vital figures are seen to transcend the morass of hagiography by revitalizing the ancient clichés of experience. Even in such cases, however, very little of the individual personality of the subject comes to light. We are on occasion afforded a glimpse of broader historical forces at play, but again these are of a fortuitous nature

and incidental to the main concern, which is to plot a course to enlightenment along lines that are mainly pre-determined. Paradoxically therefore, the resilience of the spiritual tradition and the values which underlie it present certain obstacles to the study of its history.

Despite these difficulties, even the most superficial level of analysis would suggest some conclusions that hold true for the early history of western Bhutan where these schools gained authority. It can be noticed firstly that to bring a sense of order to the diffuse material available, each school has here been considered separately; but this unitary approach has inevitably blurred the many points of contact which a cohesive narrative account would otherwise reveal. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that such an account would convey a picture any the less fragmented than the one given here; this is because the schools and lineages remained in a state of constant fission set against a backcloth of ethnic and geographical complexity.

It is remarkable how many of the founding figures who stand at the head of their traditions in Tibet were so active in Bhutan that offshoots of their schools or lineages developed there too. As we have seen, this is true to a varying degree of rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa, Klong-chen-pa Dri-med 'Od-zer, Lo-ras-pa dBang-phyug brTson-'grus, 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang, Padma Gling-pa and 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. Of these, only Padma Gling-pa was a native of Bhutan. The others were attracted to the area by the great pilgrim shrines, by the search for local patronage and recognition and by the desire to escape from the turmoils of Tibetan politics to the peace of the secluded Bhutanese valleys. Some of these patriarchal figures not only gave birth to local traditions

which were linked in later history to the mainstream of their schools in Tibet, but they themselves were given the role in Bhutan of great cultural heroes. The most notable of this type were Thang-stong rGyal-po, Padma Gling-pa and 'Brug-pa Kun-legs - all of whom were active in the 15th and 16th centuries. The songs and dances attributed to them enjoy a wide currency far beyond the few families who claim descent from them. Moreover, these folk traditions are cast in a local mode which contrasts them with the Tibetan traditions that are also associated with the names of these figures. The fact that the 'Brug-pa school which later rose to dominance lacked a great figure who had been active in Bhutan at the beginning of its history meant that it had to create its own folk hero: Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po.

In trying to trace the local development of Buddhist schools no mention has been made of the many isolated figures and communities that stand removed from the broader patterns. These include the two Indian teachers Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas of the 11th century and Vanaratna ('the last of the Pandits', 1384-1468).<sup>125</sup> Even though there is no doubt about the visit of the latter, neither left any discernible effect apart from the places that are still associated with them. One or two monasteries in the north of the country are classed as having belonged to the Shin-rta-pa school, an offshoot of the 'reformed' dGe-lugs-pa, introduced to that area by the disciples of 'Phan-yul-pa dPal-ldan rDo-rje, who was in turn one of the chief disciples of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419).<sup>126</sup> The Shing-rta-pa may have been among the local schools opposed to the Zhabs-drung. The visit of Tsong-kha-pa himself to Bum-thang was noticed in the last chapter. At least one important family in the sKyabs-khra ('Chapcha')

district had its origins in the 'Brig-gung-pa school but it became totally absorbed into the rNying-ma-pa and 'Brug-pa (Aris 1976:619 Note). The record could be expanded indefinitely.

Only the slenderest of evidence points to the area of 'proto-Bhutan' coming under the control of various central Tibetan governments. The Sa-skya, Rin-spungs and gTsang-pa authorities have each appeared briefly on the local scene. Their sporadic efforts, insofar as we can determine their nature at all, seem to have been directed towards the subjugation of those districts most accessible from Tibet. That they may for some periods have been successful has been suggested by the existence of the minor official posts in Bhutan of mi-dpon, spyi-dpon and brgya-dpon. Very likely these took on a hereditary nature which became divorced from any Tibetan authority. By contrast, the evidence pointing to the existence of ecclesiastical estates governed either by Tibetan or local families is overwhelming. These were of an autonomous nature and had nothing to do with any Tibetan government as far as we can see. So numerous were they that one wonders whether by the early 17th century there were indeed any communities in the main western valleys that were not tied as patrons to the schools that had become implanted there during the preceding centuries. Only in the eastern area did there still survive the ancient pattern of clan rule; but even in those districts it was noticed that forms of religious rule had begun to be established. It is, however, particularly in the fragmented history of western Bhutan that there gleams and fades and gleams again an ideal as enduring and impressive as the old buildings which still testify to its early attraction, namely that an enlightened

being should take charge of the destinies of lesser mortals. That which came to be regarded as the triumphant fulfilment of the ideal by Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, which led to the ultimate unification of Bhutan and which occasioned all the attempts to perpetuate his rule, form the main theme to the last chapter of this study.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. See Karmay 1972:145-8. The Bon-po historians give his date of birth variously as 1024 or 1038. Kong-sprul places him in the 2nd rab-byung: 1087-1146 (gTer-rnam, f. 227b).
2. Karmay 1972:191.
3. Karmay 1972:147 and gTer-rnam, f. 42b.
4. Karmay 1972:148.
5. gTer-rnam, f. 40a-b and LCB II, f. 69a.
6. gTer-rnam, f. 43b.
7. gTer-rnam, ff. 46b-47a and LCB II, f. 69a-b. A number of Bon-po discoverers with the Ra-shag epithet figure in the Legs-bshad-mdzod (see Karmay 1972: index).
8. gTer-rnam, f. 227b.
9. Karmay 1972:175-6.
10. LCB II, f. 83a-b.
11. On this important Bon goddess (more usually called Srid-pa rGyal-mo), see especially Karmay 1972:xxi-xxii.
12. Padma Gling-pa's Collected Works, Vol. Pha, f. 27a.
13. On rNying-ma-pa doctrine, see particularly Tucci and Heissig 1973:112-125 and Karmay 1975b:passim.
14. On its location see Wylie 1962:186.

15. I am indebted to Helmut Eimer for some notes he kindly provided on the history of the Ka-thog-pa in a letter dated 11/7/77. His paper on this subject is in the press.
16. See ff. 69b-71b.
17. Theg-pa thams-cad-kyi gshan-'byed nyi-'od rab-gsal, 219 folios.
18. These were Bab-ron Thar-pa-gling (in the Chu-smad valley of Bum-thang), Shing-mkhar bDe-chen-gling (in the U-ra valley of Bum-thang), O-rgyan-gling (in the sTang valley of Bum-thang), Kun-bzang-gling (in Kur-stod), 'Bras-bcags-gling (in sNgan-lung), Padma-gling (in mKho-thang), Kun-bzang-gling (in Men-log) and bSam-gtan-gling (in sPa-gro). Thus they covered the whole of the country except for its easternmost region. There are certain indications that some of these monasteries may have been taken over by Klong-chen-pa rather than founded by him. The above list appears on f. 22a of a biography of Klong-chen-pa by Kun-bzang 'Gyur-med mChog-grub dPal-'bar (1725-1762), the 5th Thugs-sras incarnation of Klong-chen-pa's son, Zla-ba Grags-pa. It is entitled Kun-mkhyen chos-kyi rgyal-po gter-chen dri-med 'od-zer-gyi rnam-par thar-pa cung-zad spros-pa ngo-mtshar skal-bzang mchog-gi dga'-ston, 33 folios, blockprint from lHa-lung. It is based on one of the original biographies of Klong-chen-pa, none of which I have seen. This work was kindly shown to me by the late Chos-brag Bla-ma when I was staying in Thar-pa-gling.



19. Vol. Pha, ff. 17a-24b.
20. For the full list see the Zhe-chen chos-'byung, ff. 116a-122b.
21. LCB II, f. 72b.
22. Kom-'phrang bKra-shis rTse-mo, sNgan-lung Pho-sbis-kha, mKhas-dbang lHa-khang and 'Dam-can lHa-khang.
23. LCB II, f. 73b.
24. I do not know if there is a biography of Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan. Information on him is found in LCB II, ff. 73b-74b. It was the accounts of India and Bhutan he gave to 'Jigs-med Gling-pa which enabled the latter to compose one of the most interesting documents of the period, the lHo-phyogs rgya-gar-gyi gtam brtag-pa brgyad-kyi me-long forming Chapter 3 of the gTam-tshogs (ff. 31b-41b). The colophon says Byang-chub rGyal-mtshan spent three years in Clacutta. He may perhaps have been employed as an emissary of Bhutan to the East India Company. He supplied 'Jigs-med Gling-pa with a good deal of information on the English (Phe-reng = Ferengi = Franks).
25. rJe grub-pa'i dbang-phyug rnam-rgyal lhun-grub-kyi rtogs-pa brjod-pa dpag-bsam ljon-pa'i snye-ma; dbu-can ms. in 18 folios, no author or date given. I am indebted to the present Pad-tshal-gling sPrul-sku for giving me permission to copy this work and the one recorded in the next note.

(contd. on the next page)

26. 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan-gyi ngang-tshul rnam-par (sic) gleng-ba sgyu-ma chen-po'i rtogs-brjod; dbu-can ms. in 20 folios by gZhan-phan Rol-pa'i rDo-rje, no date.
27. // de-ltar-na thog-mar stod mnga'-ris-nas dbu-brtsams / bar-du dbus-gtsang lho-mon / mthar mdo-khams stod-smad-bar gsum-du gtso-bor byon-pa'i gter-ston ... (gTer-rnam, f. 231a).
28. gTer-rnam, f. 98a-b.
29. Op. cit. ff. 98b-99a.
30. Op. cit. f. 99b.
31. Op. cit. ff. 103b-104a.
32. Op. cit. f. 106a.
33. Op. cit. f. 106a.
34. Op. cit. f. 108a-b.
35. Op. cit. f. 59b-60a.
36. Op. cit. f. 62b-63b.
37. Op. cit. ff. 126b-127a.
38. Op. cit. f. 195b.
39. Op. cit. ff. 100b-101a.
40. Op. cit. ff. 52a-55a.
41. LCB II, f. 71b.
42. LCB II, f. 75a-b, and gTer-rnam, ff. 79b-82a.

43. LCB II, f. 75b, and gTer-rnam, ff. 116a-117a. The story is told of how O-rgyan bZang-po went to Padmasambhava's heaven in the form of a vulture to clear his doubts as to how he should construct a three-dimensional maṇḍala at the temple of sKu-rjes in Bum-thang. While he was returning from heaven, one of his disciples started cremating the body he had left behind at sKu-rjes. O-rgyan bZang-po therefore had to enter the body of a girl who had just died at Mon Tsha-'og. In this new form he returned to Bum-thang but although he (or she) is said to have completed the work of restoring the temple, the maṇḍala itself was never finished. His draft sketch was said to be still at sKu-rjes when the gTer-rnam was composed.
44. LCB II, ff. 74b-75a, and gTer-rnam, f. 117a-b.
45. LCB II, ff. 76b-77a, and gTer-rnam, f. 143b. The latter work (f. 228b) places Ngag-dbang Grags-pa as late as the 9th rab-byung (1507-1566) and maintains he was an actual descendant of Klong-chen-pa (1308-1363). This cannot be correct if we accept the convincing assertion in LCB II that Ngag-dbang Grags-pa was the son of Klong-chen-pa's disciple, sPrul-sku dPal-'byor rGyal-mtshan.
46. LCB II, f. 77a-b, and gTer-rnam, f. 139a.
47. LCB II, ff. 71b-72a.
48. Padma Gling-pa's autobiography, completed by his son rGyal-ba Don-grub, is entitled: Bum-thang gter-ston padma gling-pa'i rnam-thar 'od-zer kun-mdzes nor-bu'i phreng-ba zhes-bya-ba skal-ldan spro-ba skye-ba'i tshul-du bris-pa; 254 folios in Vol. Pha of his Collected Works.

49. The Taoist tradition of revealed texts affords some very close parallels to the gter-ma movement. Strickman's comment (1977:21) on the origin of these Taoist works is most relevant to the whole question of the gter-ma: "The definition and evaluation of forgery is obviously a complicated problem, particularly in a religious tradition, where the embroiled questions of motives and methods are further involuted by the cogency of belief."
50. See Stein 1972b:176 (my translation). See f. 175a of Padma Gling-pa's rnam-thar for the account of his meeting with 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, who presented him with a piece of iron on making a request for the Kīla authorisation (Phur-pa'i dpe-lung). Padma Gling-pa refused. The Bhutanese version of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs's biography (Kalimpong, 1970, ff. 46a-47a) has another interesting account of their meeting in Bum-thang.
51. See Chapter I Section 4 above.
52. See the rnam-thar, ff. 25b-26b.
53. Op. cit., f. 33a.
54. Cf. Toussaint 1933:387.
55. See the rnam-thar, ff. 245b-251b.
56. This huge cycle, comprising some seventy-eight separate texts, is found in Vol. Kha of his Collected Works. It was 'discovered' at sMan-mdo in lHo-brag.
57. See gTer-nam , f. 85b.
58. See f. 250a-b of his rnam-thar.
59. See gTer-nam , ff. 130a-131b.

60. Some confusion has reigned on the date of his death which occurred at the age of 72 in sbrul-lo, according to rGyal-ba Don-grub who completed his autobiography. This was wrongly taken as sa-sbrul (1509) instead of lcags-sbrul (1521) by the 8th Pad-gling incarnation in his Pad-gling 'khrung-rabs-kyi rtogs-brjod nyung-gsal dad-pa'i me-tog (Collected Works, Vol. Pha, 45 folios). The date of his birth (lcags-rta = 1450) is similarly confused with lcags-khyi (1430) in the gTer-rnam, f. 85b.
61. On rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa see particularly the Blue Annals, pp. 601-2. On the lHa-pa bKa'-brgyud in Bhutan see below.
62. The spelling sMyos (for gNyos) derives from a variant account of the mythical origins of this clan. Both are summarised in the Vaidurya Ser-po, pp. 398-9.
63. See f. 25a of his rnam-thar.
64. On the branch of the Jo-bo clan settled at Ber-mkhar see f. 31a of the rGyal-rigs below. The rGyal-rigs was written 22 years after the alleged date of the 6th Dalai Lama's death.
65. It is not clear from Padma Gling-pa's account (on ff. 113b-114a of his rnam-thar) what the relationship was between him and O-rgyan bZang-po. The Vaidurya Ser-po (p. 399) refers to O-rgyan bZang-po as dbon-po ('nephew', or less likely 'grandson'). However, the O-rgyan-gling-gi dkar-chags (British Library, OR 6750) appears to make him the youngest of nine sons born to Padma Gling-pa's father, Don-grub bZang-po.
66. I am mainly dependent on Slob-dpon Padma-lags for the following.

67. On the 3rd rGyal-sras sPrul-sku, 'Brug-sgra rNam-rgyal (1735-62) see LCB II, ff. 129b-130a. }
68. On the first seven in this line, see the Pad-gling 'khrungs-rabs-kyi rtogs-brjod nyung-gsal dad-pa'i me-tog, 45 folios in Vol. Pha of the Collected Works of Padma Gling-pa. It was written in 1873 by the 7th gSung-sprul, Kun-bzang bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma (1843-91) at the 'hidden land' of mKhan-pa-lung. It is followed by a short work by bDud-'joms Rin-po-che in 15 folios on the last four incarnations, entitled: Pad-gling 'khrungs-rabs rtogs-brjod dad-pa'i me-tog-gi kha-skong mos-pa'i ze'u-'bru. The present gSung-sprul who is mentioned at the end of this work was born in 1968 in a family that has close ties with the Royal Family. His step-brother, Blon-po Sangs-rgyas dPal-'byor, is at present the Ambassador of Bhutan to India.
69. On bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa'i Don-grub, see Ch. I, Section 5 ('The Ngang tradition'). The biography of his disciple, Ngag-dbang 'Brug-pa, is entitled: rGyal-kun brtse-ba'i spyi-gzugs sems-dpa' chen-po gsung-dbang-sprin-dbyangs / = ngag-dbang-'brug-pa / -kyi rtogs-pa brjod-pa rig-'dzin kun-tu dga'-ba'i zlos-gar; 119 folios, dbu-can ms., no date, written by one Ma-ti at the behest of Yon-tan mTha'-yas, 13th Head Abbot of Bhutan (regn. 1771-75). See also LCB II, ff. 81a-82b.
70. See f. 7b of the Lo-rgyus, and Note 23 thereto.
71. See ff. 91b-92a. I first came across the rJe-btsun mi-la ras-pa'i rdo-rje'i mgur-drug sogs gsung-rgyun thor-bu 'ga' in the Nubri district of Northern Nepal where it was

313

pointed out to me for the account of Mi-la Ras-pa's visit there and to the adjoining district of Kutang (Aris 1975:50,78-9). Unfortunately, the copy I had access to was incomplete and my photocopy does not contain the passage on Mi-la Ras-pa in sPa-gro. Copies of the work can be found at the Cambridge University Library and at the India Office Library.

72. See note 109 to the rgyal-rigs below.
73. See the Blue Annals, p. 405.
74. See LCB II, f. 91a-b where the spelling is given as Glang-mo-lung. In local pronunciation it is 'Nangmoling'. The correct spelling is given on f. 43b of the account by Yon-tan mTha'-yas of the virtuous works of Shes-rab dBang-phyug, 13th 'Brug sDe-srid (regn. 1744-63). I failed to visit the place on my way to mTho-ba-brag, having been told that it dated from the 17th century.
75. See the Blue Annals, pp. 406-414, and Smith 1970:3.
76. See the Blue Annals, p. 478 and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag, Vol. Pa, f. 20b.
77. See particularly Richardson 1958-9, Snellgrove and Richardson 1968:132-137, Smith 1969b and 1970, and Tucci[and Heissig] 1973:62-64.
78. lho-kha-bzhi'i rgya-pa-la gtogs-pa'i gnas-gzhi sde-dgon dbang-ris thams-cad lo-tsa-ba-la phul (f. 4b). The work is an dbu-med ms of 33 folios, composed at the monastery of Gye-re dGon-pa in 1431. It is preserved in microfilm at the Toyo Bunko, Japan, which kindly made a copy available to me. See Yamaguchi 1970: No. 504-3047.

79. See the same folio of the above work, also f. 38b of the Red Annals and the Blue Annals, p. 602.
80. In the colophon (f. 42a) the name of the 'discoverer' is disguised as "son of the great Arrow-holder" (mda'-dzin chen-po'i sras). This alludes to the legend of how 'Brug-pa Kun-legs shot an arrow from Tibet to the place in Bhutan where he later took a wife. He is always depicted with bow and arrow like the Indian mahasiddha Saraha, whose incarnation he is reckoned to have been.
81. He is identified as such in LCB II, f. 84b.
82. / lo re-re-la cho / tsho / re-la bras-btang / -ltang / rgya / brgya / bur-btang / -ltang / brgya ras brgya / srin-dos brgya / lcags-dos brgya / 'bul-dgos 'u-lag theng / thengs / gsum gsum / (f. 29a)
83. See f. 25b et seq. of the rnam-thar, and Aris 1976:608-9 where I have briefly described the festival.
84. His biography by 'Jam-dpal rGya-mtsho (= gTsang mKhan-chen) forms the 6th volume to the PBP. It is entitled: Chos-kyi sprin chen-po'i dbyangs-kyi yan-lag rnal-'byor-gyi dbang-phyug dpal rdo-rje gdan-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa, 34 folios. The story of his father's alleged discovery of Pha-jo's biography is found on f. 10b.
85. See f. 81b of 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po chos-rje kun-dga' legs-pa'i rnam-thar rgya-mtsho'i snying-po mthong-ba don-ldan, and ff. 1b and 51b of 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po kun-dga' legs-pa'i rnam-thar mon spa-gro sogs-kyi mdzad-spyod rnams.



86. On f. 71a of the above work we read: // mi-tshos-ni  
kun-legs nga mje-sbom rje-sbom zer // mje sbom-pas  
na-chung-gi bu-mo'i snying-du // mi-tshos-ni kun-legs  
nga rgyo-'dod rgyo-'dod zer // rgyo-'dod-pas gdung-  
rgyud-kyi sras-po 'khrungs // mi-tshos-ni kun-legs nga  
rkub-tshum rkub-tshum zer // rkub-tshum-pas 'khor-ba-yi  
sdug-thag bstungs //

On f. 32a-b of Pha-jo's biography we read: // mi-rnams-ni  
pha-jo rkub-btsums zer // rkub-btsums-pas 'khor-ba'i  
sdug-thag bcaad // mi-rnams-ni pha-jo mje-sbom zer //  
mje-sbom-pas mkha'-'gro sprin-bzhin 'dus // mi-rnams-ni  
pha-jo rgyod-'dod zer // rgyo-'dod-pas sprul-pa'i rgyal-  
sras 'khrungs //

The variants clearly stem from the fluid oral tradition of Bhutanese folk poetry.

87. See f. 13a of the biography of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas.

88. See PBP, f. 111a, LCB I, f. 38a, and LCB II, ff. 84b-85a.

89. One would like to connect the name of this fortress with that of the mythical ancestor of the gNyo clan of the lHa-pa prince-abbots. His name is Bya-thul dKar-po, who married rMu-lcam Ring-mo. See the Kha-rag gnyos-kyi rgyud-pa byon-tshul mdor-bsadud, f. 1.

90. See f. 282b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas for mention of such a group, the inhabitants of the district in sPa-gro known as Lam-mgo Tsho-lnga.

91. The dates for the 'Brug-pa hierarchs are taken from Smith (1969b:Appendix III) who obtained them from the individual biographies contained in the gser-'phreng of this school. The dates provided by Stein (1972b:chart) are not always in perfect agreement with those of Smith.

92. The statement in the Blue Annals (p. 676) that Lo-ras-pa found the inhabitants of Bum-thang to resemble beasts (which derives from the unknown author of his biography in the above gser-'phreng) stands in contrast to the whole tenor of Klong-chen-pa's guide to Bum-thang (1355). He found them "of good character, abiding to ancient laws" ( // mi-rnams bcos-bzang sngon-gyi khrims-la gnas // f. 24a-b). Information on Lo-ras-pa's activities in Bhutan is found in LCB I, f. 11a and LCB II, f. 85a-b.
93. See LCB II, f. 85b.
94. Op. cit., f. 90b.
95. Oral information from Slob-dpon Padma-lags.
96. The biographies of at least two of them have survived:  
 1) mTshungs-med chos-kyi rgyal-po rje-btsun dam-chos pad-dkar-gyi rnam-par thar-pa thugs-rje chen-po'i dri-bsung; dbu-can ms. in 51 folios, the life of Dam-chos Pad-dkar, 4th Head Abbot of Bhutan (regn. 1697-1707), by Byams-mgon Ngag-dbang rGyal-mtshan (1647-1732). 2) sPa-gro'i chos-rje pad-dkar chos-kyi rgya-mtsho'i nyams-'gyur-gyi rtogs-pa brjod-pa'i gtam bcad-lhug spel-ma'i do-shal ces-bya-ba ri-khrod-pa'i mdzes-rgyan-du 'os-pa; dbu-can ms. in 297 folios, the autobiography of the gZar-chen Chos-rje Pad-dkar rGya-mtsho (alias 'Brug Pad-dkar), cousin of the Dam-chos Pad-dkar of the previous work.
97. See f. 31a of Pha-jo's biography and f. 97b of LCB II.
98. See Note 21 to the Lo-rgyus below.

99. Another ms. of the same work survives at the village of Hūm-ral-kha close to the rdzong in sPa-gro. It has 77 folios and the slightly differing title of rin-po-che do-shal. This gdung-rabs is certainly worthy of detailed study. Only the briefest notice of it is given here.
100. Apart from the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs, the following paragraphs are largely based on ff. 11b-12a of LCB I, and ff. 98b-102b of LCB II. These provide a summary of those passages in the school's gser-'phreng which deal with the visits paid to the area by the Ra-lung hierarchs. A good deal more could be gained by going back to the gser-'phreng itself. It must be understood that the diffusion of the 'Brug-pa to Bhutan was just one current in the history of the school and the same could be said for all the other schools discussed in this chapter.
101. See, however, the Addendum [III] to the rGyal-rigs and Notes 10 and 11 to the Lo-rgyus below.
102. For the outline of his life see the Blue Annals (p. 692) and Smith 1970:10. I have not had access to an extended life of 'Ba'-ra-ba or his incarnations
103. See for instance Tucci [and Heissig] 1973:64.
104. See Ferrari 1958:69, 159.
105. rJe-btsun 'ba'-ra-ba rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po'i rnam-thar mgur-'bum dang-bcas-pa; Vol. Ka (222 folios) in a blockprint edition of his three volume bka'-'bum.

106. dPal grub-pa'i dbang-phyug brtson-'grus bzang-po'i rnam-par thar-pa kun-gsal nor-bu'i me-long by 'Gyur-med bDe-chen in sa-mo-bya (1609); 174 folios in a modern Indian reprint, based apparently on a blockprint from Ri-bo-che. It is the same work used by Stein (1959a:32) in a sDe-dge edition, and by Tucci (1949:162-3) in an unknown edition bearing the different title: mTshungs-med grub-pa'i dbang-phyug lcags-zam-pa'i rnam-thar.
107. See Stein 1959a:238 Note 17. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che in his history (f. 289a) confuses the issue further by giving the dates 1385-1510.
108. On this ceremony see Roerich 1932. On the epic and theatrical associations of Thang-stong rGyal-po see particularly Stein 1959a:219-221, 513-519.
109. "Thus it is that the bridge of Chuka is reckoned to be of more than mortal production. No less a being than the dewta Tehuptehup could possibly have contrived so curious a piece of mechanism. Neither the origin nor the history of this renowned Tehuptehup, can be traced with any degree of certainty; but the works they assign him, the road up the mountain we lately passed (many parts of which are held, it may be said, upon a precipice, by pins and cramps of iron uniting together the stones that form it,) and the bridge at Chuka, do credit to a genius, who deservedly ranks high upon the rolls of fame, and justly claims from the inhabitants, decided tokens of respect and gratitude" (Turner 1800:162-3). Engravings of the bridge by Samuel Davis are found on Plates III and IV of this work. All that remains today are the ruins of its foundations. The same is the case with Chu-kha /<sup>rDo-ba</sup>rDzong

which stands close by; Davis' drawing of it is not given, but aquatints prepared after his return to England are occasionally to be seen. Much of his original Bhutanese work is kept at the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta.

110. // Om ma-ni pad-me hūm / tha [?] grub-thob chen-po'i  
rnam-thar-'di / lung-bstan thob-pa byang-damrings-pa [?]  
/ dkon-mchog dpal-bzang-gis / dpal ri-bo-cher skod-na-  
'ang / grub-thob chen-po dang rje-btsun A-sgron chos-  
sgron gnyis-kyis / chos-sku snang-ba-mtha'-yas-kyi  
gsung-rgyun / sems-can 'gro-don mdzad-tshul skye-ba  
dran-pa'i gsung-'gros / lung-bstan-pa-rnams mos-pas thos /  
lung dang 'thun-par ma-tshangs-pa-rnams kha-skangs-pa'o  
 // bla-ma thang-stong rgyal-po'i rnam-thar gsal-ba'i  
sgron-me / rgya-mtsho-las chu-thig rtsam-cig blangs-nas  
/ lung-bstan thob-pa mon-pa bde-ba bzang-pos / wang spar  
'tshams rta-mchog nor-bu-sgang-gi gnas-mchog / mkha'-'gro  
gsang-ba'i brag-phug / dben-pa'i gnas su bskod-pa'o //  
 // bkra-shis dpal-'bar 'dzam-bu-gling brgyan-du dge-legs  
'phel / mangalam / A-khu bla-mas zhal-skad mdzad-mi byas  
/ yig-mkhan sangs-rgyas don-grub-kyis byas / rnam-thar  
bzhengs-pa-la kha-phan tshig-phan byas rkang-g.yog  
lag-g.yog byas-pa thams-cad sangs-rgyas thob-par shog //  
 (A, ff. 293b-294a).

111. It is interesting to note that both dKon-mchog dPal-bzang and bDe-ba bZang-po find mention in A (f. 152b) as the emissaries of Thang-stong rGyal-po to the court of the king of Kāmata, the ancient Hindu kingdom destroyed by Husayn Shāh in the period 1501-5 (see Ch.I Section 4 above). dKon-mchog dPal-bzang is described as the

302

thugs-sras ('mind-son') of the saint, and bDe-ba bZang-po as "the man from lHo Pa-gro". According to Bhutanese legend the latter was born miraculously from the droppings of a bird, in fact the saint in disguise (LCB II, f. 76a).

112. This is proved by the passage on B, f. 86b where we learn that Thugs-sras dKon-mchog bZang-po was appointed to the guardianship of the new bSam-grub Temple at Phag-ri. In the colophon (B, f. 173a) he is referred to as the author of the original source as follows: "dKon-mchog bDe-ba'i 'Byung-gnas of the bSam-grub Temple, the nephew of the great bridge-builder and the upholder of his religious traditions."
113. A (f. 141b) has: / grub-thob chen-pos bum-thang sde-bzhi / mon glang-ma-'thil / tshong-'dus rta-li / sbu-li / rnam zhab-skyi chags / mon ku-ru-lung-la byon / smon-lam-gyi 'brel-pa bzhas lho-brag mkhar-chu-ru phyag-phebs /  
B (f. 100b) has: / bum-thang sde-bzhi-nas mon ku-ru-lung-tshun zhab-skyi bcags / lho-brag mkhar-chur phebs /
114. See the rGyal-rigs, ff. 29b-30b and Note 78 thereto.
115. For a photograph of the monastery see Ferrari 1958: Plate 49.
116. Cf. gTer-rnam, ff. 125a-126b.
117. A detailed account of its restoration is found in the longer rnam-thar of Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan to which I do not have access at present. See also LCB II, ff. 155b-156b.

118.

A, f. 131b

/ de nas stag-tshang seng-ge  
 bsam-'grub-kyi ri-rgyud /  
 'thur-la rgyug-pa / spa-gro  
 lung-pa bzhung-gshags byed-pa  
 lta-bu de'i sna-la mchod-rten  
 cig bzhengs-pa'i sa-'dul mdzad  
 /mchod-rten 'di grub-pa dang  
 / lho-kha-bzhi-pa mon-yul 'dir  
 rlung-gdon 'og-gdon klu-nad  
 shin-tu nyung-par 'ong / 'dze  
 -pho bde bcas-pa 'di stongs-  
 'gro // mchod-rten-'di /  
rgya-gar skon-mtsho-ba'i 'bul-  
ba skyel-cing mchod-pa byed /  
rgya-gar ka-ma-ta-ru nga'i  
bu-slob 'gro-don byed-pa  
yongs gsungs / de nas rdzong-  
 brag-la byon / mchod-rten-la  
 rab-gnas gsol-ba'i dus /  
 chos-skyong phyag-bzhi-pa  
 zhal-gzigs lhag-par nga'i  
 'phrin-las 'grub-po zer  
 mi-snang-par song /

B, f. 83b

// de-nas stag-tshang seng-ge-  
 phug-gi ri-rgyud dug-sbrul nag-  
 po thur-du rgyugs-pas / pa-gro'i  
 lung-pa gzhung-gshags byed-pa  
 'dra-ba'i sna-la sa-bdag kha-  
 gnon-gyi mchod-rten brtsigs-  
 pa'i sa-dpyad mdzad / phyogs-  
 bzhir lcags-phur re btab / ri-  
 de'i gdong brag rus-sbal mang-du  
 brtsegs-pa 'dra-ba'i steng-du /  
 chos-khri brtsigs-te mtshah-  
 mo'i bzhugs-sa mdzad / mchod-  
 rten-'di grub-pa-dang lho-kha-  
 bzhi-na / da-lta mdze-pho  
 mdze-mo'i sde bcas-pa-'di  
 stongs-'gro / rgya-gar ka-ma-tar  
nga'i bu-slob-kyis 'gro-don  
byed-pa-yong / mchod-rten-'di-  
la-yang ka-ma-ta'i rgyal-pos  
mchod-pa 'bul-zhing / gzan-  
 yang mchod-rten lha-khang  
 lcags-zam sogs mang-du 'grub-  
 pas /

I have left the spelling mistakes uncorrected in A to give an impression of the state of this important text. I do not know what the sense of skon-mtsho-ba is in this passage. Oddly enough, the throne which the saint is said (in B) to have built on a rock at the foot of the mountain is still pointed out to one nowadays, just behind the temple. The concluding sentence in B ( / gzan-yang ... 'grub-pas / ) comes at the end of a passage in A (f. 132a) which is completely omitted in B.

119. The full title of the work is: sKyes-bu dam-pa-rnams-kyi  
rnam-par thar-pa rin-po-che'i gter-mdzod, 2 vols. (Ka in  
 17 folios and Kha in 88 folios), edited, it seems, by one

Ba-spi-gung (?) mNyam-med Rin-chen and printed in chu-pho-rta (?), according to the colophon (f. 88b).

120. The area which mGos Khri-bzang requested and received from the king is described as follows: gtsang-stod-kyi sa-cha / mon skyer-chu lha-khang tshun / skar-la mtsho-gzhug yan-chad / 'bri tshams-rdza smug-po tshun-gyi sa-cha-rnams / (op. cit., f. 3b).
  
121. In sPa-gro: Nags-mo-che rDzong, Gal-stengs Glang-ma-nang, Cang dPal-ri dGon-pa and lCags-zam Tog-kha. In Thim-phu: dKar-sbe Bya-sreg rDzong, Sar-dmar-rdzing-kha, Tsha-li dGon-pa, Bar-pa lHa-khang and Wang Glang-ma-lung. In sPu-na-kha (Thed): Bar-grong Bye-ma'i rDzong, Gyang dMar-po and Bar-grong Dwangs-sa (LCB II, f. 88b). The rdzong ('fortresses') are in each case described as 'mother-convents' (ma-dgon) and all the rest as 'branch monasteries' (dgon-lag).
  
122. The name of gNas-rnying appears just once in the guide in a form that may perhaps have been purposely disguised by its author, a 'Brug-pa monk-official. We read: / bod-khams dag-pa'i zhing-gi gnas snying-po'i / mkhan-chen rnam-mkhyen rin-chen bsam-gtan-la /
  
123. See, for instance, LCB I, ff. 19a, 37a, 47a and 52a.
  
124. For the details of this marriage see LCB II, f. 122b, and f. 109a-b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub.
  
125. On the Bhutanese traditions concerning Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas and his disciple Ma-gcig Lab-kyi sGron-ma, see LCB II, ff. 83b-84a. On Vanaratna in Bhutan see LCB I, f. 11b, LCB II, ff. 87a-88a, and Stein 1972:13.
  
126. See LCB II, ff. 88b-89a.



## CHAPTER THREE

## THE CREATION OF BHUTAN

1. Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the Founder

The story of the Zhabs-drung's life and death is the story of the founding of Bhutan as we can still recognise it today despite the constitutional changes that were introduced at the beginning of this century with the establishment of an hereditary monarchy. While the account of his life serves to reveal the first steps towards the creation of a unified state, the peculiar circumstances surrounding his death seem to provide the most important clue to an understanding of the theocracy which was his enduring legacy. This section therefore explores his life, and the next one his death. Of crucial importance to both is an evaluation of the available sources.

The standard, undated biography (PBP) of the Zhabs-drung by gTsang mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan rGya-mtsho (1610-84) is one of the most deeply frustrating works in the historical literature of Bhutan. The author belonged to the Karma-pa school and was without doubt among the most accomplished scholars of his day, but he was not personally very well acquainted with his subject and seems to have spent only short periods in his company. He relied mainly on a few Bhutanese informants and on a chronological sketch of the Zhabs-drung's achievements which had already been composed. These circumstances would augur quite well for the work were it not for the fact that the author's own spiritual and scholarly accomplishments obtrude in such a way as to almost completely obscure his subject. The Zhabs-drung emerges from the work a ghostly figure wrapped in the complicated categories of Buddhist thought to

which his activities are correlated throughout by the author. A little of his resoluteness and sense of humour survives the constant padding. We are also made aware of what must have come to be his central preoccupation: namely his obligation both as hereditary leader of the 'Brug-pa and as the incarnation of its greatest scholar to defend the school against its political enemies, while still remaining true to the fundamental Buddhist call for compassion and meekness. Traditionally these apparent poles are harmonised by the lama identifying himself closely with the guardian deities of his school, whose wrathful activity is said to issue from a heart of compassion. This notion was subjected to intense development in Tibet for, quite apart from its systematic use in tantric meditation, it provided a happy rationale for the activities of political monks who were engaged either in defending their own schools or in attacking others. In Bhutan it seems to have blended easily with the tough and resilient qualities of its people, and in the new state created by the Zhabs-drung it very soon became enshrined in a host of public rituals. For the local chronicler it was the hold which the Zhabs-drung exerted over the guardian deities of the 'Brug-pa and his ability to convert the local gods of the country which served to account for his defeat of all external and internal enemies. While this is by no means the dominant theme in the biography of gTsang mKhan-chen, it was brought into the foreground in the synoptic accounts provided by bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal (in LCB I, ff. 12a-54a) and by Shākya Rin-chen (in Vol. Ka of his Collected Works). It was the former of these versions which really came to influence the historical consciousness of the Bhutanese; when traditional scholars today speak of the Zhabs-drung they have in mind the

masterful character, surrounded by his 'familiar' spirits, as culled by bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal from the chimerical bulk of the 'standard' biography which, although 'standard', is not itself often read.

The best insight into the forces which compelled the author of this work is provided in his own autobiography<sup>1</sup> where we find that an inconceivable wealth of Buddhist concepts have been applied to the memory of his experiences in a far less artificial manner than that shown in his life of the Zhabs-drung. gTsang mKhan-chen was a great scholar-sage whose every experience was recalled as open confirmation of the truths he had encountered in a lifetime of reading and meditation. The abstractions he wove around the smallest event were the ones that occupied all his waking thoughts, and nowhere is this more evident than in the fascinating account of his three trips to India.<sup>2</sup> There we find him totally engrossed in a world of tantric visions and encounters, each of them sparked off by a chain of associations which linked his extensive readings on the ancient land of the Buddha with the details of life in Cooch Bihar and Assam in the middle years of the 17th century. Although the Buddhist faith had long since disappeared from the land of its origin, he saw himself moving still in the same society which had produced the Lord Buddha who, for him, remained the central figure of his world.<sup>3</sup> We learn practically nothing about 'real' conditions obtaining at that time in Cooch Bihar and Assam but on its own grounds his account is quite as honest and valuable as the detailed and 'rational' picture of northern India given later by 'Jigs-med Gling-pa in his gTam-tshogs.

When, however, we turn back from gTsang mKhan-chen's

autobiography to his biography of the Zhabs-drung, the imaginative preoccupations which so dominate his own life lose their power and direction when applied to events he never witnessed himself. Bhutanese historians have consequently been hard put to find the pith and substance of the Zhabs-drung's doings in this work and both of the figures mentioned above who used it to produce their own accounts adopted a rigorous process of selection which emphasises their interest in the role of the guardian divinities. While their versions are very similar in their general arrangement, both are inevitably marked by personal idiosyncracies of choice; the one by Shākya Rin-chen tends to put more stress on the Zhabs-drung's artistic interests, while that by bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal brings in a bit of the extra evidence on the later years of the Zhabs-drung's life as contained in the biography of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (1638-96). The brief summary given below is mainly based on bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal (LCB I, ff. 12a-54a), but I supply notes to the standard biography and to Shākya Rin-chen where it seems appropriate to do so. ]

Unfortunately, there are not many sources external to this biographical tradition which can serve to add precision and depth to the study. the autobiography of the 5th Dalai Lama is of some help, the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs provides important glimpses, and the relacão<sub>3</sub> of Cacella does rather more, but that would appear to be about all. I have not had access to the biography of Tāranātha which almost certainly contains important references to the Zhabs-drung's struggles with the gTsang sDe-srid, the effective ruler of most of central Tibet during this period.

Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (the Zhabs-drung) was born in 1594 at the ancestral monastery of mGar-grong near the oldest

foundation of his school at 'Brug Byang-chub-gling. His father, bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma (1567-1619), was then twenty-eight years old and his grandfather, Mi-pham Chos-rgyal (1543-1606), was still reigning as the 17th prince-abbot of the 'Brug-pa school from its main seat at Ra-lung. Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal was therefore born as heir not only to the main monasteries and estates with which his father had been invested, but also as the destined successor to the chief throne of the 'Brug-pa hierarchs. It never seems to have been his grandfather's intention to step down in favour of his son, or even bequeath him the throne after his death; instead, Mi-pham Chos-rgyal looked to his grandson, the Zhabs-drung, to continue the line, and so from an early age he was groomed to fulfil that aim.

The Zhabs-drung's mother, bSod-nams dPal-gyi Bu-khrid, was the daughter of the governor of the lHa-sa district, an official who bore the title sDe-pa sKyid-shod-pa. According to one tradition,<sup>4</sup> she had previously been given in marriage to the ruler, the gTsang sDe-srid bsTan-bserung dBang-po. Following the birth of a daughter (also known by her title, A-lce Drung) the couple had separated and it was after this that the lady married bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma. Her estrangement from the ruler may have been a factor in the hostility that developed between him and the Zhabs-drung, though this is never suggested in the literature.

The seeds of the trouble which later forced the Zhabs-drung to take refuge in Bhutan became apparent very early in his life. Padma dKar-po 'the Omniscient' (1527-92), the greatest scholar of the 'Brug-pa school to whose name there attached enormous prestige, had died two years before the birth of the Zhabs-drung. This person, whose scholastic

achievements have been compared with those of the great 5th Dalai Lama, likewise a powerful monk statesman, had been born outside the ruling family of the 'Brug-pa, in a family of the local nobility of Kong-po. He had been recognised as the incarnation of the founder of the 'Brug-pa school, gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161-1211), in a line of embodiments that passed from rGyal-dbang-rje Kun-dga' dPal-'byor (1428-76) to 'Jam-dbyangs Chos-kyi Grags-pa (1478-1523), and thence to him. The incarnation previous to him, Chos-kyi Grags-pa, had also been born outside the ruling family of the 'Brug-pa. There does not, however, appear to have been much tension between the family and these 'external' incarnations during their own lifetimes, but the fact that they both succeeded in winning patronage for their new monastic foundations in the Bya-yul province north-east of Bhutan seems to have later constituted something of a threat to the cohesion of the school. Thus in spite of the enormous prestige which Padma dKar-po brought to the whole 'Brug-pa tradition, the ruling family at Ra-lung must have often wished that besides being of their spirit, he were also of their blood. It has in fact been claimed<sup>5</sup> that the 15th and 16th centuries saw in Tibet a gradual erosion of the lines of family descent in the old religious aristocracy by the development of the principle of the recognised rebirth. To discover a new incarnation within the ruling family was not only the obvious solution to this problem but also a powerful means of reinforcing the family's claim to semi-divine sanctity.

Some years after the birth of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, his father entered into retreat for three years. In the course of this he is said to have received signs which confirmed what was alleged to have been the will and prophecy of

Padma dKar-po, namely that he would be reborn in the ruling family of the 'Brug-pa. Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal was recognised as his incarnation on the strength of these signs and prophecies, but before long his father, bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma, was invited to give recognition to another claimant, namely the natural son of the hereditary prince of 'Phyong-rgyas. bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma went to 'Phyong-rgyas, subjected the candidate to various tests which he is said to have failed, and politely gave him his tonsure and his name, dPag-bsam dBang-po.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, until near the end of his life (1593-1641) dPag-bsam dBang-po was held to be the true incarnation by his family, by their supporters and by the Tibetan ruler, the gTsang sDe-srid, to whom the dispute was subsequently put. The latter's support was given in spite of a clear dismissal of the 'Phyong-rgyas claim by certain other 'Brug-pa lamas from lHa-rtse, whose letter of refusal is quoted in full in PBP (Vol. Ga, f. 19b). Why the gTsang sDe-srid should have favoured the 'Phyong-rgyas candidate is never clear, but it is possible that the family were his traditional allies in the growing struggle with the dGe-lugs-pa school. It is perhaps more likely, however, that the sDe-srid was simply making mischief or hoping to win a friend he might be able to influence. Paradoxically, it was in this 'Phyong-rgyas family that the man who achieved the final triumph of the dGe-lugs-pa, that is to say the 5th Dalai Lama, was born later in 1617.

Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal was ordained in the minor vows and installed on the throne of 'Brug at the age of eight by his grandfather. The installation was probably intended also as an open declaration of his claim to be Padma dKar-po's incarnation. Thereafter his studies began in earnest, supervised mainly by his father on the basis of a

curriculum layed down by his grandfather. One of his principle teachers was the great astrological scholar lHa-dbang Blo-gros (Suresamatibhadra) who had studied under Padma dKar-po.<sup>7</sup> (The Jesuits Cacella and Cabral later met him in the Zhabs-drung's company when they came to Bhutan.) The Zhabs-drung's studies covered every branch of Buddhist scholarship, including logic, medicine, art, tantra and poetry. In addition to these subjects, he was trained in meditation from an early age. At the age of twelve he accompanied his father on a long pilgrimage to the holy sites of central and southern Tibet. These travels also took him to the south-east where his rival, dPag-bsam dBang-po, was already installed on Padma dKar-po's throne at gSang-sngags Chos-gling. The local patron of the monastery, the sDe-pa Bya-pa, tried to arrange a celebration to mark a reconciliation between the rivals, but it failed; it appears that the Zhabs-drung's throne had been placed at a slightly lower level to that of dPag-bsam dBang-po, and so he refused to participate.

After the death of his grandfather, the Zhabs-drung was brought in 1606 at the age of thirteen from 'Brug to Ra-lung and installed as his successor (rgyal-tshab), the 18th prince-abbot of the 'Brug-pa. The Jesuit Cabral noted in 1628 that he ranked fifth in the whole Tibetan hierarchy without, however, supplying the names of those who were regarded as his superiors.<sup>8</sup> The ceremony of his enthronement was attended by a large concourse of lamas who represented the schools of the Sa-skyapa, Karma-pa, 'Bri-khung-pa, sTag-lung-pa, Tshal-pa, sTod-'brug and Bar-'brug. The civil authorities were also represented, gifts being received from the following princes: sNe-gdong-rtse-pa, Gong-dkar-pa,



sKyid-shod-pa, Shun-pa, 'Phyong-rgyas-pa, Bya-pa, Yar-'brog-pa, rGyal-rtse rTse-chen[-pa] and others.<sup>9</sup> It is interesting to note here the presence of the 'Phyong-rgyas emissary; the dispute with that house was still perhaps a quite separate issue to that of the formal succession to the abbatial throne. Neither the gTsang sDe-srid nor the dGe-lugs-pa were represented, but various missions from Bhutan were most significantly present. One of these was headed by Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin (alias rTa-mgrin rGyal-mtshan, 1574-1643), the grandson of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and the alleged incarnation of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po.<sup>10</sup> This person was later to become the chief ally of the Zhabs-drung in Bhutan. The installation ceremony at Ra-lung was very likely the first occasion when the Zhabs-drung came into direct contact with the Bhutanese. There were also a large number of monks from Bhutan who formed part of the established community at Ra-lung. This is certain, because many of them later accompanied him to Bhutan and formed the core of his monastic government there.

Much later he recalled that until he reached the age of nineteen in 1613 he was largely undisturbed by secular affairs and had devoted himself without interruption to his religious studies. Particularly important in view of later developments was the intimacy that developed between him and the head of the Sa-skyā school, bSod-nams dBang-po (1559-1621), from whom he received many teachings. During these years he is also said to have come into close contact with a number of Indian yogins and scholars who came to Ra-lung, particularly with one called A-mri-nā-tha. Unfortunately no clues are given as to who they were or where they came from. The Zhabs-drung's main teacher continued to be lHa-dbang Blo-gros

who no doubt directed his meditational training too. According to what is very likely a valid tradition, the Zhabs-drung gained considerable mastery in this latter pursuit, commanding his servants to throw water on him should he show signs of falling asleep during either the day or night while his retreats lasted. At the same time, his practical skills in painting and sculpture continued to develop.<sup>11</sup>

At the age of nineteen circumstances began to conspire against him to the extent that four years later he fled into voluntary exile in Bhutan. The gTsang sDe-srid had failed to reply to a letter requesting him to pass fair judgement in the dispute over his recognition as the incarnation of Padma dKar-po. Evil omens seen and heard at the gTsang-pa's palace of bSam-grub-rtse caused the Jo-nang rJe-btsun Tāranātha to warn the ruler that he should come to terms with the Zhabs-drung since the latter had control of the powerful protective deities of his school. The gTsang-pa therefore agreed to a meeting and so the Zhabs-drung at the age of twenty-one eventually set off for bSam-grub-rtse. On his way there he met for the first time the gTsang mKhan-chen, his future biographer, when the latter was aged about five or six. On arrival at bSam-grub-rtse the Zhabs-drung refused to dismount from his horse and rode up the steps to the palace to the discomfiture of the ruler who had prepared a respectful welcome for him there. Despite this it is claimed that the ruler, Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal (son of bsTan-bserung dBang-po),<sub>3</sub> who was then aged only sixteen or seventeen, held a cordial discussion with the Zhabs-drung. Nothing is said of the outcome, and very likely no solution was found to end the dispute. The reaction of the gTsang-pa, or those who acted in

his name, to an unfortunate incident that occurred on the Zhabs-drung's return journey shows that the latter had done little to endear himself to the ruling authorities. At a ferry over the gTsang-po called sTag-gru-kha a brawl arose between the lay bodyguards (sgar-pa) of the Zhabs-drung and those serving the dPa'-bo sPrul-sku of lHo-brag, an important Karma-pa lama and ally of the gTsang-pa. Both parties insisted they had the right to use the ferry first. During the fight, the ferry carrying the lHo-brag party overturned. The Zhabs-drung ordered his men to save them from drowning but it seems that some of them could not be rescued. After his return to Ra-lung, a case was brought against him at the court of the ruler. It appears that his enemies at 'Phyong-rgyas used this opportunity to advance their claims at the same time. The outcome of the case determined that the Zhabs-drung should pay a 'manslaughter-fine' (mi-stong) for those who had died at the ferry, and also that he should hand over all the ancestral relics of the school which were preserved at Ra-lung. This latter provision is a clear indication that the gTsang-pa's favour of the 'Phyong-rgyas candidate was now in the open. The Zhabs-drung refused to comply with these orders. He soon received secret intelligence from a minister who was well disposed to the 'Brug-pa that the ruler was preparing a force to attack Ra-lung and kill him. He is then said to have embarked on a course of black magic which brought about the death of three of the princes hostile to him, namely those of lHa-rtse, 'Phyong-rgyas and lHun-po-rtse.<sup>12</sup> Evil omens appeared all over the gTsang province and the Zhabs-drung's biographer claims he witnessed some of them himself. Undeterred, the ruler decided that if reconciliation were impossible the Zhabs-drung had now to be eliminated once and

for all. At this point the Zhabs-drung is said to have had a visionary dream in which he went flying after a raven to a place situated to the south. The bird was taken to be the raven-headed form of Mahākāla, chief protective deity of the 'Brug-pa, and the place to the south was later recognised by the Zhabs-drung to be the old monastery of sPang-ri Zam-pa at the top of the Thim-phu valley in western Bhutan. "The Raven-headed Mahākāla of Action having thus come and conducted him along a path of clear light, gestures of offering this country of the Southern Land to him as his heavenly field (zhing-khams) were made" (PBP. Vol. Ga, f. 124b). This was the immediate justification for his rule in Bhutan, later supported by all sorts of prophecies attributed to Padmasambhava. In LCB I (f. 23a) we find the corresponding passage has unequivocally introduced the word 'religious estate' (mchod-gzhis) for 'heavenly field'. After this vision, he began packing up the most famous relics of his school, chief of which was the 'self-created' image of Karsapani (a form of Avalokiteśvara) which had been found in one of the vertebrae of gTsang-pa rGya-ras, the founder of the school, after his cremation. Eleven years later the Zhabs-drung confided to the Jesuits Cacella and Cabral that it was the gTsang sDe-srid's plan to take possession of "a bone of his dead father" which had caused him to flee from Ra-lung.<sup>13</sup> It was of course not the object itself but all that its possession signified for the ruling family of the 'Brug-pa which was at stake. Today it is regarded as the most precious state treasure of Bhutan.

When in 1616 at the age of twenty-three the Zhabs-drung set off on his fateful journey across the natural barrier of the Himalayas to take refuge in Bhutan, he was following in the footsteps of hundreds of individual figures who had from

the earliest times been forced to make the journey south in order to escape from political strife in Tibet. All these people had arrived among communities which had themselves long earlier been established by migrants pushed south by upheavals in the north. The Zhabs-drung's activities therefore formed part of a long historical process which continues even today; it was so forcibly demonstrated in 1959 with the arrival of thousands of Tibetan refugees who fled the Chinese. Many circumstances, however, singled out the Zhabs-drung from this general movement and helped him become the key figure in all of Bhutanese history. Not the least of these was the uncompromising attitude he always adopted to his own position as head of the 'Brug-pa school, a huge network of political alliances and spiritual affiliations. As we have seen, many of these links connected the area of western Bhutan with the head monastery of the school at Ra-lung. The 'precentor' (dbu-mdzad) of the monastery was a Bhutanese who later became the first 'Brug sDe-srid ('Deb Rāja') of Bhutan. It was very likely he, bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas, who encouraged the Zhabs-drung to flee to Bhutan and it was certainly his family, the 'Obs-mtsho-pa, who first welcomed the Zhabs-drung to their home on his arrival in the north-east of the country.

According to LCB I (f. 23b) it was a lama of the 'Obs-mtsho-pa, a 'district chief' (yul-dpon) of mGar-sa, who sent a letter to the Zhabs-drung as he approached the border, inviting him to take over "the South" since there was no lama or chief who controlled the whole area. The Zhabs-drung replied that the lama should himself come to receive him, which he did in the company of an armed force. The Zhabs-drung therefore arrived with the full backing of local support. He

first spent some time in the northern district of dGon receiving the gifts and homage of the 'Brug-pa families of that area. Among them are specifically mentioned the "upper and lower" (gong-'og) families of the 'Obs-mtsho-pa, who seem to have been concentrated in the pastoral region of La-yag. This set the pattern for much of the rest of the Zhabs-drung's lifetime, long periods of which were spent on the move from patron to patron, and this also continued after he had built permanent residences in the central valleys.

From the northern region he came south to the top of the Thim-phu valley where he recognised the old monastery of sPang-ri Zam-pa (built by his forebear, Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal) from the prophetic vision he had had at Ra-lung. The building is situated close to the village of dKar-sbe whose inhabitants had long been associated with the 'Brug-pa and who now made a display of their loyalty. In a small side-valley nearby stands the even older temple of bDe-chen-phug, the seat of the principal guardian deities of the 'Brug-pa. It must have been there that the Zhabs-drung offered his thanksgiving ceremonies for a safe arrival from Tibet. Thereafter, we are told, he gained control over the chief protector still associated with this temple, namely the form of dGe-bsnyen known as Jag-pa Me-len ('The Fire-Fetching Brigand'). From Thim-phu he went over the 'Bras-la Pass to the sPa-gro valley where he installed himself in another old temple of his school, 'Brug Chos-sdings, by the side of the ancient market, the largest in western Bhutan.

Sometime after his arrival in sPa-gro (no dates are given) there took place the first of three separate invasions mounted by the gTsang sDe-srid against the Zhabs-drung. The

Tibetan authorities had taken control of the school's monasteries at 'Brug and mGar-grong and had sent a threatening letter to the Zhabs-drung whose sarcastic and contemptuous reply is quoted in full.<sup>14</sup> Before long the invasion arrived in sPa-gro under the command of an officer called La-dgu-nas and the Zhabs-drung retired to the 'Bras-la Pass where he is said to have had another vision of Mahākāla offering him the country and its people as his "ecclesiastical subjects" (lha-'bangs). The battles which ensued are described as a magical show, the Zhabs-drung and his troops attired in tantric dress and accoutrements, to the terror of the invaders. More credible is the role played by a certain Lug-mi Ser-po from sPa-wang who took up the Zhabs-drung's cause by collecting together an auxiliary force from the Wang district and other places. The Tibetans succeeded in capturing the temple of 'Brug Chos-sdings in sPa-gro, but later on being driven out from there they "borrowed" the old fort of Hūm-ral rDzong which, as we have seen, was the seat of the ancient seat of the 'Brug-pa family of the Hūm-ral-pa. The Zhabs-drung, who never took to the field himself on these occasions, fled from 'Bras-la to the Shar district where he put himself in Wa-can rDzong, another old fort of his 'Brug-pa allies, descendants of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom. Before long the Tibetan army was defeated and the head, hands and heart of the commander La-dgu-nas were brought to him on a banner. They were later placed in the temple dedicated to the guardian deities at lCags-ri as 'secret supports' (gsang-rten). Some of the effects of the captured temple in sPa-gro were recovered by monks and returned to the Zhabs-drung; other objects from the temple came into the hands of lay people and these, we are told,

were not returned. The victory, according to the Bhutanese records at least, was quite decisive and the rumour is said to have spread throughout India, Tibet and Hor (an obvious exaggeration) that "the great army of the gTsang-pa had not been able to subdue this single yogin."

From his stronghold in the Shar district the Zhabs-drung returned to the west and came to the rTa-mgo monastery of Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin, grandson of the mad saint 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, who had attended his installation at Ra-lung in 1607. This person presented him with all his estates and thereafter he seems to have become his most effective ally. At rTa-mgo the Zhabs-drung settled down for a time in a cave in order to perform tantric rituals aimed at destroying his enemy the gTsang sDe-srid Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal, this time with complete success, or so it is claimed. The ruler, his wife and many of his followers died within a month of each other from smallpox. According to PBP (f. 31a) the death of Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal was kept secret for three years,<sup>15</sup> but it was known to the Zhabs-drung who offered thanksgiving ceremonies. It was at this point that he promulgated the document which came to be incorporated into his personal seal, the Nga bcu-drug-ma ('The Sixteen I's'):<sup>16</sup>

I am he who turns the wheel of the dual system  
     (of spiritual and secular law).  
 I am everyone's good refuge.  
 I am he who upholds the teachings of the Glorious  
     'Brug-pa.  
 I am the subduer of all who disguise themselves as  
     'Brug-pa.  
 I achieve the realisation of the Sarasvati of  
     Composition.  
 I am the pure source of moral aphorisms.  
 I am the possessor of an unlimited view.  
 I am he who refutes those with false views.  
 I am the possessor of great power in debate.  
 Who is the rival that does not tremble before me ?  
 I am the hero who destroys the host of demons.  
 Who is the strong man that can repulse my power ?



I am mighty in speech that expounds religion.  
 I am wise in all the sciences.  
 I am the incarnation prophecied by the patriarchs.  
 I am the executioner of false incarnations.

After a further period spent in meditation in the same cave, which was partly destroyed by a great earthquake but which he survived, the Zhabs-drung set off with his retinue on an important journey to sKya-khra ('Chapcha') in the south at the invitation of local patrons. Chief of these was a wealthy person called Dar-phyug rGyal-mtshan who was in touch with the ruler of the adjoining Indian state of Cooch Bihar, Rāja Padma Narayan. The rāja learnt of the Zhabs-drung's presence in the area and sent him valuable presents, to which the Zhabs-drung responded with a letter and his own gifts. A later exchange brought a suggestion from the Zhabs-drung that the rāja should abjure the worship of Śiva and take up that of "the god Triratna" instead. Padma Narayan responded with an assurance that he had done so and with a gift of what was claimed to be a palm-leaf manuscript of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā "which is even now kept in the Bal-po lHa-khang [of bKra-shis-chos rDzong]" (LCB I, f. 28b). No doubt it was burnt later in one of the many fires, and a search at lCags-ri for Padma Narayan's letter during the time of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (1689-1713) produced only a copy.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, it is beyond question that the exchange took place and it marked the beginning of formal relations between Bhutan and Cooch Bihar. The Zhabs-drung's host at sKya-khra, Dar-phyug rGyal-mtshan, turns up again much later in about 1673 when we find him in Cooch Bihar on favourable terms with the ruler.<sup>18</sup> (Relations with Cooch Bihar were consolidated under the 4th 'Brug sDe-srid, bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (regn. 1680-95)<sup>19</sup> and continued through various vicissitudes down to the first

Anglo-Bhutanese war of 1772 which wrested the state from Bhutanese control.)

On returning to rTa-mgo, the Zhabs-drung came to hear of the death of his father, bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma, in Tibet. He arranged to have the corpse brought down over the Himalayas in secret and undertook divinations to determine a favourable site to house the ashes after cremation. The omens pointed to an adjoining hill close to rTa-mgo and so in 1620 at the age of twenty-seven he began to construct the temple of lCags-ri ('Cheri'), which was to become his first settled residence. His patrons at sKya-khra supplied quantities of silver and with Nepalese artisans summoned from the Kathmandu valley of Nepal, the famous silver stūpa to contain the ashes was made. It is still there in the temple to this day. It was at lCags-ri that the Zhabs-drung first set about organising all the monks in his attendance into a regular community. It began with just thirty monks and their officials. Their code was contained in a document the Zhabs-drung had already composed for his old monastery at Ra-lung, known as the bCa'-yig Chen-mo. The community later formed the core of the state monasteries of sPu-na-kha and Thim-phu, and by the time of his death it numbered more than 360 monks.<sup>19</sup> The Zhabs-drung's old teacher, lHa-dbang Blo-gros (Suresāmatibhadra), was invited down to be the main teacher of lCags-ri and it was there that he composed some of his best known works.

In 1623 the Zhabs-drung entered a three year retreat in total seclusion in a cave above the main temple of lCags-ri, having delegated to various monks his "secular responsibilities" ('jig-rten phyogs-dang 'brel-ba'i 'gan-khur, LCB I, f. 30a). He also appointed a representative to Ra-lung which even at

this date had not been taken over by the Tibetan authorities.<sup>21</sup> He is said to have written himself a poster which he put up in the cave, saying: "Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal 'Stay Aware! Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal Stay Aware!'" Towards the end of this, his longest retreat, he came to a decision to forego his desire for further meditation and to commit himself firmly "to administer the Teachings according to the dual system of religious and secular law" (LCB I, f. 31a). He therefore circulated a document to all the 'gods, demons and men' (lha 'dre mi gsum) of the 'Southern Land of Four Approaches', enjoining them to abide to his commands and threatening them with severe punishments if they did not. We may assume that up to this point the Zhabs-drung had been content to let his destiny reveal itself without much active encouragement on his part. Hereafter he took things more into his own hands, but he always seems to have preferred voluntary submission to direct coercion. There seems every reason to believe that his personal charm and magnetism were his most effective weapons. When, however, it came to direct confrontation, he never vacillated. As we shall see, the decisive measures he took in countering active opposition, coming from either within or outside the country, seem to have been the main contributory cause to his ultimate success.

After the celebrations marking the end of his three year retreat, the Zhabs-drung set off on an extended tour of the Shar district in order to establish ties with the many families there who were by tradition loyal to the 'Brug-pa. He visited (and presumably took over control of) the monasteries founded there by his forebears and settled a long-standing feud between two branches of the descendants of Pha-jo Gar-ston (son of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom) who had for years been

quarrelling over their land property. It was while he was there that he heard tell of a neighbouring peak called Bya-ra-sgang from which an uninterrupted view of the Tibetan border could be had. He seems to have thought it a good idea to post a sentinel there to warn him of a Tibetan invasion, as this would give him time to flee to India. It seems practically certain that it was during this long tour that in 1627 he met the Jesuits Cacella and Cabral who found him encamped in a sort of peripatetic monastery and who accompanied him back to his residence at lCags-ri, spending some eight months in his company. The Jesuits were the first Europeans to penetrate to Bhutan, and the Relação which Cacella sent from lCags-ri to his superior at Goa dated 4th October 1627 (see pp.742-765 below) is of the greatest importance for an understanding of the country, its people and the character of the great Zhabs-drung. Here at last is a dependable eyewitness account written in terms that strike an immediate note of credibility. It would be as well to pause here briefly to consider just a few of its implications. (Its relation to the evidence contained in the Bhutanese histories is studied separately in Part 2 below.)

The hazards and adventures which the Jesuits faced in reaching the central valleys of Bhutan on their way to Tibet show very clearly that the Zhabs-drung's writ at this time only ran in his own court and among his own patrons. It was "... a country where no one takes any action, every one of these men being an absolute lord in his own house." On a more positive note, Cacella speaks elsewhere of "the liberty which there is in this kingdom." And yet the Zhabs-drung is described unmistakably as the "King and at the same

time the chief lama." He had, just a decade after his arrival in the country, attained this position without any serious opposition, as far as we can see. His rule was characterised by the fact that he was "... proud of his gentleness for which he is highly reputed," and this is brought out well in Cacella's words when he says that "... the people have a very voluntary subjection to their king without any obligation on their part to defer to him or without any obligation to follow his doctrine, nor does he have power over the people to make anyone do anything; rather since his principal revenue is in what they give him voluntarily he does not wish to have any of his subjects discontented and every one of them is very free to do what he wants, as the King himself said to us on many occasions when he was talking to us even about his own lamas who are the people most subject to him." This account of his "great benevolence" has to be remembered in considering his reaction to the combination of internal strife and external invasion he was soon to face, for it was out of these struggles that Bhutan was really created. Only a hint of the coming troubles is provided by Cabral who explained in his letter that he had to depend for his onward journey on "a lama who is not quite friendly to the king" who was in touch with his enemy, the gTsang sDe-srid (Wessels 1924:153). Something of the Zhabs-drung's political skill, however, is evident in his own dealings with the Jesuits. Despite the "dislike and coldness" he came to feel for Christianity, though he seems firstly to have admired its moral teachings, he was anxious to keep the Jesuits in his court because their presence did him great credit in the eyes of the neighbouring rulers. He even offered them land in sPa-gro to build a church and actually

gave them a room at lCags-ri to deck out as a chapel. He also committed some of his own monks to them for instruction. Thus an eye for expediency and a certain capacity for dissimulation is evident. Nevertheless, a strong impression is given of his personal charm, his austerity, his commanding presence and his gifts as a man of letters and the arts, qualities which had attracted a large number of people from all over Tibet and the Himalayas to his court at the time of the Jesuit mission. He evidently felt that his prestige would be badly damaged if the Jesuits left him for Tibet, and it was only with great difficulty that they managed to counter "the resolution of this man that we should go no further." Cacella eventually managed to leave first, followed some months later by Cabral.

In 1629, two years after their mission, the Zhabs-drung started the construction at Srin-mo rDo-kha in Thim-phu of his first major palace, gSang-sngags Zab-don Pho-brang. It was strategically situated to control the main route which connected the Thim-phu valley with sPu-na-kha and the area further east. While it was being built, all the forces which constituted the army of the so-called 'five groups of lamas' (bla-ma khag nga) are said to have made their first concerted attack, surrounding the building and cutting off its water supply. (It will be remembered that attempts were made in the last chapter to identify these enemy groups with some of the Buddhist schools long since established in Bhutan.) The leader on this occasion was the Bla-ma dPal-ldan of Wang Glang-ma-lung, identified above (p. 359) as the local leader of the gNas-rnying-pa school. He was shot dead and the attack was defeated. lHa-dbang Blo-gros was brought from lCags-ri to assist in the consecration of the palace, and it

406

was about this time that the Sa-skyapa lama, mThu-stobs  
dBang-po (b. 1588), came there too.<sup>22</sup>

Two years later, in 1631, the Zhabs-drung's desire for a male heir was realised with the birth of his only child, 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje. We are not told who his mother was, but may speculate that it was a lady called Dam-chos bsTan-'dzin, the daughter of the chos-rje of lCang sGang-kha and consequently a descendant of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom's son, Nyi-ma. We know from the biography of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 13a) that after the Zhabs-drung had associated with this lady for a long period, he passed her on to his chief ally, Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin, and that the couple had three children, among them bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas himself. (The same source (f. 146b et seq.) informs us that bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas succeeded in effecting the escape from Tibetan imprisonment of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje's mother (his own mother too, if we accept this identification.) She had been detained in Tibet when 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje was only eight years old and had remained there ever since. A treaty was drawn up between the governments of Bhutan and Tibet to regularise her escape from imprisonment, also to win concessions for the Bo-dong sPrul-sku who had taken refuge in Bhutan.) Up to this point the Zhabs-drung had never taken the vows of a fully ordained monk, only those of the 'minor orders' which permitted him to follow the life of a married lama. Four years before, he had confided to Cacella that he would receive the tonsure of a full monk "as soon as he has a son who will succeed him in his Kingdom" (Relação, f. 15). True to his intention, in the following year (1632) he was ordained at lCags-ri by his old master, lHa-dbang Blo-gros, who was then aged eighty-four. He also took the vows of a bodhisattva in front of the rang-byon Karsapani. Nothing more is said in the

biographies about the son upon whom he had placed so much hope. He was in fact an invalid and quite incompetent to succeed, as shall become evident below.

In 1634<sup>23</sup> there occurred the second invasion by the gTsang sDe-srid, this time organised by bsTan-skyong dBang-po, son of the deceased Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal, at the specific invitation of the five enemy groups. It took place on a much larger scale and consisted of six columns attacking at various points on the border as far west as sPa-gro and as far east as Bum-thang. This time the gTsang forces appear to have been rather more successful for they captured the palace at Srin-mo-rdo-kha and demanded hostages. The Zhabs-drung is said to have commented to his followers: "Don't put me or Mahākāla in that line [of hostages]. Apart from that, you yourselves will know what to do." The Tibetan troops who had captured the palace are supposed to have died in an explosion of the gunpowder store, and the invasion as a whole appears to have been a fiasco. At this point the biographer introduces an account of the arrival of a party of Portuguese who presented the Zhabs-drung with a gift of guns, canons, and a telescope, and made him the offer of an army which, however, he declined (PBP, ff. 96b-97a). The passage may perhaps derive from a garbled memory of the Portuguese Jesuits who had come seven years earlier.<sup>24</sup>

The next few years were again spent on tour throughout western Bhutan, in the intervals of which the Zhabs-drung continued to reside at lCags-ri and Srin-mo-rdo-kha. While in the dGon district, the scene of his first arrival, he is supposed to have killed by magic a lama of the 'Ba-ra-ba school. In 1637 he began building the huge fortress of sPu-na-kha, known as sPung-thang bDe-chen Pho-brang rDzong.



Located at the confluence of the Pho-chu and Mo-chu rivers, it commanded the whole sweep of this rich valley in the central heartland of the country. The building was designed to accommodate six hundred monks, and the first of these were transferred there from lCags-ri. By the end of the Zhabs-drung's reign the state monks who lived there numbered more than 360, as noted above. The original target seems to have been reached about fifty years later and has remained fairly constant ever since. The fortress became the winter capital of the country, the summer capital being built at the higher altitude of Thim-phu four years later in 1641 when the old fort of rDo-rngon (or rDo-snyug) rDzong was taken over from the lHa-pa. This seasonal arrangement was determined by the pattern of transhumance which still causes some of the Wang people of Thim-phu to migrate to the warmer valley of sPu-na-kha for the winter months. No doubt most members of the monastic community at this time were themselves from the Wang.

In 1638 the Zhabs-drung built another fortress, that of dBang-'dus Pho-brang, lower down the Pho-chu Mo-chu river at the point where it is joined by the Dangs-chu. This one became the provincial capital of the Shar district and contained a provincial monastery subject to the authority of the head community at sPu-na-kha. What is not clear from the texts is the degree to which the secular responsibilities of the emergent government were physically separated from the life of the monastic communities in these first fortresses. Today in every one of them there is a clear dividing line between the monastic area and that taken up by the civil officers, and this seems to have been the rule for many centuries. To begin with, however, all secular responsibilities

were the concern of monastic officials; but for the increasing presence of lay servitors, who later became admitted to these duties on taking the vow of the 'minor orders', the fortresses appear to have been nothing but huge defensive monasteries, true strongholds of the embattled 'Brug-pa order.

In 1639 the fortresses of sPu-na-kha and dBang-'dus Pho-brang were attacked during the third invasion led by sDe-pa sGo-lung-pa, again at the invitation of the five groups of enemy lamas. On the Zhabs-drung's side this time we find a son of King Sen-ge rNam-rgyal of La-dwags, who is referred to as rGyal-po bsTan-'dzin. (The possibility of an informal alliance between the Zhabs-drung and the Ladakhi king at this time should not be ruled out, despite the very considerable distance between the two countries. Seng-ge rNam-rgyal also had to deal with a gTsang-pa invasion of his kingdom,<sup>25</sup> and the two rulers may perhaps have turned to each other for support.) The sequence of events is difficult to follow but again a complete victory is claimed for the Bhutanese side, attributed once more to the magical powers of the Zhabs-drung who at one point in the campaign had gone to lCags-ri to perform his destructive rituals. There is mention of a 'peace settlement' (gzhung-khrid). We know from the Hūm-ral gdung-rabs (f. 66a) that one of its terms provided for the handing over of hostages to the Tibetan authorities, and this certainly suggests a Tibetan rather than a Bhutanese victory. According to this source, sDe-pa dBu-mdzad, the right-hand man of the Zhabs-drung, had to arrange for all the important Bhutanese families to deliver one of their sons as hostages; 'Brug bsTan-'dzin of the Hūm-ral-pa family consequently spent twelve years in captivity

in Tibet and was only released long after the gTsang-pa rule had been defeated and replaced by that of the dGe-lugs-pa school. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Bhutanese still retained some bargaining power, and this was again assisted by the mediation of the Jo-nang rJe-btsun Tāranātha and the Sa-skya Bla-ma mThu-stobs dBang-po who persuaded the gTsang sDe-srid<sup>26</sup> to adopt a conciliatory tone. Two of the Zhabs-drung's letters written during the course of negotiation have survived.<sup>27</sup> The first is a detailed restatement of his claim to be the true incarnation of Padma dKar-po and contains a thorough review of the dispute with dPag-bsam dBang-po and his chief supporter, the Chos-rje lHa-rtse-ba. The second is more directly concerned with the provisions for a permanent settlement. It contains a long passage explaining the Zhabs-drung's refusal to take part in a trial by ordeal normally reserved for criminals: he would have had to extract a stone from a cauldron of boiling oil, and his case would have been won if he had done this without sustaining burns. The letter also contains the only truly contemporary reference to his struggles with the five local leaders of the various Bhutanese schools, those apparently of the lHa-pa, gNas-rnying-pa, lCags-zam-pa and two sub-groups, it seems of the Ka-thog-pa. Mention is made of a 'contract' (khra-ma) governing the privileges and relations of the first two of these branch-schools which had been drawn up as long ago as the time of a certain sDe-srid Kun-spangs-pa of the Sa-skya school, who seems to have held some authority in Tibet in the middle years of the 14th century at the end of the period of Sa-skya supremacy.<sup>28</sup> In both letters (which would certainly repay detailed study), the Zhabs-drung is quite uncompromising, and this must surely reflect the secure position he had won in Bhutan by this date. His only concession seems to have

been his promise to forego further acts of black magic in the event of a satisfactory conclusion to the dispute. This in fact seems to have been reached shortly after the exchange of letters. The gTsang sDe-srid is said to have made a complete capitulation and offered the 'Southern Region of Four Approaches' to the Zhabs-drung as his dominion. The dispute with dPag-bsam dBang-po also seems to have finally come to an end as a result of the efforts of the 10th Karma-pa, Chos-dbyings rDo-rje. Unfortunately, we do not yet know the actual terms agreed upon by the contending parties. There must have been some element of reciprocity and it was very likely at this time that the Zhabs-drung agreed to pay a rice tax ('bras-khral) to the gTsang authorities in return for the recognition of his position.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, we have already seen that the hostages who had earlier been delivered to the Tibetans were still retained in captivity. Under these arrangements, it is unlikely that the question of true independence for the Bhutanese would have arisen, despite the fact that the Zhabs-drung was by now more or less the de facto ruler of western Bhutan and accepted as such by the Tibetan authorities. His rival dPag-bsam dBang-po died in 1641 just a year or two after the settlement and his incarnation, Mi-pham dBang-po (1641-1717), eventually became established as the rGyal-dbang 'Brug-chen, the head of what came to be a northern branch of the 'Brug-pa (the Byang-'brug), while that of the Zhabs-drung continued as the southern branch (the lHo-'brug). The temporary nature of the settlement with the gTsang authorities was more immediately underlined, however, by the decisive defeat of the latter by the Mongols in 1642. This brought in the rule of the great 5th Dalai Lama, and until 1951 the government of Tibet has always been associated

with his school of the dGe-lugs-pa. Under the new regime, the struggle with the emergent country of Bhutan took on a new intensity.

The first dGe-lugs-pa invasion in 1644 was an unqualified disaster for the seven hundred Mongol soldiers who took part in it, according to the 5th Dalai Lama's biography.<sup>30</sup> The campaign may have occurred as a reaction to Bhutanese support given to the unsuccessful revolt of the sGar-pa, a family that led the opposition of the older schools against the joint forces of the Mongols and the dGe-lugs-pa.<sup>31</sup> The army attacked Bhutan from the region of lHo-brag where it had been contending with the sGar-pa. At least one detachment came down to Bum-thang, an area which only came into the hands of the 'Brug-pa a decade later. There too they were defeated, and in the west of the country (where the unidentified Ka-wang rDzong was briefly taken) the Tibetan officers Nang-so dNgos-grub, 'Brong-rtse-nas and 'Dus-'byung-nas were all captured and imprisoned. Most of the common soldiers were permitted to return to Tibet. Shakabpa (1967:112) claims that the Bhutanese victory "... shattered the myth of an invincible Mongol army and, in the future, Mongols were unwilling to fight in the humid southern regions." Unwilling or not, they certainly did attack again, as we shall see.

Two years later, in 1646, the Sa-skya and Pan-chen lamas appear to have mediated a peace settlement which provided for the return of the Tibetan officers captured during the invasion, and the restoration of the rice tribute that had formerly been paid to the gTsang-pa authorities.<sup>32</sup> According to the biography of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 31a-b, repeated in a rather garbled form in LCB I, f. 41a-b), the Tibetan commanders had to make a public display of submission

to the Zhabs-drung, enthroned in full state at sPu-na-kha. They were compelled to deliver to him in person their captured weapons and armour which were placed in the temple dedicated to the guardian deities at sPu-na-kha. On their return to Tibet, a lampoon went the rounds, punning on the names of one of the disgraced commanders and of the officer who had been sent to the border to enquire into the defeat, sDe-pa Nor-bu:

The lama resides in the South.  
Offerings have been made to the South.  
The 'Brug-pa have gathered the bounties  
(dNgos-gryb).  
The jewel (Nor-bu) had to take heed.<sup>33</sup>

In the period between the first and second dGe-lugs-pa invasions the Zhabs-drung occupied himself with the consolidation of his power in western Bhutan, which in 1644 had been mainly based in the two valleys of Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha (the latter extending southwards into the Shar district). In 1645 he went to sPa-gro again, this time in the company of the important rNying-ma-pa teacher, Rig-'dzin sNying-po (descendant of Sangs-rgyas Gling-pa, 1340-96) who had come to Bhutan from his home in Kong-po. The whole valley came into his hands when he received the offer of the old Hūm-ral rDzong from the head of the Hūm-ral-pa family, 'Brug bSam-gtan. In return, the Zhabs-drung promised the family a reduction in their obligations to provide hostages (bu-gte), pay taxes (khral), and take part in government corvée ('ul). He also gave out orders to the other rdzongs in the valleys to the east to the effect that if members of the family ever went there, they were to be accorded special privileges (bdag-rkyen mthong-srol).<sup>34</sup> In fact the family seems to have gone into quick decline but a generation later they managed to have these rights renewed by the sPa-gro dPon-slob.<sup>35</sup>

Their old fort, under the new name of Rin-spungs rDzong, has, ever since 1645, been the provincial capital of sPa-gro. The many districts to the south and west which were subject to it were ruled by the dPon-slob. The family of the gZar-chen Chos-rje, like that of the Hūm-ral-pa, also received concessions from the Zhabs-drung.<sup>36</sup> It was the obvious way to win the political support of the old religious nobility, or rather those sections of it which were not actively hostile. The visit to sPa-gro also saw the Zhabs-drung's appropriation of the valley's most sacred shrine at sTag-tshang, hitherto in the hands of the Ka-thog-pa.

This period also witnessed the take over of the important district contiguous to the Tibetan border, due north of the western valleys. The soldiers for this brief campaign were conscripted from the Wang people of sPu-na-kha and Thim-phu, the first who had fallen to the Zhabs-drung's rule. They were divided into groups according to their villages, known collectively as the 'Eight Great Hosts of the Wang'.<sup>37</sup> They came to form something of an elite group in the country, having the status of 'chief patrons' (sbyin-bdag-gi gtso-bo),<sup>38</sup> and it was their militia force which formed the core of the army that later took over the whole territory of eastern Bhutan in the middle years of the 1650's.<sup>39</sup> Their first exploit on this occasion was the defence of the mGar-sa district, where the fortress of bKra-shis mThong-smon rDzong was built. In Gling-bzhi, another smaller fort (g.Yul-rgyal rDzong) which lacked a monastic community was built at a strategic point on the border. It is today the only one of the Zhabs-drung's fortresses to have gone to ruin. These years also saw the deployment of the Wang militia southwards towards the Dar-dkar-nang area which adjoins the Indian

border. The fortress there, seat of the Dar-dkar dPon-slob, was built rather later when the gNyer-pa 'Brug rNam-rgyal went with a second force in about 1650. Thus apart from this one and those built later in the east of the country, all the fortresses constructed by the Zhabs-drung during his lifetime were completed by 1649, the date of the second Mongol-Tibetan invasion.<sup>40</sup>

This time the enemy forces concentrated on the area of western Bhutan where the Zhabs-drung was best equipped to counter them. Even though it was planned on a larger scale than the previous one, the invasion was again a fiasco for the Tibetans and Mongolians, despite temporary successes. The army of the dBus province of Tibet forced its way as far south as sPu-na-kha, and that of the gTsang province captured Srin-mo-rdo-kha in Thim-phu. Another detachment, perhaps the Mongols, surrounded the rdzong in sPa-gro. The Bhutanese retaliation was a complete success, partly due, it seems, to the inefficiency of the Tibetan commander in sPa-gro, sDe-pa Nor-bu; he appears to have been the nephew of the Tibetan 'regent' bSod-nams Chos-'phel and the same Nor-bu, it seems who had been sent to investigate the previous defeat.<sup>41</sup> On fleeing from sPa-gro he and his troops had to abandon all their tents and weapons which were taken with great glee by the Bhutanese. Nor-bu himself had to suffer the embarrassment of a common tent in place of the great central camp he had previously pitched at Phag-ri when beginning the campaign. After this defeat, the invading troops who were installed in Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha also beat a retreat, and their commanders too had to suffer great shame on their return to Tibet.<sup>42</sup> When the Zhabs-drung was asked if there would be any further invasions, he replied with what was thought to be



a prophetic joke: "If they are imprudent they will come again, but they will not be able to do us any harm. If they should come once more, although we now have sufficient weapons, we still require tea, clothing and silk."<sup>43</sup>

It was at this point that the Zhabs-drung introduced at sPu-na-kha the extended ritual dedicated to the multiple forms of Mahākāla which came to form the basis for the official New Year Festival in Bhutan. By appropriating some of the features of the ancient Agricultural New Year, the festival took on a strong local aspect, one which was designed to celebrate the victorious ascendancy of the 'Brug-pa.<sup>44</sup>

With evident feelings of remorse, the Zhabs-drung also began at this time the construction of a large stūpa at sPu-na-kha for the sake of all those who had died on both sides during the fighting. It is said to have occupied him to such an extent that he delegated to his chamberlain and his precentor the responsibility for supervising all matters external and internal to his court. As long ago as 1627 Cacella had commented on the official who was "the whole government of the King".<sup>45</sup> There is no difficulty in recognising him as the precentor bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas who now, two years before the date commonly accepted for the death of the Zhabs-drung, took over the fullest responsibility for external matters. The chamberlain, Drung Dam-chos rGyal-mtshan, had control of the internal affairs of the court.

Having divested himself of secular duties, the Zhabs-drung seems to have spent his last years regulating the life of the state communities he had founded in his principal fortresses. In Thim-phu and sPu-na-kha he introduced the whole curriculum of monastic rituals which have continued to be performed with regularity ever since. The formal

constitution of these monasteries does not seem to have suffered at all during the recurrent sieges. In fact the dGe-lugs-pa opposition to some of the older schools in Tibet had the paradoxical effect of encouraging some of their best qualified teachers to take refuge in Bhutan where a few of them took posts in the state monasteries of the Zhabs-drung. His biographer, the gTsang mKhan-chen, arrived soon after the dGe-lugs-pa triumph of 1642 when his monastery was being besieged by Mongol troops.<sup>46</sup> The Zhabs-drung received him at sPu-na-kha with great delight and tried to persuade him to take charge of a new college for philosophical logic attached to the main community. The study of logic was to be based on the teachings of Padma dKar-po, but the abbot declined and instead pursued a private life of teaching and meditation which brought him into contact with many Bhutanese disciples who had important roles to play in the future. In place of the abbot, the Zhabs-drung managed to obtain the services of a certain Khu-khu Slob-dpon from gSer-mdog-can in Tibet to organise the college of logic. He was later assisted by a dGe-bshes Kun-dga' Nor-bzang from 'Bras-yul sKyed-tshal. Thus the mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang ('college of logic') which continues today to form part of the principal state monastery of Bhutan had its origins during the tumultuous period of the state's founding. The author of LCB I insists that the chief and most abiding concern of the Zhabs-drung throughout the thirty-five years which he spent in Bhutan was to "uphold, guard and diffuse the community of the sangha, which is the root of the Teachings."<sup>47</sup> His other achievements in building fortresses, defeating the invaders, organising the internal administration and so on, are presented as quite subordinate to this principal aim, as means to its realisation, not ends in themselves.

The final result, however, was that "... by introducing laws where there had been no Southern laws and by fixing handles on pots where there had been no handles, he committed many actions which established beings on the good path to beneficial happiness."<sup>48</sup> The reference to pot-handles is of course a figurative expression alluding to the material benefits of civilization.

The recognition of the Zhabs-drung's state by his contemporaries at home and abroad is affirmed in the biographical literature by virtue of the goodwill missions and 'tribute' embassies he received towards the end of his life. The details are vague, but two more embassies sent by Rāja Padmanarayan are mentioned, also others from Nepal, western and eastern Tibet, and from the Sa-skya-pa and other important lamas of central Tibet. None were ever received from the power that really mattered, the dGe-lugs-pa government of the 5th Dalai Lama and his Mongol overlords; the struggle between the Tibetan authorities and the new state of Bhutan was to continue for a long time. Within the country, however, the Zhabs-drung was fully accepted as ruler wherever he had built his giant fortresses, and there are some indications that his power was already beginning to extend towards the eastern region where he had not attempted to impose direct control. In the main biography (PBP, f. 113b) there is a list of the tribute missions received in the course of a single year and they seem to have become a regular institution: the missions from eastern Bhutan (Kha-ling, Me-rag Sag-stengs, gDung-bsam, and the Indian borderland as far as rTsa-mchog-grong, i.e. Hajo) arrived in the first month of the lunar calendar; those from sPa-gro, Cooch Bihar and Phag-ri came in the eighth month; those from central Bhutan (A-sdang, Rus-kha, rTse-rag-

420

dum-bu, Dar-dkar, and the adjoining Indian lands of Bye-ma and of the Chu-bar Rā-dza) came in the tenth month; so also did those from the pastoral regions ('brog-yul) of the north (Gling-bzhi, Phi-yags-la, Lung-nag and dGon). Several of these regions fell outside the natural boundaries of Bhutan and later became a bone of contention between the governments of Bhutan and those of Tibet and India. All those areas situated within the natural frontiers were tied to the central government somewhat loosely through the regional capitals located in the district fortresses. These enjoyed a varying degree of autonomy depending on the strength of their governors and the weakness of the central government. The tribute missions from the districts continued in altered form; whereas at the beginning they seem to have been the spontaneous expression of loyalty on the part of individual communities who sent off their chosen representatives to the capital according to seasonal convenience, later they became formalised into an annual obligation: the regional governor would have to bear the tribute of his area to the capital on the occasion of the New Year festival at sPu-na-kha. The 'tribute' was composed of the tax revenue of his district, levied either in cash or in kind. Thus many of the institutions of the new state had their informal origins during the time of the founder himself, but became regulated in perpetuity somewhat later.

It is as a nation-builder that the great Zhabs-drung will be longest remembered but he and his contemporaries were probably unaware of the long-term implications of his achievements. They witnessed the creation of a strongly-defended ecclesiastical estate which drew its energy and vigour as much from the measures taken to protect it from

internal opposition and external attack as from the undoubted fact that the natural zeal of the Bhutanese for independence was released and co-ordinated during this period. It is not at all clear how much of the responsibility for the suppression of the old schools which had hitherto wielded secular authority in western Bhutan can be attributed to the Zhabs-drung. Their opposition must have been of a peculiar intensity for him to have abandoned that tolerant position which Cacella had noted with such emphasis in 1627, some years before the main valleys fell to the Zhabs-drung's rule. }

Although some of the old loyalties must have survived for a generation or two in circumstances of great difficulty, the concerted power of the enemy lamas and their schools was definitely broken during the lifetime of the Zhabs-drung. Their military defeat seems to have occurred at the same time as that of the supporting invasions sent down by the gTsang sDe-srid in 1632 and 1639, that is before the arrival of the dGe-lugs-pa and Mongol invasions of 1644 and 1649. When these latter arrived, we may assume that the absence of local support was therefore one factor in their defeat. Another was certainly the unfamiliar nature of the country and its climate. Some qualities must also be attributable to the Bhutanese commanders, but nothing is known of how the Zhabs-drung assumed the role of commander-in-chief or indeed if he did so at all. In view of his clear preference for delegation, it does appear likely that on these occasions he handed over the actual command to one of his officers, probably the precentor. Nevertheless, all the Bhutanese sources insist that the defeat of the six Tibetan invasions<sup>49</sup> which took place during his lifetime were made possible by him alone, more particularly by his magical control of the

guardian deities of the 'Brug-pa. That the Zhabs-drung did indulge in rites of black magic is beyond question for it has been seen that they were specifically alluded to in the peace negotiations with the gTsang sDe-srid. It is difficult for the historian to assess their significance, beyond pointing out that they would at the least have formed a vital psychological factor on both sides. For the Bhutanese the memory of them has cast the Zhabs-drung in the role of a militant saint of heroic stature, their first king and unifier. It will come as a surprise to some that Buddhism should countenance such a thing as a 'militant saint', a contradiction in terms if we accept the fundamental tenets of that faith to be what we are constantly told they are. The full explanation of this conundrum would take one into the history and nature of tantric developments in Tibet, but suffice it to say here that the issue is not openly accepted as a conundrum in the traditional society. For this reason, there exist two iconographic forms depicting the figure of the Zhabs-drung: the first and best known shows him in the full regalia of a 'Brug-pa monk, in the earth-touching posture of the Buddha, complete with the long beard of which he was so proud and which Cacella tells us he usually kept wrapped up except on important occasions;<sup>50</sup> the second, rarer, form shows him in the wrathful 'Black Hat' apparel of lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje, the 9th century assassin of the anti-Buddhist king Glang Dar-ma. In a sense, both figures seem to have truly co-existed in the one historical person, but the tensions they set up between them have become totally blurred in the surviving literature where a very low premium has been placed on anything as ephemeral as human personality. The tensions undoubtedly did exist, not just in the mind and character of

the Zhabs-drung but also in the life of the state he created. Some of these will become apparent in the remaining sections to this chapter.

On the 10th day of the 3rd month of lCags-mo-yos (1651) the Zhabs-drung entered upon his final retreat in his apartments at sPu-na-kha rDzong. He was aged fifty-eight by Tibetan reckoning. According to his biographer, he had chosen to enter this period of meditation for the sake of the doctrine in general, and in particular to counter the threat of further invasions.<sup>51</sup> According to LCB I (f. 49b), the retreat was occasioned by a vision he had received of Mahākāla and Padmasambhava. That is the last we hear of him in the standard biography, but in LCB I (f. 50a) there is mention of a detailed will in which all the 'external' responsibilities of the state were once again entrusted to the precentor bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas, who thereafter ruled for five years as the 1st 'Brug sDe-srid (the 'Deb Rāja' of the British). All matters pertaining to the Zhabs-drung whilst in retreat were in the hands of his chamberlain Drung Dam-chos rGyal-mtshan who, like the precentor, had been associated with the Zhabs-drung from long before he came south to Bhutan. Like his master, he too was a Tibetan.<sup>52</sup> The same source (LCB I, f. 50a-b) provides a list of the important officers appointed by the Zhabs-drung. It is not clear if their names were mentioned in the will or if they had already been commissioned by the time the retreat started. They included the three rdzong-dpon of sPu-na-kha, dBang-'dus Pho-brang and Thim-phu; the three dpon-slob (or spyi-bla) of Krong-sar, Dar-dkar and sPa-gro; the gZhung mGron-gnyer, whose functions are never clear, but who clearly held important ministerial duties, perhaps akin to those of the Tibetan mGron-gnyer Chen-po; and the Head Abbot of the

state monasteries, the rJe mKhan-po Pad-dkar 'Byung-gnas. The last we hear of the Zhabs-drung in this source (f. 51b) concerns the next invasion of the country by Tibet in 1657, some five years after he had entered into retreat and when it was still continuing. The passage is not found in the standard biography and is partly based on the biography of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 64b). Neither the standard biography nor any of the synoptic versions based upon it contain any information on the death of the Zhabs-drung. This looks highly suspicious in the life of a Buddhist teacher, where one would normally expect to find a long section devoted to the death and funeral of the subject. The solution to this problem provides the key to the later history of Bhutan insofar as it centres around the questions of succession and stability.

## 2. The secret of the 'retreat'

The death of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal was apparently kept a state secret for more than half a century. The present purpose is to explore this extraordinary question by close reference to the surviving literature and by drawing attention to some of the many parallels which can be found during the same period in Bhutan and Tibet. The aim in Section 3 below is to study briefly the reasons for the secret and its implications with regard to the problem of succession and the nature of rule during the half century following the Zhabs-drung's demise. It will soon become clear that the whole issue is very complex and that only a preliminary appraisal is offered here.

The reason why the main biography ends with the Zhabs-drung entering into retreat is quite simple: the retreat was supposed to be still continuing when it was written some time



between 1674 and 1684.<sup>53</sup> The authors who used it to produce their synoptic versions wrote their accounts after the secret had been revealed but preserved silence on the subject partly, it seems, for fear of departing from what had become the accepted model. Elsewhere in their writings they briefly allude to the whole matter. Thus Shākya Rin-chen (9th Head Abbot, regn. 1744-55) wrote in his biography (1757) of the first incarnation of the Zhabs-drung, Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal (1708-36): "By force of certain needs, after he [the Zhabs-drung] had demonstrated the manner of passing beyond sorrow, it was sealed up as if he were in retreat and kept extremely secret."<sup>54</sup> But this comes more than a century after the alleged death and so the value of its testimony could be in doubt. We shall come back to Shākya Rin-chen later: in his biography of the 7th Head Abbot Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las (regn. 1730-38) where he alludes to the 'retreat' again and to the first unsuccessful attempt to secure an incarnation during the reign of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas as 4th 'Brug sDe-srid (1656-67) while the secret was still being maintained. bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, the author of the other synoptic account of the Zhabs-drung's life, introduced the idea of the secret elsewhere in his work (LCB I, ff. 62b, 66b-67a) at almost exactly the same time as Shākya Rin-chen (whom he succeeded as Head Abbot), that is to say in the years 1757-59.<sup>55</sup> He does not discuss the actual death of the Zhabs-drung but he tells us who the person was who let out the secret of his 'retreat': Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (1689-1713), the first of a line of five incarnations of the Zhabs-drung's son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje (1631-?1681). We are told that: "Although the secret of the Zhabs-drung Ma-chen's retreat had not been disclosed and there was great benefit in it [the corpse]

remaining just as it was, this lord Ḳun-dga' rGyal-mtshan let out the secret. It is even said that the guardian deities were displeased because of this, and obstacles to his life therefore arose."<sup>56</sup> In a later passage (LCB I, ff. 66b-67a) the author explains what happened when the corpse was disturbed: the consciousness of the dead Zhabs-drung arose from samadhi, three rays issued from his body, speech and mind, and these departed for different places in Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet where the first incarnations of the Zhabs-drung were later born. Leaving aside for the moment the cause and rationale for this 'theological' explanation which became the accepted orthodoxy (see Section 3 below) it is fortunate that the brief reference to the secret's disclosure in LCB I leads us to another source where we find the person who is said to have been responsible for its disclosure, i.e. Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, actually telling us how it happened. We cannot date the event with exact precision, but from internal evidence it clearly happened during the middle of the reign of the 7th 'Brug sDe-srid, dBon dPal-'byor (1704-7). It comes in the biography of the 4th Head Abbot, Dam-chos Pad-dkar (regn. 1697-1707) which Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan began shortly before the death of the abbot, his chief teacher.<sup>57</sup> The setting is sPu-na-kha rDzong where he and the abbot have come to spend the winter together with the state monks: "There, from the force of certain circumstances it became necessary to disclose the secret concerning the retreat of the Glorious Ngag-gi dBang-po Ḳun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, and so on that day the Precious Lord Dam-chos Pad-dkar, the abbot also came to see the corpse."<sup>58</sup> The old abbot was greatly affected by the experience, it is said, and made offerings and supplications to the corpse. Here, then, is a direct

eye-witness account of the event, recorded just a few years after it took place. Fifty years or so later, as we have seen in the account of bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, the tragic death of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan in 1713 was attributed to his disclosure of the secret. More important, however, is the fact that it was only after the pretended retreat had been brought to an end that the first official incarnation of the Zhabs-drung was recognised: Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal, born in 1708 just three years or so after the secret was out. But why had it been kept for more than half a century, how had it been kept and by whom ?

The reason for prolonging artificially the power of a dead ruler is abundantly clear. No matter how masterful and energetic a character he might be, a ruler is always dependent on his officers. Much of the daily business of government lies in their hands, but the legitimacy and strength of their authority depend entirely on that of the ruler. In the event of his death, unless the succession is secure and favours the continued authority of his officers, their position is in real danger. There is quite enough evidence to show that in Tibet there existed a known device for concealing the death of a ruler or important lama in such circumstances of latent or impending conflict. The Zhabs-drung himself claimed in a letter to the Tibetan ruler (given in PBP, f. 101a) that Padma dKar-po's death in 1592 had been concealed from the authorities of the 'Brug-pa school at Ra-lung; this had allowed Chos-rje lHa-rtse-ba time to find his own candidate for the incarnation. A tradition that the gTsang sDe-srid's death was kept secret for three years has already been noted above. Although not yet properly verified, it is accepted by Shakabpa (1977:405).

A similar tradition concerning the death of King Phyag-rdor rNam-rgyal of Sikkim (d. 1716) is found in an official Sikkimese history (now in the India Office Library, M/2/199).

The best known and most carefully documented example, however, is provided by the case of the 5th Dalai Lama. His death was concealed by his regent, the sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho (1653-1705), for a period of fifteen years from 1682 to 1697. At the end of this period, during which the Dalai Lama is said to have been in retreat, the regent officially informed the K'ang-hsi emperor of the secret and of the fact that the 6th Dalai Lama, Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho (the 'descendant' of our Padma Gling-pa), had long since been recognised.<sup>60</sup> The period of concealment coincided with the very much longer one of the Zhabs-drung, and so we are faced with the odd situation that during these years the Tibetan and Bhutanese states were both ruled by corpses, in a manner of speaking.

Some of the Bhutanese parallels indicate that the solution could be adopted not only as a temporising measure pending the recognition of a new incarnation, but also for the more immediate aim of forestalling the problems attendant on the death of an important lama, one who would not be expected to incarnate. The problems here very likely centred around the funeral arrangements, the division of his property and such like. This seems to have been the case with the Zhabs-drung's chamberlain, Drung Dam-chos rGyal-mtshan, who died in forced retirement (or perhaps semi-imprisonment) at dBang-'dus Pho-brang. All we are told is that his death was concealed for three months.<sup>61</sup> (We have to come back to this later.) The same is true of Dam-chos Pad-dkar, the old abbot who witnessed the disclosure of the Zhabs-drung's secret, as

noted above. His own death at lCags-ri in 1708 was concealed for six months. This is confirmed in two independent sources, both of them attributing the need to vague "temporal circumstances".<sup>62</sup> In all these cases there is a uniform conspiracy of silence on the exact cause.

The remaining six cases, not counting that of the Zhabs-drung himself, concern Bhutanese dignitaries whose deaths occurred in the period c. 1681 to 1738 and whose incarnations were subsequently recognised. They are: 1) 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje, son of the Zhabs-drung, d. ? 1681;<sup>63</sup> 2) bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas, 4th 'Brug sDe-srid, d. 1696 (it seems his death was wrongly believed to have been concealed);<sup>64</sup> 3) bsTan-'dzin Legs-grub, 2nd sGang-steng sPrul-dku, d. 1726;<sup>65</sup> 4) 'Jigs-med Nor-bu, 2nd rGyal-sras sPrul-sku, d. 1735;<sup>66</sup> 5) Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal, 1st Zhabs-drung gSung-sprul, d. 1736;<sup>67</sup> 6) Mi-pham dBang-po, 1st Khri-sprul, d. 1738.<sup>68</sup> In each of these cases the concealment of death is described in unmistakable terms but no explanations are offered. It can be noted in passing that bsTan-'dzin Legs-grub was the only one who was not of the 'Brug-pa school. All the others were official figures of the ruling regime. None of the sources permit us to see with certainty whether the incarnations of these persons were recognised during the periods when their deaths were being concealed. Nevertheless, it is clear that we are confronted here with a well-established practice, a sort of state ritual, but one which is surrounded by a strong air of the unmentionable.

Before turning back to the main case of the Zhabs-drung, supported now by all these parallel examples, it would be as well to recall briefly what normally happens to the body of a lama after death. By tradition all lamas are encouraged by their attendants to die in the upright, cross-legged posture

of meditation, and to prepare themselves for the great event in a peaceful manner. While still in possession of their faculties they are requested to make a last will, which is sometimes recorded in writing. After 'physical' death has occurred, the 'consciousness' (rnam-she) of the lama is believed to be still associated with the body up to the point when it topples over to one side. The lama is said to be in meditation (thugs-dam) during this interim between his physical death and the release of his consciousness. During the 'meditation' the lama is treated exactly as if he were alive; food is offered, visitors are received and he is addressed in person. The only difference is that the body must not be touched in any way because that would interrupt the 'meditation', and the consciousness of the lama would then depart in an untimely manner. The greatest saints are said to have continued in this state, their bodies gradually shrinking, until they depart in a blaze of light leaving nothing behind but their hair and nails. This is called 'the great transference by the rainbow body' ('ja'-lus 'pho-ba chen-po). In the case of other lamas, their spiritual accomplishments are thought to be reflected in the duration of their 'meditation'; the longer this is, the better they are regarded. Only when the 'meditation' is properly ended do the complicated funeral arrangements begin. For this reason the Zhabs-drung was thought to have continued in 'meditation' from the time of his death right until the time when the sealed door to his chamber was opened and his body disturbed by Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan in about 1705. It was this which justified the recognition of a child born in 1708 as his incarnation. Those responsible for the recognition might have reflected that whether the Zhabs-drung had actually

been in 'retreat' (sku-mtshams) or in 'meditation' (thugs-dam) for part or all of the preceding half century was immaterial, a mere technicality: in both cases, he would have been sunk in samadhi (ting-nge-'dzin, 'absorption', lit. 'holding to the depths'), working for the benefit of sentient beings, his few requirements (if alive) cared for through the trap-door arrangement (bug-sgo) used by those in retreat.

The only unequivocal statement on the death of the Zhabs-drung comes in the same work which recounts the disclosure of its secret. We read on f. 10a-b of the rnam-thar of Dam-chos Pad-dkar that the Zhabs-drung died because of 'bad food' (gsol-ngan) and that "... this great being departed to the realm that is free from affliction on the 10th day of the middle month of spring in the Year of the Hare /1651/. On that occasion the precious lama himself declared in his will: 'Out of great need, be sure to keep it secret for twelve years.' Accordingly, apart from the sDe-pa dBu-mdzad Chen-po /bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas/ himself and a few who had attended on his person, by strict command it was kept secret so that nobody else might know. Thereupon, all the monks, old and young, became suspicious at the appearance of all sorts of omens and apparitions. In particular, when a long time had gone by without the young lord /Dam-chos Pad-dkar/ having been able to see his lama, he stayed in perpetual hope, wondering: 'When will the time come that the precious lama's retreat ends and I shall be able to see his countenance.' " <sup>69</sup> The following points can be noted on the nature of the evidence contained in this passage. Firstly, the account of the death and will of the Zhabs-drung is at best second-hand, but the date tallies with that of the start

of the so-called 'retreat' described in the standard biography and the versions deriving from it. Secondly, the reactions of the state monks and of Dam-chos Pad-dkar are almost certainly described from his recollections as told to the author of his biography. Thirdly, there is a discrepancy between the tradition recorded here, that the secret was to be kept for only twelve years, and the apparent reality: as we have seen, it appears to have been maintained for about half a century. We know from two other sources, however, that in 1662 (twelve years after 1651 by local reckoning) a large stūpa was built in memory of the Zhabs-drung. In that year a workshop was established at sPu-na-kha for the silver-work needed for "the stūpa of the sugata" (bde-gshegs mchod-rten, PBP, f. 148b). The same construction is mentioned in the biography of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 59b) as "a funerary memorial for the most excellent lama" (bla-ma mchog-gi dgongs-rdzogs). The lama in question can only be the Zhabs-drung himself, but how could it have been made when he was supposed to be still in 'retreat' ? The former work (PBP) was written while the 'retreat' was still continuing and so it does not refer to the real motive for building it. The rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas was written in 1720 after the secret had been released and consequently it could refer to the real motive for its construction. The author knew what this was because he was the intimate disciple of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas who was, as we shall see, one of those guarding the secret. Whether or not there existed some kind of a link between the 'will' and the stūpa there seems every reason to believe that its construction was secretly intended to serve the purpose of commemoration.

The stūpa was not the 'tomb' of the Zhabs-drung as



surmised by Petech (1972a:208) because the body is even today housed in sPu-na-kha rDzong, attended by its own chamberlain. This official is known as the Ma-chen gZims-dpon and is the successor to those who served the Zhabs-drung during his life and 'retreat'. The chamberlain receives his appointment from the Head Abbot and is the only person who has direct contact with the corpse in the Zhabs-drung's locked apartment on the second floor of the central tier of temples (dbu-rtse). As noted in the last chapter, the corpse was removed to safety during each of the great fires of sPu-na-kha. In the early years of this century, the Phyogs-las sPrul-sku Ye-shes dNgos-grub (1851-1917, Head Abbot regn. 1915-17) is said to have died as a result of disturbing it.<sup>70</sup>

It should have become evident by this point that to make any sense of the whole business we have to rely on literary detection; the records as they stand can be made to produce a picture of the subject only insofar as they interlock to allow plausible insights. The most immediate question still seems to be: Was the Zhabs-drung truly believed to be still in retreat for the whole of the half century after his apparent death? Unfortunately, with two important exceptions the evidence on this all comes in sources written after the disclosure of the secret. It is best summarised by point in chronological order as follows:

- 1) There is a reference in the autobiography of the gTsang mKhan-chen (f. 447a) to an occasion during the second of his undated Indian visits when he received news from some Bhutanese in the area that the Zhabs-drung had entered samadhi on the command of the guardian deities. Nothing more than this is said, and the autobiography was interrupted on the next folio by his own death. The remainder (ff. 448b-458a) was completed

by a disciple called Ha-ya. It seems most likely that the passage relates to the events of 1651. (It is also possible that the gTsang mKhan-chen wrote his biography of the Zhabs-drung in the true belief that he was still alive; there are some cases of biographies being written during the lifetime of their subjects, though this is on the whole rather rare.)

2. The best account of the official doctrine on the 'retreat' is found in the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 49b et seq.) which was written after the disclosure but its subject matter all falls within the period of concealment. The evidence of LCB I (ff. 49b-50a) is entirely based upon it. We read that the Zhabs-drung entered his retreat on the 10th of the 3rd month, 1651, having commanded the precentor, dBu-mdzad bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas, to give individual orders to all the officials and monks in his court since he was too ill (kham-s-kyis mi-lcogs-pa to do so himself). He is said to have given detailed orders only to the precentor. The young bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (aged fourteen) is said to have felt such unbearable longing to be in contact with the Zhabs-drung again after the retreat had started that he was driven to the rather circuitous and desperate measure of investigating the contents of the private cess-pit beneath the Zhabs-drung's chamber. Evidently it was still in use. Three months after the start of the retreat, the precentor summoned a grand council of state to convey to it the order of the Zhabs-drung, namely that he was on no account to be disturbed by anyone and that he alone would decide when the retreat was to end.

3. The third large-scale dGe-lugs-pa invasion of Bhutan took place in 1657 when, according to LCB I (f. 51b) the Zhabs-drung had already been in retreat for five years.

(However, it should have been reckoned at six years or perhaps seven by local reckoning if it is accepted that it began in 1651.)

4. In 1661 the forces of Mir Jumla, the Nawab of Bengal, invaded Cooch Bihar and the Rāja escaped to Bhutan. The history of the campaign was recorded a year later in the authoritative Fathiya i Ibriya, partly translated in Blochmann 1872.<sup>71</sup> We read there that the invaders captured a Bhutanese and learnt from him about the 'Dharmrāja' of Bhutan, an ascetic over a hundred and twenty years old. In return for his life the prisoner was despatched to the Dharmrāja with a letter asking him to seize and return Bhim Narayan, the Rāja of Cooch Bihar. In his reply "... the Dharmrāja excused himself by saying that he had not called Bhim Narayan; but as he had come unasked, he could not well drive away a guest." The Nawab decided not to waste time with this "impertinence" and went off elsewhere to do battle.

5. On the death of the 2nd 'Brug sDe-srid in 1667, Mi-'gyur brTan-pa was alleged to have been appointed his successor by the Zhabs-drung (referred to as the Gong-sa); the order was conveyed on the narrow wooden board (samta) used for this purpose by those in retreat. In the passage dealing with this event in the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (ff. 68b-69a, repeated in LCB I, f. 94b), we learn that Mi-'gyur brTan-pa believed that the two incumbents to the office of sde-srid previous to him had faced much difficulty because of their inability to consult with the "Zhabs-drung father and son"; he therefore insisted that he should have personal access to them. Nothing more is said, but he fell out with the chamberlain Drung Dam-chos rGyal-mtshan who

would have been responsible for conveying the order of appointment. We know from the same source (f. 76a-b) that it was the chamberlain who held "all responsibility for religious duties during the retreat of the precious Zhabs-drung after the sDe-srid dBu-mdzad Chen-mo /bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas/ had died [in 1656]." Previous to this, the arrangement had been for the precentor to oversee 'external matters' and the chamberlain to have charge of 'internal matters'.<sup>72</sup>

6. In 1672 the 1st Head Abbot died and his successor, bSod-nams 'Od-zer, was alleged to have been appointed by the Gong-sa Chen-mo (i.e. the Zhabs-drung) on the recommendation of the sDe-srid Mi-'gyur brTan-pa and bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (see f. 83b of the latter's rnam-thar). This is confirmed in the biography of the abbot himself who is said to have received gifts in the name of the Zhabs-drung during his installation ceremonies.<sup>73</sup>

7. Shortly after this, Dam-chos Pad-dkar (1639-1708) hurried back from Nepal where he had been travelling as far as the Kingdom of Jumla in the west. He had heard a false rumour that the Zhabs-drung's 'retreat' had at last ended.<sup>74</sup> It is clear that on his return he discovered it to be still continuing, and it may be recalled that it was Dam-chos Pad-dkar himself who witnessed the official disclosure of the secret later in c. 1705.

8. An important event in the reign of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas as 4th 'Brug sDe-srid (1680-95), but one which is difficult to date, was his successful release from Tibetan imprisonment of the Zhabs-drung's consort, mother of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje who had died in about 1681.<sup>75</sup> The lady was treated with

great respect by the authorities in sPu-na-kha, and at the closed entrance to the chamber where her husband and son were both said to be in retreat, she made prostrations and received gifts in their name.<sup>76</sup> The son's corpse is said to have been mummified and kept alongside that of the Zhabs-drung; the custom of appointing its chamberlain and butler-in-chief also continues until today.<sup>77</sup>

9. Just before his death in 1689 the Head Abbot bSod-nams 'Od-zer decided to make a present to the Zhabs-drung of a fine piece of cloth which he had intended to offer at the end of the retreat. He went to the closed entrance (sgo-'gag) of the Zhabs-drung's chamber to make the offering (presumably through the chamberlain). From outside, the abbot addressed a prayer in which he made a supplication to be reborn in the Zhabs-drung's service.<sup>78</sup>

10. gSol-dpon Sa-ga, the butler-in-chief to the Zhabs-drung, is mentioned by name in a passage relating to the events of c.1700, during the reign of dGe-'dun Chos-'phel as 5th 'Brug sDe-srid (1695-1701).<sup>79</sup>

11. In c.1705 the secret was finally disclosed and the first incarnation of the Zhabs-drung was born in 1708, as was noted above.

All this tends to confirm the fact that the Zhabs-drung was thought to have been alive in the period 1651-c.1705, that orders of appointment were issued in his name, that his officers and monks were looking forward to the end of his 'retreat', and that there was an established procedure for presenting him with gifts. The butler-in-chief, moreover, would have been serving him food, or rather would have been pretending to do so, through the hatch in the locked door to

his apartment. On occasions of crisis, his commands could be fabricated on the <sup>writing</sup>board used by those in retreat.

Formal letters could be written in his name too, as we saw in the case of the Nawab of Bengal. These glimpses, however, are of the most meagre kind and very few at that, but together they appear to add up to a picture that stretches ones credibility to the utmost. There must in fact have been an extraordinary suspension of disbelief in the minds of all concerned if they accepted that the Zhabs-drung was still alive in 1705 at the age of one hundred and eleven. And yet we know for certain that even in 1661 a simple commoner believed him to be aged at least one hundred and twenty. The longevity of saints is accepted without question in the traditional society of Bhutan, and the Zhabs-drung was nothing if not a saint in the eyes of his people. Despite this, rumours must have been rife throughout the period of concealment; we have it on good authority that they existed in the very year of his death. Suspicions would have increased, countered from time to time by apparent signs of his continued existence. The air of unreality surrounding the whole affair must have been felt just as strongly then as it is now; the difference is simply that then it was felt as the peculiar intangibility of saintly existence, whereas with the benefit of hindsight we see now that it was the unreality of a deception, sustained with brilliant ingenuity. Yet the perspective of hindsight was also available to the local historians who lived in the period following the disclosure. Why then was the secret ignored in all their writings except those which either speak of its disclosure or of the effect this had on the recognition of the Zhabs-drung's incarnations? Several

reasons for this could be adduced, but the main and over-riding ones seem evident. Firstly, the legitimacy of his incarnations could not be established except by reference to the end of the 'meditation' (thugs-dam) which coincided with the end of the pretended 'retreat' (sku-mtshams). Secondly, to have discussed the actual operation of the deception would have had the immediate effect of impugning the legitimacy of those past figures who were supposed to have been appointed by the Zhabs-drung during his 'retreat'. It would have destroyed the foundations of their rule and pushed them into a world of chaos and fantasy. The main aim of the local historian is to trace an orderly and unbroken lineage which passes down legitimate authority, not to reveal the chinks and gaps in that chain. By the time their sources came up for reappraisal by Bhutanese historians of this century, the secret was still so deeply buried that its implications were completely passed over; in two of the five official draft histories written in recent years, but never sanctioned or published, it is alluded to in the most passing manner. The external framework imposed upon Bhutanese history in LCB I, long accepted as the definitive work, could still be used as the basic model.

### 3. The succession

The foregoing discussion has established the existence of the secret but we are still none the wiser as to the real cause. The aim now is to explore this question, and two points have to be emphasised from the beginning. Firstly, it was impossible for a true and legitimate successor to occupy the Zhabs-drung's throne until his death was public knowledge; until that happened we are faced with the development of various institutions which provided for rule by

vicarious authority. Secondly, there is a danger in over-estimating the importance of the secret: the vacuum left by the Zhabs-drung during his 'retreat' was filled by a succession of powerful figures who completed the unification of the country. In their own eyes and in the eyes of their contemporaries, however, they were the delegates or stand-ins for the Zhabs-drung, never his successors. This was of course well known to the author of LCB I who applied the broad term rgyal-tshab ('royal representative') not only to the 'stand-ins' but also to the recognised reincarnations of the Zhabs-drung; thus a more or less fictitious line of authority was created to satisfy the perpetual need for legitimate descent. A glance at the list and dates of these rgyal-tshab in LCB I (ff. 54b-70a) should make this clear:

- 1) bsTan-'dzin Rabs-rgyas, the Khri Rin-po-che, 1638-96 (regn. as 4th 'Brug sDe-srid 1680-95).
- 2) Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, 1st rGyal-sras sPrul-sku (Incarnation of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje, son of the Zhabs-drung) 1689-1713.
- 3) Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal, 1st Zhabs-drung gSung-sprul, 1708-36.
- 4) 'Jigs-med Nor-bu, 2nd rGyal-sras sPrul-sku, 1717-35.
- 5) Mi-pham dBang-po, 1st Khri-sprul (incarnation of No. 1 above) 1709-38 (regn. as 10th 'Brug sDe-srid, 1729-36).
- 6a) 'Brug-sgra rNam-rgyal, 3rd rGyal-sras sPrul-sku, 1735-62.
- 6b) 'Jigs-med Grags-pa, 1st Zhabs-drung Thugs-sprul, 1724-61.

In fact, the term rgyal-tshab seems to be found only in this source (LCB I) and in the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas: both were written with the aim of establishing the continuity of the Zhabs-drung's rule through all the complicated strife that had occurred in the period between the time of his death and their own day. Later, the incarnations of the final figure in the above list eventually became accepted as the true successors of the Zhabs-drung; no matter how nominal their



actual authority, they were the legitimate heads of the Bhutanese state, known to the adjoining Indian kingdoms in Assam and Bengal, and to the British, as the Dharmarājas. This title had first been applied by the Indians to Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal himself.<sup>80</sup> To the Bhutanese the incarnations were simply known as the Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che, but in correspondence with the Indian authorities they would use the title Dharmarāja.<sup>81</sup> None of them ever wielded anything like the power of the first Zhabs-drung, and throughout the period of theocratic rule the executive government was vested in the office of 'Brug sDe-srid' (the 'Deb Rājas' to the British). The term sde-srid (or sde-pa) used to be the title of the ruling aristocracy of Tibet ('Phyongs-rgyas sDe-pa, gTsang sDe-srid etc.), but later in Tibet it slowly came to acquire the meaning of 'regent'. In Bhutan the sde-srid (or rather a succession of them) continued as head of the executive government throughout the lifetime of the head of state. There appears to have been very little consistency in the manner of their appointment, and generally speaking it was the strong man of the moment or his nominee who held office, defending it as best he could against the rivalry of the provincial governors. In the early period, however, some of the incumbents were highly effective figures and were blessed with relatively long reigns. What is important to understand is that at least in theory they all held office from the Zhabs-drung, no matter to what degree circumstances would suggest otherwise. Without that sanction, even if only faked or ritualised beyond all semblance of reality, their rule could have no justification.

These general perspectives are necessary before returning to the matter of the 'retreat' because when essential

motives are not discussed in the sources we have to look to the general pattern of history to provide the clue. The bonds which came to develop around the rival figures of the new state were of an intense and personal kind, the direct inheritance from the period of fragmented rule when each community was tied to its own ecclesiastical or clan ruler. With the steady collapse or transformation of the old units, loyalties appear to have been easily reforged in the arena of the new state. When these loyalties found expression in political action or in any way passed beyond the bounds of 'spiritual' activity, the sources either preserve complete silence on the matter or allude to it so passingly that we are left hardly the wiser. It is quite impossible, therefore, to do justice to this period without some careful conjecture.

When in 1651 the Zhabs-drung's precentor, bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas, announced to the government assembly that his master had been in retreat for the last three months and was on no account to be disturbed, all power came into his hands. We can be practically certain that the Zhabs-drung had died. Under normal circumstances his son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje, then aged twenty, would have succeeded to the throne without difficulty. He was the only heir, and we know from Cacella that it had been the Zhabs-drung's wish even before 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje was born that a son should succeed him. The survival of his ancient line which stretched back to the founder of the school, gTsang-pa rGya-ras, depended upon it. So also did the perpetuation of his rule in Bhutan. Following the birth of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje in 1631, the Zhabs-drung had taken the vows of a fully ordained monk and remained celibate thereafter. All should have been well for the succession, and indeed

'Jam-dpal rDo-rje lived on until about 1681 to the age of fifty, but nowhere is there mention of his enthronement, not a single act or decision is credited to him in the literature, and he is not even mentioned in the shadowy list of the rgyal-tshab. All we are told is that he received a religious education and that at a certain point he had become ill.<sup>82</sup> It must have been a serious physical incapacity, one which made him incompetent to rule which barred him from the throne of his dead father. It can be assumed that the situation had already become clear by 1651, and that it was perhaps the immediate cause for the decision to keep the death of the Zhabs-drung secret. There may have been a vague hope that 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje would eventually marry and produce a male heir to continue the line, but it seems unlikely that the 'retreat' of his father could have been planned to tide over the gap until that eventuality. As it happened, 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje did marry much later the daughter of the Ngor Zhabs-drung Klu-sdings-pa and produced a daughter, mTsho-skyes rDo-rje in 1680.<sup>83</sup> She seems to have been influential in Bhutanese politics for a short period, but with her we come to the very end of the line. In 1651, however, there would have been no serious thought of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje producing an heir.

According to sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho, it was the 5th Dalai Lama himself who on his deathbed commanded the sde-srid to arrange the pretended retreat, and it seems perfectly conceivable that the same tradition in the Zhabs-drung's case is correct. The Dalai Lama told the regent to search for his incarnation soon after his death and admitted that: "If I enter now into pretended seclusion it is solely in the interest of our government. Thanks to your the regent's

past actions and to your destiny, thanks to the strength of the aspirations you made in your previous lives, the government of our doctrine will not be menaced."<sup>84</sup> Had the death of this most powerful of all Tibetan rulers been made public, it is thought that the Mongols would have used the opportunity to advance their interests at the expense of the Tibetan government headed by the regent.<sup>85</sup> It was surely the same threat of external attack and internal disruption which decided the Zhabs-drung of Bhutan and his regent; after death the immediate cohesion of his new state would depend entirely on the simulation of his continuing presence since there was no one fit to succeed him. There is also no particular reason to discount the tradition that the pretence was to have lasted twelve years. Unfortunately there are no means of knowing what measures the Zhabs-drung or his regent intended should be used during that period to find an heir. As will be seen, the regent died long before the end of the stipulated period, and by the time that came to an end the whole device remained essential to the state's survival.

The rule of the precentor bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas as the 1st 'Brug sDe-srid became a model for the future, we are told, and his unwritten ordinances on all aspects of government seem to have been passed down the line of incumbents who succeeded him.<sup>86</sup> Today he is largely remembered as the devoted servant of the Zhabs-drung. He and the chamberlain Drung Dam-chos rGyal-mtshan are always depicted in paintings beneath the main figure of the Zhabs-drung in peaceful aspect. Together they must have managed the whole pretence of the 'retreat'. It was during the early years of his regency that the entire area of eastern Bhutan began to fall into the hands of the 'Brug-pa government of the west. The campaign was directed by the

dPon-slob of Krong-sar Mi-'gyur brTan-pa, and the force he commanded was drawn by conscripting the new subjects of the west headed by the 'most favoured patrons', the Wang people of the capital districts. Its primary purpose was to remove the recalcitrant Chos-'khor dPon-po of Bum-thang but by playing on the rivalries of the clan rulers further east the commanders were able to win a good deal of local support, and one by one the old clan territories fell to the invading army. Four of the five fortresses established during the course of the campaign became the permanent provincial capitals of eastern Bhutan, and the campaign as a whole ushered in that dominance of the east by the west which has remained ever since. The Lo-rgyus (Text II below) explains how the annexation took place in the cause of the 'Teachings' of the 'Brug-pa. Although the campaign commanders were all monks and the ideology of the new theocracy provided the necessary justifications, the campaign itself seems to have had little of the flavour of a crusade or jihad. It was more the reflection of a confident expansionary trend in the new state, justified but not occasioned by religious prophecy and sentiment.

The 1st sDe-srid seems to have retired in 1656, and he almost certainly had a hand in the appointment of his successor bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-grags, an illegitimate son of bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma and therefore half-brother to the Zhabs-drung, who had appointed him dPa-sgro dPon-slob. It was from this position that he came to the sde-srid's throne. At all events, he must either have been a member of the inner clique guarding the secret of the 'retreat' or made party to it at the time of his accession. A year later there occurred the third large-scale invasion of Bhutan by a Tibeto-Mongol force. Among its

immediate causes Shakabpa (1976:443) mentions the extermination by the Bhutanese authorities of a pro-Tibetan faction led by one Chos-rje Nam-mkha' Rin-chen. He also points to constant military support given to the new Bhutanese state by the King of La-dwags, Senge rNam-rgyal; the king, however, had died much earlier in 1642 and there seems little evidence for direct Ladakhi involvement in this campaign. Even though the entire Tibeto-Mongol army seems to have been unleashed on Bhutan, the invasion proved to be another disaster. The 5th Dalai Lama attributed this to the bickerings between the chief Tibetan commander, Nor-bu, who controlled the troops invading western Bhutan, and the Mongolian commanders of the detachments from the Tibetan province of dBus, Kong-po and Khams, who invaded Bum-thang in the central region of Bhutan. He also pointed to an outbreak of various epidemics among the troops.<sup>87</sup> (A ceremony commemorating the Bhutanese victory in Bum-thang is still performed every year by the state monks of Krong-sar on arrival at Bya-gar rDzong for their annual visit to Bum-thang.) The temporary success of what seems to have been the eastern column is described in the Lo-rgyus<sup>88</sup> where it is made clear that the invaders could rely on the support of the Mon-pa people of Kameng who were already subject to dGe-lugs-pa rule. A constant feature of all these Tibetan campaigns becomes apparent in that source, namely the difficulties faced by the invaders in turning their temporary successes to decisive victories; warfare was still largely a seasonal business, and in the hot summer of Bhutan the invaders generally seem to have retreated to the Tibetan plateau. This left the undefeated Bhutanese with a strong bargaining position in any subsequent peace negotiations. The 1657 campaign was thus brought to an end in a settlement arranged by the Sa-skya

Bla-ma bSod-nams dBang-phyug.

The reign of the 2nd sde-srid, indeed of all the successive sde-srid, is recorded largely in terms of the 'good works' he undertook in furbishing the fortresses with chapels and other such things. At his unexpected death in 1667, the chamberlain forged a letter in the name of the Zhabs-drung appointing the Krong-sar dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa the new sde-srid, as noted above. It was presumably the new sde-srid's fury on discovering that he had not been made party to the secret long before which led to his clash with the chamberlain who eventually died in some kind of semi-imprisonment away from the capital at dBang-'dus Pho-brang. One of the new sde-srid's first acts was highly significant in relation to the 'retreat'. He accorded bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (the great-grandson of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, and son of the Zhabs-drung's chief ally, Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin) a status equal to his own, carrying the same privileges and honours.<sup>89</sup> Up to this point the young bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas had been a respected member of the monastic community but his position in the collateral lineage of the Ra-lung family had not singled him out for special preferment. It can be assumed that the sde-srid's discovery of the Zhabs-drung's pretended retreat led him to groom the young monk as an official stand-in for the Zhabs-drung while the pretence continued. Under the sde-srid's patronage bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas soon rose to assume full responsibility for the spiritual affairs of the government; as noted above, he and the sde-srid had their candidate for the vacant abbacy 'approved' by the Zhabs-drung in 1672.

Mi-'gyur brTan-pa had been responsible for pushing the boundaries of Bhutan to their eastern limits, and after acceding to the sde-srid's throne he turned his attention to the western

border. The Lepcha people who inhabited the area south of Sikkim were the first to feel the effect of the 'Brug-pa expansion in this direction and in 1668 their chief, A-lcog, turned to the dGe-lugs-pa government of Tibet for military support.<sup>90</sup> In the 11th month a Tibetan force invaded Bhutan again, one column directed towards the mTsho-sna area in the east, another towards Bum-thang in the centre of the country, and a third towards 'Brug-rgyal rDzong at the head of the sPa-gro valley. The outcome is not clear, but a temporary truce seems to have been declared while the passes were blocked with snow. The intention seems to have been to draw up a proper peace treaty at a later date but before this could be settled, trouble again flared up between the Bhutanese and the Lepchas in 1675. The following year the Bhutanese invaded the Chumbi valley, Sikkim and the area south of Sikkim. On this occasion the Lepcha chief was killed, and in retaliation the Tibetan government arranged yet another invasion of Bhutan, perhaps the largest undertaken during the reign of the 5th Dalai Lama. Five columns advanced by way of sPa-gro Gling-bzhi, Bum-thang, bKra-shis-sgang and Phag-ri, but the only lasting success it achieved was the expulsion of the Bhutanese troops from Sikkim. According to the Bhutanese account,<sup>91</sup> thirty Tibetan nobles (drung-'khor), sixty officers (lding-dpon) and more than three hundred common soldiers were captured and imprisoned. Two years later in 1678 a great council of peace was convened at Phag-ri presided over by three Tibetan mediators: the head lama of the Sa-skya school, the steward (phyag-mdzod) of the Panchen Lama and the governor of the lHa-sa district.<sup>92</sup> We read in the Bhutanese account that peace was assured by the outcome, that the Tibetan prisoners were all returned, and that no further invasion of Bhutan took place during the next



thirty-seven years. In the Tibetan source used by Shakabpa (loc. cit.), however, it is said that peace was not concluded because the Bhutanese insisted that the Lepcha chief had been their subject (mi-rtsa), and that the control of sGang-tok, capital of Sikkim, should be shared between them and the Tibetan authorities. Consequently, the whole of the Bhutan-Tibet border stretching from Shel-dkar to mTsho-sna is said to have been sealed and all trade prohibited, though it is not clear for how long. The area south of Sikkim, the original subject of dispute, remained in Bhutanese hands until it was annexed to India during the Anglo-Bhutanese war of 1865.

The reign of Mi-'gyur brTan-pa marked the high point of Bhutanese expansion and under his successors the borders were all consolidated. It was during his reign too that the internal administration is said to have been regularised on a nation-wide basis. Bhutanese contacts abroad were also strengthened, particularly by the appointment of monastic officials to the area of western Tibet and La-dwags. It is not clear when these ties first began but it was most likely in the reign of King Senge rNam-rgyal (d. 1642). By the 1670's the 'Brug-pa government of Bhutan had received several grants of monasteries together with their estates. In 1678 Mi-'gyur brTan-pa consulted with bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas over the appointment of his delegates to the areas of Kailash, Gar-sha (Lahul), Zangs-dkar and La-dwags; the two Ladakhi monasteries were rNgud (which I cannot identify) and sTag-sna where the old associations with Bhutan are still very much remembered.<sup>93</sup> It was also during Mi-'gyur brTan-pa's reign that the first mission to Nepal was sent in about 1673 under the leadership of Dam-chos Pad-dkar, as noted above. The contact lasted for almost two centuries and brought the

Bhutanese government grants of ecclesiastical estates, particularly in Glo Mon-thang (Mustang) and Dol-po. For much of this period the Bhutanese also had legal control of the important Buddhist shrine of Swayambhunāth in the Kathmandu valley.

Mi-'gyur brTan-pa was deposed in 1680. No details are given in LCB I (f. 96a) except that the sde-srid's fate is said to have been determined by his past karma; in particular by the many deaths he had caused while directing the annexation of eastern Bhutan and by the fact that he had "failed to repay the kindness" of the Zhabs-drung's chamberlain who had put him on the throne. According to another tradition<sup>94</sup> it was dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, the rdzong-dpon of sPu-na-kha, who deposed the sde-srid. The rdzong-dpon had suffered the indignity of a military defeat during the Tibetan invasion of 1676 and he is said to have harboured a grudge against the ruler on this account. After his deposition, Mi-'gyur brTan-pa retired to lCags-ri and died there the same year. He was succeeded by his own protégé bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas, who already enjoyed spiritual authority and now came to be invested with the full temporal power of the sde-srid. It is not said who was responsible for his elevation but it seems likely that the state monks had a hand in it, in consultation with the regional governors. No doubt the appointment had the seal of approval of the (dead) Zhabs-drung as in the cases of his predecessor and the ruling abbot, bSod-nams 'Od-zer.

bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas reigned as the 4th sDe-srid for fifteen years (1680-95) and he is reckoned one of the great figures in Bhutanese history. He was perhaps the only effective ruler after the great Zhabs-drung who combined in

his person complete spiritual and temporal authority; the full weight of the term rgyal-tshab seems applicable to him alone. A reading of his rnam-thar shows that he was accepted without question as the legitimate 'representative' of the Zhabs-drung by virtue of their distant blood relationship and because the Zhabs-drung is supposed to have given certain indications before the start of his 'retreat' that the young bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas was to be carefully prepared for a position of authority. Whatever the justifications, he came to be known as the Khri Rin-po-che ('the Precious Enthroned') and his incarnations are often referred to as the Khri-sprul or Bla-ma Khri-pa ('Lam Trip' in the vernacular). They are supposed to have represented the Zhabs-drung incarnations during the period of their minority just as bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas represented the 1st Zhabs-drung during his 'retreat'. In point of fact this view is also an oversimplification, and the vicarious authority of the Zhabs-drung's official stand-in was by no means always limited to the Khri-sprul. It depended rather on the political circumstances of the moment.

The difficulty in evaluating the rule of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas stems entirely from the fact that in his huge official biography by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub the secret of the Zhabs-drung's 'retreat' is never discussed even though it had actually been revealed by the time this work was written in 1720. Nevertheless, glimpses of the continuing secret are here and there afforded, as was noticed above. Most revealing of all, however, is a passage in the biography of the 7th Heab Abbot Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las (regn. 1730-38) by Shākya Rin-chen.<sup>95</sup> It relates to events in the reign of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas which find no mention at all in his official biography. We learn, in the most highflown language but without evasion, that after the

Zhabs-drung had died in the course of his actual retreat his incarnation was born in a village on the Bhutan-Tibet border in the district of 'Gos-yul (the Phag-ri area). The Bhutanese government accepted him to be the true incarnation and made preparations in secret to bring him to Bhutan. Due to the strained relations between the 'Brug-pa authorities of Bhutan and the dGe-lugs-pa of Tibet, however, the young incarnation fell into the hands of the Tibetan government and so the Bhutanese had no means of securing him for the succession. Later, when bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas had acceded to the sde-srid's throne he tried every means to bring the incarnation to Bhutan, but he too failed. Eventually the incarnation went to China and died. The date of his death is not given. The passage is introduced in this source in connection with the discovery and recognition of this person's incarnation, the first Thugs-sprul of the Zhabs-drung, i.e. 'Jigs-med Grags-pa I (1724-61). Vague and imprecise though it is, the passage stands solitary witness to the protracted and secret attempts to find the true heir of the Zhabs-drung. For bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas the immediate incentive to re-open the secret negotiations surely came shortly after his own accession to the sde-srid's throne at the death in c. 1681 of the Zhabs-drung's invalid son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje; the legitimate successor to the Zhabs-drung could now only be an incarnation because the male line had definitely died out. Moreover, that an attempt had been made to find an incarnation long before 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje died fully confirms the fact, never expressly stated, that 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje was incompetent to succeed. It seems highly probable that the first initiative to find the incarnation was taken by Mi-'gyur br'Tan-pa sometime after he came to the office of sde-srid in 1667 when he discovered that the order of his

appointment had been faked by the chamberlain in the name of the dead Zhabs-drung. The acceptance of an incarnation so early suggests that quite a number of people must already have been in the secret. Presumably the Tibetan authorities, who appear to have been guarding the incarnation as a potential pawn, must have been aware that the Zhabs-drung had died.

Late in life bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas appears to have confided to his close attendants that his sole aim had been to administer the state until an incarnation of the Zhabs-drung could be found. This appears in his own official biography (f. 327a) where the whole matter of the 'retreat' is shrouded in almost impenetrable mist. Towards the end of this work there are similar vague and passing references<sup>96</sup> to the fact that the Zhabs-drung had died; the impression gained is that by now the inner clique guarding the secret must have slowly increased in number. Nevertheless, the Head Abbot bSod-nams 'Od-zer apparently died in 1689 in full belief, if we are to believe his biography, that the Zhabs-drung was still alive.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, the chamberlain gZims-dpon Sa-ga who would have been responsible for the practical details of the deception was active not only in the reign of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas but also in that of his successor.<sup>98</sup> It is a great misfortune that the biographer of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas never tells us the whole truth insofar as he knew it.

The long and peaceful reign of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas had an unhappy ending in 1695. The details are complicated but all those who played a part in the affair must have belonged to the inner coterie guarding the long secret. The favourite of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas was one Drung Nor-bu who had previously been in the personal employment of dGe-'dun

Chos-'phel, the rdzong-dpon of sPu-na-kha. (This latter person, it will be remembered, had deposed Mi-'gyur brTan-pa, the previous sde-srid.) Nor-bu rose very high in the regard of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas, and came to occupy the dual position of chamberlain to the sde-srid (i.e. gong-gzims) and rdzong-dpon of the summer capital in Thim-phu. Thus in power and influence he far outshone his previous master, dGe-'dun Chos-'phel; the latter eventually murdered him, probably out of sheer jealousy and spite. bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas is said to have been so saddened by the affair at a time when he was suffering from a severe illness that he resigned his position and retired to the ancestral home of his family at the monastery of rTa-mgo. dGe-'dun Chos-'phel himself then took the vacant throne of the sde-srid and installed mTsho-skyes rDo-rje, the daughter of the late 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje (son of the Zhabs-drung), as a sort of puppet at the head of the state; although a woman she had the founder's blood in her veins. bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas died of his protracted illness at rTa-mgo shortly thereafter.

Very little is known about mTsho-skyes rDo-rje. The author of LCB I maintains (on f. 61b) that she was put on the throne "in the manner of a fake man" (khyo-rdzus-su). We know that she appointed the 4th Head Abbot Dam-chos Pad-dkar in 1697 and died a year later, probably of smallpox.<sup>99</sup> We learn in the biography (f. 33b) of the same abbot that just after she had appointed him, several monks had the same dream; they dreamt that the Zhabs-drung's retreat finally came to an end and that he himself ordered the arrangements for the new abbot's ceremony of enthronement. mTsho-skyes rDo-rje does not appear in the official list of the rgyal-tshab, though in theory at least that seems to have been her true position; she

was the 'representative' of the Zhabs-drung, the very last of his line, and in spite of her sex it was felt she had sufficient standing to confer legitimacy on the ruling sde-srid. Not, however, in the eyes of the author of LCB I (loc. cit.) who commented: "In reality I think it preferable for incarnations alone to uphold the Teachings, rather than descendants."<sup>100</sup> After her death this was the only possible solution. It was adopted the following year by the sde-srid when he brought Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, the incarnation of her father, to the capital.<sup>101</sup> Under conditions of secrecy the nine year old boy was fetched from eastern Bhutan, subjected to the usual tests and recognised to be 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje's rebirth.<sup>102</sup> It was the first time the principle of incarnation was used to find the Zhabs-drung's 'representative'. It must be assumed that the delay in finding the Zhabs-drung's own incarnation was occasioned by the fact that the candidate chosen by bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas and his predecessors was still known to be alive in Tibet, or perhaps in China where he eventually seems to have died. That Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan was the Zhabs-drung's 'representative' and not the true heir is quite clear because the Zhabs-drung was still in 'retreat' and it was Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan himself who, on his own admission, finally disclosed the secret.

However, this did not happen until about eight years later. By that time his patron dGe-'dun Chos-'phel, had been killed by his enemies in a bloody revolt at sPu-na-kha,<sup>103</sup> and the office of sde-srid had passed first to the 6th sDe-srid, Ngag-dbang Tshe-ring (regn. 1701-4) and then to the 7th sDe-srid, dPal-'byor (regn. 1704-7). It was about half-way through the latter's reign (c. 1705) that "... from the force of certain circumstances it became necessary [for me, Kun-dga'

rGyal-mtshan/ to disclose the secret concerning the retreat of the Glorious Ngag-gi dBang-po /the Zhabs-drung/ and so on that day the Precious Lord /Dam-chos Pad-dkar, the Abbot/ also came to see the corpse."<sup>104</sup> It is difficult to imagine how the 'retreat' could have been anything but an open secret by this stage, known to most of the senior monks and government officials of the capital. For them the term 'retreat' was perhaps little more than a euphemism, even if the public at large still believed the Zhabs-drung to be alive, having entered the 'retreat' more than half a century earlier. Could it be that somewhere along the line the whole charade slipped from being an ingenious political device into a matter of ritual formality, or were these two aspects in constant and ambivalent interaction? The answer, if there is one, will have to await the appearance of more sources for this period, or fresh insights from those already used. What is certain however is that for as long as it lasted, the 'retreat' continued to have the deepest implications for any claim to legitimate rule. At the very least it stands as sure evidence of the enduring hold which the founder exerted on the minds and hearts of his subjects and on the powerful figures who later ruled in his place.

#### 4. Looking ahead

In concentrating on the tangled issue of succession, Bhutanese history after the Zhabs-drung has had to be grossly oversimplified. When all the sources eventually become available it should be possible after long and careful study to clear some of the areas of doubt to reveal more of the wood and less of the trees. The 'wood' of the Bhutanese state had in fact been well and truly planted throughout its



mountains and valleys by the time the Zhabs-drung's secret was revealed in c. 1705. Thereafter, the complex foliage of its many species appears to have come to maturity in the mid 18th century before it experienced a long autumn and winter in the 19th century, and a new spring in the 20th century. In this concluding section a bird's eye view is taken at some of the developments in this later period.

After the official ending of the 'retreat' the way was open for the installation of an acceptable candidate as the true incarnation of the Zhabs-drung. An orthodox account was later developed to explain how it came about that several candidates received recognition by rival powers at different times in a manner that shed suspicion on all of them. The theological solution used in this explanation can in a sense be compared to that of the 'retreat' upon which it was based. Moreover, as in the case of the 'retreat' several parallel examples could also be found in Tibetan and Bhutanese history without difficulty. The first clear account of it probably comes in LCB I, completed in 1759: "Now if I am to relate in truth what I have heard and come to believe: Previously, at the time when the secret of the Zhabs-drung's retreat was disclosed, as soon as he arose from the samadhi in which he had been residing, three rays of light issued from his body, speech and mind and these came down at three places: Sikkim, Dar-dkar-nang [In southern Bhutan] and [the region] called Grwa-nang in the dBus province of Tibet."<sup>105</sup> Fifteen years after these words were written, the same doctrine of multiple incarnation was explained to Hasting's emissary as follows:

In ancient times this hilly country was parcelled out among a number of independent chieftains. A lama from the north united them under one government, and introduced his religion among them.

His death gave birth to three lamas. His body fell to the share of one; his heart to another; and his mouth or word to a third. Upon the death of these holy men, their souls pass into the bodies of children, who, after a strict examination into their identity, are recognised; and thus a succession of saints under various forms, but animated by the same spirit, have continued, at different intervals, to enlighten this corner of the world. (Markham 1879:33)

A separate study would be required to explain the full course of events which led to the adoption of this doctrine but the main lines are clear. After the 'retreat' ended the first official incarnation, Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal (1708-36), was discovered in the area of Dar-dkar-nang and installed on the throne in about 1712 during the reign of 'Brug Rab-rgyas as 8th sDe-srid. Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal appears to have been universally accepted as the undisputed incarnation of the Zhabs-drung. A year after his installation, Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (incarnation of the Zhabs-drung's son and the person responsible for disclosing the Zhabs-drung's secret) appears to have been murdered at the behest of sDe-srid 'Brug Rab-rgyas, perhaps because his former status as a 'representative' had come into conflict with the sovereign position of the new Zhabs-drung.<sup>106</sup> Alternatively, Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan may have been killed simply because he was known to have sympathised with the sde-srid's enemies. Whatever the reason, Zhabs-drung Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal's position as rightful sovereign was now quite secure for at least as long as his patron the sde-srid remained in office. In 1714 the country was invaded by Lajang Khan, the last of the Qōsot rulers of Tibet, in retaliation for Bhutanese pressure on the dGe-lugs-pa stronghold in rTa-wang.<sup>107</sup> The invasion was not a success and left the status quo undisturbed. Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal continued to receive his monastic education at the

hands of some of the most competent Bhutanese scholars and all continued well until some years after his patron, 'Brug Rab-rgyas, had been succeeded in 1719 by his nephew, Ngag-dbang rGya-mtsho. For reasons that are not clear, the uncle and nephew fell out with each other and there followed a long and complicated civil war in western Bhutan which led to the invasion of the country by the Tibetan ruler Pho-lha-nas in 1730.<sup>108</sup> It was perhaps the only truly successful invasion ever mounted by the Tibetans against the Bhutanese; it led to a formal acceptance of Manchu suzerainty in Bhutan (never implemented by the Chinese and soon repudiated by the Bhutanese) and to the establishment of a regular diplomatic mission to the Tibetan capital which eventually helped to place Bhutan on an independent footing equal to that of Nepal and Ladakh in Tibetan eyes.

The effect of the civil war and the invasion on the country's own internal constitution was in the long run just as decisive.<sup>109</sup> In the peace settlement negotiated with the help of the Karma-pa and Zhwa-dmar-pa lamas, the Tibetan ruler arranged a temporary division of the country: the area of sPa-gro was to remain in the hands of the sPa-gro dPon-slob 'Brug Don-grub, ally of the sDe-srid 'Brug Rab-rgyas who had been killed in the fighting, while the rest of the country was to remain in the hands of the Bhutanese government. This arrangement was fixed to continue for as long as 'Brug Don-grub (also called Ka-spe Don-grub) remained alive; thereafter it was agreed that the sPa-gro valley would revert to the hands of the central government, and any of his supporters who wished to accept Tibetan refuge would be free to do so. In the meantime, the legitimacy of Zhabs-drung Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal had been impugned by the government faction that had defeated

his late patron and he had with great difficulty succeeded in escaping from the winter capital at sPu-na-kha. He fled to the protected enclave of dPon-slob 'Brug Don-grub in sPa-gro and there he died of natural causes in 1736 saying, it is claimed, that he would be reborn in the family of his new patron. The death was kept secret for about a year and this allowed time for his disciples to find his incarnation, Shākya bsTan-'dzin (1736-80). The child seems to have been the nephew of 'Brug Don-grub but the insecurity of his position became evident when 'Brug Don-grub himself died in the same year. True to his word, the Tibetan ruler agreed to take under his protection all those loyal to the dead dpon-slob when his area came back into the hands of the Bhutanese government in accordance with the original peace settlement. A small group, therefore, including the infant Shākya bsTan-'dzin, his mother and the chief disciple of the late Zhabs-drung made its way across the border to Phag-ri. From there the refugees eventually went south to the outlying area of Bhutan under the control of brDa-ling rDzong in what is now West Bengal. After many adventures and difficulties they were permitted to return to the central region of Bhutan and the young 'unofficial' Zhabs-drung ended up in imprisonment in Dar-dkar-nang, where the previous embodiment had been born.

Despite the sympathy which many government officials felt towards him, it was impossible for this Zhabs-drung to have his unofficial status turned to formal recognition. By this time the central authorities in the capital had long since been trying to secure their own candidate, one who would retrospectively occupy the position of the late Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal whose legitimacy had been denied. The vacuum in the years 1730 to 1746 were filled by no less than three

'representatives', two incarnations of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje and one incarnation of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas, the Khri Rin-po-che. This latter incarnation, Mi-pham dBang-po, had unwillingly come to the sde-srid's throne in 1729. In 1736 he managed to run away to Tibet and his position of sde-srid fell to his uncle dPal-'byor. After reaching lHa-sa Mi-pham dBang-po was received with great respect as if he were still the ruler of Bhutan by the 7th Dalai Lama and by Pho-lha-nas, the Tibetan ruler.<sup>110</sup> It was while he was in lHa-sa that Mi-pham dBang-po met a child born at Grwa-nang who was said to be the incarnation of the un-named figure whom bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas and his predecessors had so long ago tried in secret to bring to Bhutan while the 'retreat' was still in progress. On his return to Bhutan, Mi-pham dBang-po reported the matter to the Head Abbot Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las (regn. 1730-38) and thereafter it seems to have become the policy of the government to try and establish this child as the official Zhabs-drung.<sup>111</sup>

On the death of the 12th sDe-srid in 1744, the child was still in Tibet and every effort to bring him south had run into difficulties. The new sde-srid, Shes-rab dBang-phyug, was one of the most effective figures in Bhutanese history. Two years after his accession he succeeded in resolving the whole situation. The child born in Grwa-nang was brought down and installed as Zhabs-drung 'Jigs-med Grags-pa (1724-61) and the 'unofficial' Zhabs-drung Sha-kya bsTan-'dzin (1736-80), whom the sde-srid had long ago assisted, was released from imprisonment at Dar-dkar-nang and accorded a position of respect.<sup>112</sup> Thus in 1746 there were two Zhabs-drung in the Bhutanese capital, one senior and the other junior. Thirteen years later during the rule of the same sde-srid the doctrine of multiple reincarnation was first published in the official history of

LCB I, as was seen above. Thenceforth the incarnations of 'Jigs-med Grags-pa reappeared as the Thugs-sprul (embodying the 'mental' principle of the Zhabs-drung). (It seems to have been conveniently forgotten that 'Jigs-med Grags-pa was first regarded as the incarnation of the 'secret' candidate of bstan-'dzin Rab-rgyas and his predecessor.) The incarnations of Shākya bstan-'dzin reappeared as the gSung-sprul (the 'verbal' principle). The sKu-sprul ('physical' principle) was deemed to have been the son of a king of Sikkim. Due to continuing disturbances between the two countries he was never brought to Bhutan and so the line never became established. Although there is more to learn about this last phantom (perhaps a confusion with the 'secret' candidate), the doctrine enunciated in LCB I on the basis of the situation existing in Bhutan in the middle years of the 18th century has remained to this day the official orthodoxy. Until the events of the twentieth century the Zhabs-drung Thugs-sprul was to remain the one figure who could command the universal allegiance of a sovereign. The painter Samuel Davis who was with Turner in Bhutan in 1783 noted in his journal that the 2nd Zhabs-drung Thugs-sprul: "... is without exception acknowledged to possess an inherent right to the absolute dominion of the whole country, and ... the Deib Raja is no more than his prime minister, vizier, or dewan" (Davis 1830:497). He went on, however, to say that: "... the Rajah would not be inclined to admit the temporal control, or to share any part of the real authority with another, nor is it likely that the young Lama will at any time hereafter find himself in a condition to assert such a claim." Also: "... there is little doubt that the policy of the government will provide that he be still secluded from any interference in public concerns, and wholly confined to the contemplation of his spiritual dignity."

The history of the Bhutanese theocracy could in part be written as a commentary on these statements, on the inevitable triumph of secular interests over spiritual principles. But until the establishment of the monarchy those interests never became fully identified with a particular group or class, and the spiritual principles underlying the theocratic ideology remained the accepted norm. The doctrine of the 'dual system' of religious and secular law had first been developed in the second half of the 13th century at a time when the Kublai Khan and the 'Phags-pa lama were trying to work out the ideal political balance in their relationship. When it was adopted in Bhutan (mainly through the works of gTsang mKhan-chen, it seems) the concept came to imply the total subservience of the state to religion. This is evident throughout the legal code given in Part 2 below. The 'dual system' never helped to define the political relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities as it surely did in Tibet where many of the civil officials of government had their monastic counterparts, the pairs working together on an equal basis. In Bhutan the situation appears to have been quite different. Lay officials had to assume a semi-monastic character before reaching high positions. In particular, if a layman happened to become the sde-srid he was usually required to take the vows of the minor order and receive a new name. (For this reason many of the later incumbents have two names, whereas most of the fully ordained sde-srid have a single name plus a monastic nickname.)

As far as one can tell, every one of the lay sde-srid who came to power did so in the course of a career which began on the bottom rungs of the government ladder. Most seem to have been from the families of ordinary peasants, who

were required to place one of their sons in government service in return for tax dispensations. This obligation was quite separate from another which required families to place one of their sons in the state monastery of their district as 'monk tax' (btsun-khral). In point of fact the monks in the capital fortresses of sPu-na-kha and Thim-phu appear to have been roughly matched in number by the lay government servants, not counting those at the very top who could be either monks or laymen. In the account of the 13th sDe-srid's virtuous achievements we learn (on f. 93b) that on his retirement in 1763 after fourteen years of rule, there were 679 lay government servants. These were divided into six ranks starting with 14 'ordinary' officers entitled to double salaries-in-kind (gzhung-gi nyis-skal dkyus-ma; in present vernacular, 'nyikem'). Below them stood 90 officials entitled to a government horse (rta-thob; chibs-bzhon in the honorific), and so on down to the sixth rank of 'common servitors' (lto-gzan dkyus-ma), 280 in number. Among these latter were perhaps included the men from families of Indian slaves, captured in the plains and tied in perpetuity to the capital and regional fortresses. Such families also seem to have constituted quite a large proportion of the total work force in the country, most of the wealthier Bhutanese families having such a slave family attached to them. (All slaves received manumission in the 1950's.) On a smaller scale the situation in the capital was reproduced in all the provincial capitals. Part 3 of the legal code given below constitutes a set of civil service rules governing the rights and duties of all government servants. Much of it is clearly written in reaction to petitions to remove the abuses of unscrupulous officials. The arrival in the village of a group of tax



assessors, the periodic tours of government officials, the holding of trials - in short every event which involved the public with the bureaucracy could become an occasion for extortionate malpractice. The checks and safeguards depended mainly on the strength and character of the ruler.

The rather unsavoury picture of the state's involvement in the life of its subjects as conveyed in the code has to be set against the enthusiastic and detailed account of Bhutanese life given by Hasting's emissaries. Like travellers of any period they were at the mercy of subjective impressions, but the conclusion reached by Davis in his journal of 1783 tends to sum up their attitude in broader terms:

... the Bouteas ... have also a free openness of carriage and an apparent sincerity of behaviour, that might be thought incompatible with the despotism of the government. But the government, although in appearance as absolute as one can be, is not administered with that rigour and injustice which produces an abject servility and meanness in the manners of the people governed. (Davis 1830:501-2)

There is a world of difference between the inspired and sympathetic accounts written by Bogle, Turner, Davis and Hamilton in the 18th century and all the dull invective of British officials in the 19th century. Some of that difference can surely be attributed to more than a change in British imperial attitudes and a decline in English prose style. The well known picture of Bhutan as a country immersed in chaos and peopled by brigands and despots was conveyed during a period when British policy to contain Bhutanese expansion in the plains was steadily failing. Moreover, the 19th century ambassadors were never welcomed at the court of Bhutan with the warmth and sympathy accorded to those of the 18th century: the former were grudgingly admitted after long and complicated negotiations which damaged British prestige.

At the same time the 19th century really did see wave upon wave of civil dissension in the country. If there were two rivals for the office of sde-srid they would both have themselves installed, one in the winter capital and the other in the summer capital.<sup>113</sup> In the three years from 1850 to 1852 there appear to have been no fewer than five sde-srid. The Zhabs-drung of this period, 'Jigs-med Nor-bu (1831-61), was totally ineffective in stemming the tide of revolt and counter revolt. Under these conditions the central government was virtually nothing in comparison with the practically autonomous power of the regional rdzong-dpon and dpon-glob. Just as Cacella had noted in 1627 that every person was "an absolute lord in his own house", so in the 19th century it could have been said that every baron was a king in his own province. The secular ethos, however, never found expression in writing although echoes of it appear in the unrecorded oral literature. One of the best known narrative poems ('losé') tells the tragic story of the lay chamberlain of the rdzong-dpon of dBang-'dus Pho-brang, himself also a layman. The hero's fate determines that he should take up his master's cause and do battle in the east. All the omens point to his inescapable death but the chamberlain keeps faith with his lord and goes off with a band of companions to his certain end. The expression of such ideal loyalty (dam-tshig gtsang-ma) forms part of the background to the interminable battles of the 19th century. Many of these were more in the nature of ritual occasions when contending sides screamed imprecations, cast their magic spells and fired off their blunderbusses. As early as 1774 and 1783 Bogle and Turner witnessed minor insurrections entailing very little loss of life which appear to have conformed to this pattern. The

flavour of these affairs seems to survive in the grand contests of archery, so much part of the local scene in Bhutan. But in the 19th century there certainly occurred many civil wars on a serious scale, when each side drew its forces from the subjects who, under the law, were obliged to render military service. The British were consequently often at a loss to know with whom, if anyone, they could properly negotiate. By 1865 when the Bhutan War was about to break out over the question of the Indian Duars, the newspapers in Calcutta could refer with wryness to bloody events (or their rumours) in Bhutan as having occurred 'more Bhootanico'.

The semi-monastic character of government never allowed the hereditary principle to determine succession to the chief posts until the situation had completely deteriorated. In the end the principle triumphed, the present monarchy became established and the independent baronies all collapsed. It could be said, therefore, that the real unification of the country only took place in this century. This view, however, does great injustice to the theocracy which succeeded in imposing a uniform set of institutions on the whole country. This more than anything helped to develop a sense of national and cultural identity to overshadow the ancient divisions of race and language. At the same time the repeated invasions by Tibetan and Mongol forces in the century after the arrival of the founding Zhabs-drung clearly had an effect opposite to the one envisaged; instead of subduing the country to Tibetan authority they served to unite the Bhutanese against a common enemy. The campaigns were a disaster for the Tibetans and were construed by the Bhutanese as their own total victory. The success of the Tibetan ruler

Pho-lha-nas in 1730 was turned into a diplomatic triumph but never achieved lasting conquest. It was the last time the Tibetans ever invaded.

The monastic communities based in the capital and regional fortresses were not the havens of peace that Buddhist monasteries are supposed to be, but they provided the one indispensable factor of stability in the state through all the wars, epidemics, fires and earthquakes these buildings suffered. There are constant references to senior monks intervening in turbulent disputes, arranging truces and convening councils at times of crisis to appoint a new sde-srid. The monasteries themselves were governed by a consensus of the older monks, who generally chose their own abbot according to his seniority and accomplishments. Most of the sde-srid who held office were themselves of a mature age and there clearly evolved an irregular assembly of senior government officers under the leadership of the sde-srid. Loosely constituted, its character seems to have owed much to monastic example and precedent. (The present National Assembly could in turn be said to have developed out of the tradition of the sde-srid's council.) It must be stressed that it was only a particular type of monastic official whose duties entailed participation in the affairs of government; the community as a whole maintained a strict curriculum of study and ritual. The stable years of the 18th century saw the astonishing development of a truly Bhutanese school of scholarship based in the state communities but enlivened by contacts with the best of the Tibetan world of learning. Most of the Head Abbots of this period were highly accomplished writers and a study of their works and biographies will one day reveal the best of the

cultural heyday of the theocracy. In the fine arts too, the Bhutanese achieved great distinction and confidence in their own peculiar adaptation of existing forms and techniques. There is a boldness and richness which speaks of the unlimited patronage available to government artisans in executing works of commission. Much of the government revenue went directly towards creating the external 'supports' of religion not only for the state institutions but also for private temples and monasteries throughout the country. The account of the 13th sDe-srid's merits carefully lists over four hundred private religious foundations to which the government had donated new statutes.<sup>114</sup> As regards the internal spiritual life of the monks, those who had a bent for the contemplative life could rely on an established procedure for obtaining permission from the abbot to go off to a hermitage, or to receive special training from a master. Ironically, many of the clergy were driven by the constant political upheavals to take refuge in the practice of renunciation which truly lies at the heart of Buddhist monasticism. The poetic writings and biographies of the great abbots are filled with remorse and sadness at the violence which surrounded them. In cases where religious figures were unwillingly placed in positions of secular authority they rarely held to their posts for more than a few years. Invariably they resigned and fled to the peace of a hermitage. It seems to have been only at the very beginning of the state's history that the monk-rulers achieved lasting success, but many of the lay sde-srid whose rules were genuinely guided by spiritual principles seem to have been effective and competent figures. In the two and a half centuries of the theocracy, that is from the time the founding Zhabs-drung went into 'retreat' until the

first hereditary king O-rgyan dBang-phyug came to the throne in 1907, there were approximately fifty-five sde-srid, which produces an average reign of about four and a half years. Many of course ruled for much longer and some for just a few months, while others shared the throne with another through choice or necessity. (See the Appendix.) Even if one allows for the doubtful testimony of such an average, it does reflect the fact that many of the sde-srid came to their positions late in life shortly before retirement or death in office. Six of them appear to have been killed and at least twelve of them deposed. For all its hazards the office of sde-srid enjoyed remarkable continuity. By the latter half of the 19th century, however, the position could have had few attractions. Indeed many of the sde-srid of that period were the nominees of the Krong-sar dPon-slob 'Jigs-med rNam-rgyal and his son O-rgyan dBang-phyug who preferred to leave the office to trusted men of their choice while they wielded power from behind the throne.

Much of what has been said in this study will have given the impression that Bhutan is a large country and it would be as well to remember how very small it is and how very tiny its population. The survival of a diminutive country surrounded by powerful nations largely depends on the tacit compliance and cooperation of its neighbours, no matter how well protected it is by natural barriers or how stable its government. The 18th century saw the Bhutanese enter into diplomatic relations with the Ahom kings of Assam, and with the courts of Sikkim, Nepal and Ladakh. A modus vivendi was eventually developed with the Tibetan authorities which did great credit to Bhutanese sovereignty. As to the idea of Chinese suzerainty, it remained entirely undeveloped and

notional, although they continued, from time to time, to make vague claims over Bhutan and to meddle in local Bhutanese politics. In the 19th century the internal situation deteriorated to such an extent that if a foreign policy could be said to have existed at all it was one of isolation. Many of the old monastic enclaves over which the Bhutanese had acquired traditional rights in the western Himalayas, Ladakh and Nepal were lost at this time. Only the large estates around Kailash in western Tibet remained in Bhutanese hands until the Chinese took over Tibet in the 1950's. Up till then relations with Tibet remained cordial despite occasional friction on the border, but the political importance of these ties were quite superceded by contacts with British India. After the loss of the duar plains during the Bhutan War of 1865-6, Bhutan assumed with British help its proper status as a buffer country between India and Tibet. Today, although the country is within the Indian sphere of influence, its independence is internationally recognised.

The life and society of Bhutan under the present monarchy cannot be understood except in relation to the many forms and institutions which survive from the theocratic period. When all the sources have become available to modern scholarship, as they surely will, it should be possible to write a connected account of its rich history in order to probe behind the surface of events and discover the fascinating issues at stake in the life of the nation, issues which are by no means without relevance to some of the perspectives of our own very different age. Meanwhile, it is hoped that the present effort will have contributed something to an understanding of what came before the theocracy.

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Notes to Chapter 3

1. bsTan-pa 'dzin-pa'i skyes-bu thams-cad-kyi rnam-par thar-pa-la gus-shing rjes-su 'jug-pa'i rtogs-brjod pha-rol-tu phyin-pa dang gzungs dang ting-nge-'dzin-gyi sgo mang-po rim-par phye-ba'i gtam, 2 vols., dbu-can ms.
2. Op. cit., Vol. 2 (smad-cha). ff. 426b-449b.
3. gTsang mKhan-chen was the author of a life of the Buddha, collated from all the sūtras, entitled: bCom-ldan-'das shākya thub-pa'i rnam-thar mdo-sde kun-las btus-pa chos-kyi 'khor-lo'i deb-gter chen-po 'phrin-las-kyi 'od-stong 'char-ba, 2 vols., dbu-can ms. On the circumstances which led him to write the work upon his return to Bhutan after the last of his Indian visits, see ff. 450b-451b of his autobiography.
4. See LCB I, f. 14a. The claim is not made in PBP.
5. Smith 1968:I.
6. See particularly the Zhabs-drung's life by Shākya Rin-chen, f. 3a.
7. For a discussion of lHa-dbang Blo-gros's important work, the bsTan-rtsis 'dod-spyin gter-'bum, and a critique of Schlagintweit's translation of it, see Vostrikov 1970: 140 ff. (notes).
8. See Wessels 1924:155
9. PBP, Vol. Ga, f. 55b and LCB I, f. 18a-b.
10. PBP, Vol. Ga, f. 60a-b. Among the many delegations from Bhutan, special mention is made of the families claiming descent from Pha-jo 'Gro-mgon Zhig-po (sic).



11. PBP, Vol. Ga, f. 76b et seq.
12. PBP, Vol. Ga, f. 123a-b and LCB I, f. 22b.
13. See f. 9 of the Relação below, and note 25 thereto.
14. PBP, f. 17b, and LCB I, f. 24b.
15. PBP, f. 31a. Shakabpa (1976:362-3, 404-5) appears to place the death of Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal in 1631 or 1632, but in LCB I (f.27a) and PBP (F. 31a) it is placed before 1619, the date of bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma's death.
16. The seal is illustrated in the frontispiece to Hooker 1854 and at the top of the document containing the oath of allegiance sworn to King O-rgyan dBang-phyug in 1907, reproduced in facsimile in White 1909:226. For the verse describing the form of the seal, see f. 106b of the bKa'-khrims below, and for the full context of that verse see f. 22a-b of the life of the Zhabs-drung by Shākya Rin-chen. The Nga bcu-drug-ma reads as follows:

lugs-gnyis 'khor-lo bsgyur-ba nga //  
nga-ni kun-gyi skyabs-su bzang //  
dpal-ldan 'brug-pa'i bstan-'dzin nga //  
nga-ni 'brug-par brdzus-rnams bcom //  
rtsom-pa'i dbyangs-can grub-pa nga //  
nga-ni legs-bshad 'byung-khungs btsun //  
mtha'-bral lta-ba'i bdag-po nga //  
nga-ni lta-log-mkhan sun-byin //  
rtsod-pa'i mthu-stobs bdag-po nga //  
nga-mdun mi-'dar brgol-ba su //  
bdud-dpung 'joms-pa'i dpa'-bo nga //  
nga-nus bzlog-pa'i mthu-chen su //  
'chad-pa'i ngag-gi dbang-phyug nga //  
nga-ni rig-gnas kun-la mkhas //  
gong-ma'i lung-bstan sprul-pa nga //  
nga-ni 'dra-min sprul-pa'i gshed //

17. See f. 87b of his rnam-thar.
18. See f. 23a-b of the rnam-thar of Dam-chos Pad-dkar.
19. See ff. 161b-163a of his rnam-thar.
20. See PBP, f. 151b.
21. See Note 20 to the Lo-rgyus below.
22. See PBP, f. 93a.
23. The date of this invasion and those of the subsequent ones which took place during the remaining years of the Zhabs-drung's life are given in PBP, ff. 94a, 99b, 122b, 126b, 136b, [145b].
24. See pp. 496-7 below.
25. See Tucci 1949:62.
26. The sde-srid is given the name Kun-dga' Rab-brtan in LCB I, f. 37a. However, this seems to be a mistake for bsTan-skyong dBang-po, who had succeeded his father, Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal.
27. See PBP, ff. 100b-105a, repeated verbatim in Vol. Ca, ff. 20a-28b.
28. See Tucci 1949:636 and Shakabpa 1967:81.
29. See Shakabpa (1976:431), who has not mentioned his source: Dukula, Vol. Ka, f. 136a.
30. See Shakabpa 1976:428-9.
31. Both Tucci (1949:68) and Petech (1972:204) believe it was the second dGe-lugs-pa invasion of Bhutan in 1648 which occurred in reaction to Bhutanese support given to the sGar-pa. I am more inclined to think that the sGar-pa revolt may perhaps have been a factor in this first invasion.

32. The settlement, if indeed it was ever properly formalised, turned out to be just as temporary as the earlier one with the gTsang sDe-srid. The 5th Dalai Lama had only a few months earlier given recognition to the incarnation of dPag-bsam dBang-po (Dukula, Vol. Ka, ff. 133a-b). The passage (op. cit. ff. 135b-136a) in which the Dalai Lama describes the complicated negotiations which took place at this time is very difficult to follow, but he took particular exception to a letter from the Zhabs-drung in which he said: "Having brought down a Mongolian army upon the gTsang-pa, how is it that you have not got the power to deliver to me a single monastery [i.e. Ra-lung]?"
33. bla-ma lho-ru bzhugs-'dug //  
'bul-ba lho-ru rgyab-song //  
dnegos-grub 'brug-pas bsdus-'dug //  
nor-bus bya-ra byas-song //
34. See Hūm-ral gdung-rabs, f. 56b.
35. See op. cit., ff. 67b-68a.
36. See LCB I, f. 43a.
37. For a full list of the Wang tsho-chen brgyad see Aris 1976:625 Note 61.
38. Op. cit. 621.
39. See f. 7b of the Lo-rgyus below.
40. Tucci (1949:68) and Shakabpa (1976:431) maintain this occurred in 1648, basing their statements on the evidence of Dukula, Vol. Ka, ff. 140b-141a. The Bhutanese sources (PBP, f. 136b and LCB I, f. 44a) give the date sa-glong (1649).

41. See Shakabpa 1976:444-5.
42. See Dukula, Vol. Ka, ff. 140b-141a, and Shakabpa 1976: 431-2. The names of the Tibetan commanders are given in abbreviated form as Drung-che-'or gsum.
43. See PBP, f. 137a, and LCB I, f. 45a. Also Aris 1976:613.
44. The festival is discussed in some detail in Aris 1976.
45. See f. 10 of the Relação<sup>3</sup> below.
46. Cf. the accounts in LCB I, f. 39a and on ff. 293a et seq. of the gTsang mKhan-chen's autobiography.
47. See LCB I, f. 55b.
48. Op. cit., f. 56a.
49. We have noted three invasions by the gTsang sDe-srid (the first of these being undated) and two by the government of the 5th Dalai Lama. According to LCB I (f. 51a-b), there were in fact three by the latter, one of them being on a small scale. The details concerning this one seem to have been lost.
50. See f. 15 of the Relação<sup>3</sup> below.
51. See PBP, F. 141a-b.
52. For a short sketch of this person's life see ff. 74b-76b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas.
53. 1674 is the last date mentioned in the work (PBP, f.149a). gTsang mKhan-chen died in 1684 (see f. 455a of his rnam-thar).

54. ... mya-ngan-las 'da'-ba'i tshul ston-par-mdzad-pa-las /  
dgos-pa 'ga'-zhig-gi dbang-las sku-mtshams-kyi lugs-su  
bcas rgyas-bsdams-te shin-tu gsang-bar byas-so // (f. 3b).
55. bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal took no less than 28 years to write the LCB I, i.e. 1731-59 (see the colophon on ff. 148b-151a). He wrote f. 53b in 1757, and the passages dealing with the Zhabs-drung's retreat come shortly after.
56. ... gzhan-yang zhabs-drung ma-chen sku-mtshams-kyi gsang  
ma-brtol-bar de-kho-nar bzhugs-pa sman-yon che-yang /  
rje-'dis gsang brtol-bas bstan-bserung ma-nyes-pa'i  
gzhis-las sku-tshe-la 'gal-rkyen byung-ba-yin-kyang zer-ro /  
(LCB I, f. 62b).
57. See f. 101a of the rnam-thar of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan by Shākya Rin-chen. This work preserves complete silence on the question: evidently the disclosure of the secret reflected badly in some way on Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, which explains why he does not himself go into the matter of causes in the passage quoted in the next note. I am most indebted to Slob-dpon Padma-lags for bringing this passage to my notice. It led me eventually to all the other references given in this section.
58. / der rten-'brel-gyi dbang-zhig-las dpal ngag-gi dbang-po'i  
sku-mtshams-kyi gsang brtol-dgos-byung-bas / de'i nyin rje  
rin-po-che'ang spur-mjal-la phebs-te / (f. 39b).
59. Smith 1968:1
60. See Shakabpa 1967:125-8, 1976:463-71, Petech 1972b:0, and Macdonald, A 1977:134-8.
61. See f. 83a of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub.

62. See ff. 48b-49a of the rnam-thar of Dam-chos Pad-dkar by Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, and f. 16a of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang Pad-dkar by Shākya bsTan-'dzin.
63. See LCB I, f. 54b, and f. 19b of the rnam-thar of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan by Shākya Rin-chen.
64. See f. 325b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub.
65. See f. 21a of the rnam-thar of Mi-pham dBang-po by Shākya Rin-chen.
66. See ff. 93b-94a of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las by Shākya Rin-chen.
67. See f. 29a of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang Pad-dkar by Shākya bsTan-'dzin; also f. 23a of the rnam-thar of Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal by Shākya Rin-chen.
68. See ff. 82a-83a of the rnam-thar of Mi-pham dBang-po by Shākya Rin-chen.
69. ... bdag-nyid chen-po 'di-nyid / yos-lo dpyid-zla 'bring-po'i  
tshes bcu-la zag-pa med-pa'i dbyings-su gshegs-par gyur-to /  
der bla-ma rin-po-che rang-gi zhal-chems-las / lo bcu-gnyis-  
kyi bar dgos-pa chen-po yod-pas nges-par gsong-shig  
gsung-ba-ltar / sde-pa dbu-mdzad chen-po rang dang / sku'i  
nye-bar gnas-pa 'ga'-zhig ma-gtogs / gzhan sus-kyang  
mi-shes-pa'i bka'-rgya dam-pos gsang-bar mdzad-do / der gra-pa  
rgan-gzhon thams-cad ltas dang cho-'phrul-gyi rnam-pa mang-du  
byung-ba-la thugs the-tshom-du gyur / khyad-par rje gzhon-nu  
nyid bla-ma dang mjal-rgyu-med-par yun-ring-bas / bla-ma  
rin-po-che sku-mtshams grol-nas zhal-mjal-ba'i dus-cig nam  
yong-ngam dgongs-pa'i thugs-'dun-la rgyun-chags-su  
bzhugs-shing /

70. See LCB II, f. 128b.
71. See also Wessels 1924:141-2, and Note 16 to the Relação below.
72. // de-yang de-dus-kyi gtam-la phyi sde-srid phyag-mdzod-pa /  
nang drung dam-chos rgyal-mtshan zer gleng-la gleng-ba-ltar  
zhabs-drung rin-po-che sku-mtshams bcad-rgyar bzhugs-te sde-pa  
dbu-mdzad chen-mo zhing-du phebs-pa-nas gzung chos-phyogs-kyi  
thugs-'gan thams-cad bzhes-te... / See also LCB I, ff.95b-60a.
73. See f. 17a of the rnam-thar of bSod-nams 'Od-zer by  
 Ngag-dbang dPal-ldan rGya-mtsho.
74. See f. 21a of the rnam-thar of Dam-chos Pad-dkar by Kun-dga'  
 rGyal-mtshan.
75. As noted above, the death of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje was also kept  
 secret but we have no means of telling for how long. The  
 author of LCB II maintains (on f. 122b) that he died in  
 1681. Petech (1972a:205 Note 12) has concluded from notes  
 supplied to him by Mr. E. Gene Smith that the death occurred  
 in 1680 or 1681. See also the previous section to this  
 chapter.
76. / de-bzhin gong-sa chen-mo zhabs-drung yab-sras gnyis-kyi  
gzim-'gag-nas phyag-'bul-la byon rtse-shod gnyis-ka-nas  
na-bza' sogs byon-skyes-kyang gya-nom-pa stsal-bas  
dngos-mjal-bzhin thugs mchog-tu dges-par gyur-to //  
 (f. 148a-b of the rnam-thar of bStan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by  
 Ngag-dbang lHun-grub).
77. / ding-sang-gi bar-du'ang gdung-brgyud rtse'i gsol-gzims  
la-sogs bkod-nas mchod-'bul-gyi rgyun bzang-po yod-pa 'di'o //  
 (LCB I, f. 54b).  
 / sku-pur dmar-gdung-du 'jog-nas phyis-phral byung-rken-gyis

'jigs-kyang yab-sras gnyis dbyer-med mchod-pa'i rgyun bzang-po  
btsugs-te da-lta'i bar-du rtse'i gsol-gzims 'jog-srol nyams-med  
byung / (LCB II, ff. 122b-123a).

78. See ff. 26b-27a of the rnam-thar of bSod-nams 'Od-zer by Ngag-dbang dPal-ldan rGya-mtsho.
79. See f. 42b of the rnam-thar of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan by Shākya Rin-chen.
80. See the Relação (Notes 1 and 13) below, and the reference to the Dharmarāja in the passage from the Fathiya i Ibriya quoted above.
81. Petech (1972a:203) has maintained wrongly that rGyal-tshab was the local title for the Dharmarāja, and that Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che was an improper, though more common, usage. He notes correctly, however, that the list of the rgyal-tshab in LCB I represents "... an attempt to systematize a matter which escaped any consistent frame." Nevertheless, he himself adopted the framework imposed on Bhutanese history by this work in discussing "the succession and approximate chronology of the heads of the Bhutanese state," and the whole matter of the Zhabs-drung's 'retreat' escaped his careful reading of the three Bhutanese sources available to him. This has tended towards a rather distorted picture of the period. In every other respect his paper has been invaluable to the present study, particularly in its meticulous approach to chronology.
82. See f. 19b of the rnam-thar of Kun-dga' rGyal mtshan by Shākya Rin-chen; also Note 77 above, and Petech 1972a:205 Note 12.
83. See f. 109a of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub; also Petech loc. cit.



84. My translation of the French rendering by A. Macdonald (1977:136).
85. See particularly Shakabpa 1976:463.
86. In the following paragraphs I do not supply references to the original sources in dealing with the succession and rules of the first incumbents to the position of 'Brug sDe-srid, except where my findings add to the picture afforded by Petech in his major article (1972a) which was based mainly on the evidence of LCB I, MBTJ, the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (his abbreviation TSM), and a few other Tibetan, Bhutanese and Chinese works.
87. See Dukula, Vol. Ka , f. 156a-b; partly reproduced in Shakabpa 1976:443-4.
88. See f. 18a et seq; also Note 51 thereto.
89. See f. 131a of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub; also LCB I, f. 56a.
90. See Shakabpa 1976:447-8.
91. See f. 98b et seq. of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHan-grub. In LCB I (ff.51b-52a) the invasion of 1657 is totally confused with this one of 1676.
92. The latter official, the sDe-pa sKyid-shod-pa, is referred to as a mediator in the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 107b), but appears in the source used by Shakabpa (1976:448) as a Tibetan negotiator.
93. See f. 109b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas.

94. Slob-dpon Padma-lags informs me that this tradition is found in the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang rGyal-mtshan. I do not have this work to hand.
95. The long passage (f. 129a-b) is so crucial to the issue of the 'retreat' that it merits quotation in full:  
 / gzhan-yang skabs de-dag-gi tshe / sngon zhabs-drung  
rin-po-che sku-mtshams rdo-rje'i sgo-glegs 'dzugs-pa'i skabs /  
thugs zag-pa med-pa'i ye-shes bde-ba chen-po zung-'jug rab-tu  
mi-gnas-pa'i dbyings / ting-nge-'dzin-gyi sgo rgya-mtsho  
lta-bu-la snyoms-par 'jug-pa mnyam-gzhag 'od-gsal chen-po'i  
ngang-las g.yo-ba med-par bzhugs-ring-nas / ye-shes brtse-ba  
chen-po'i rang-gzugs chu-zla'i rol-gar-bzhin 'char-bas /  
'phrin-las 'ga'-zhig-gi dbang-las re-zhig sprul-pa'i zla-zhal  
'gos-yul-gyi phyogs lho-bod mtshams-kyi yul-gru zhig-tu  
tshes-pa 'brug-gzhung-nas thugs-khur bzhes / zab-khog-nas  
gdan-'dren-gyi sta-dgon bgyid-pa-yin-yang / dge-'brug chags-  
sdang-gi dbang-las bod-gzhung-du thal-ba bya-thabs med-pa'i  
gnas-skabs-la thur / de-rjes rin-po-che ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin  
rab-rgyas khri-thog-tu phebs-pa'i zhal-snga-nas / thabs-  
mkhas-kyi mdzad-pa ji-ltar rtsom-yang gdan ma-'drongs /  
mthar rgya-nag-tu phebs-pa sogs 'phrin-las cung-zad bsyangs-nas  
sprul-pa'i dkyil-'khor gtor /
96. There is a reference to bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas making offerings to the Zhabs-drung's corpse (gong-sa mchog-gi sku-gdung) on f. 316a.
97. See Note 78 above.
98. On f. 304b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas we find Sa-ga requesting the Zhabs-drung for a bead from his rosary; bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas wanted one as a charm to cure his illness. See also Note 79 above.

99. See ff. 32b-33a of the rnam-thar of Dam-chos Pad-dkar by Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan; also LCB I, f. 61b.
100. / don-du bstan-pa gdung-gis 'dzin-pa-bas sprul-pa  
kho-nas 'dzin-pa dga'-bar 'dug snyam-ste /
101. See Note 9 to the Lo-rgyus below on the alleged ancestry of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan.
102. See f. 31b of the rnam-thar of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan by Shākya Rin-chen.
103. Op. cit., f. 45b.
104. See Note 58 above.
105. See LCB I, f. 66b. The 'prophecy' which justified this doctrine is said to have been revealed by Padmasambhava to a certain gTer-ston dPag-bsam-pa during the reign of one sDe-pa [= sDe-srid] dGe-Khri. The latter can perhaps be identified with Ngag-dbang rGya-mtsho, the 9th sDe-srid (regn. 1719-29), often referred to as sDe-pa dGe-bshes.
106. On the circumstances of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan's death, see f. 114b et seq. of his rnam-thar by Shākya Rin-chen.
107. On Lajang's invasion see MBTJ, ff. 101a-112a; also Petech 1972b:29-30.
108. See Petech 1972b:161-4; also MBTJ, ff. 345a et seq.
109. The following account is based on ff. 24b-39b of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang Pad-dkar by Shākya bsTan-'dzin; also f. 17b-23a of the rnam-thar of Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal by Shākya Rin-chen; and ff. 72a-97b of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las by Shākya Rin-chen.

110. See ff. 51b-68a of the rnam-thar of Mi-pham dBang-po by Shākya Rin-chen.
111. See ff. 127a-128-131a of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las by Shākya Rin-chen.
112. See ff. 39b-40a of the rnam-thar of Ngag-dbang Pad-dkar by Shākya bsTan-'dzin; also ff. 123a-124a of LCB II.
113. See Appendix (List F) below.
114. See ff. 41a-44a and 89b-91a.



Plate I: A collection of prehistoric stone implements from  
Bhutan



Plate 2: The cong of dKon-mchog-gsum lHa-khang in Bum-thang

643

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## PART TWO

## FIVE IMPORTANT SOURCES



## Background to the texts

The works selected for inclusion in Part 2 have been chosen from considerations of their value as crucial source material on the formative era of Bhutanese history, covering as they do the entire period leading to the full emergence of the Bhutanese theocracy. Their relative brevity as compared with the other major works consulted in this study further suggested the convenience of presenting them here as a group of interrelated 'minor' texts. Moreover, none of them pertain to the same genre of historical writing and so together they represent something of the available corpus on Bhutanese history. Several other short texts separate from the rnam-thar and chos-'byung genres could have been included but for reasons of space and time. Nevertheless, the ones chosen here seem to me among the most important of those now available. Two texts of the gter-ma class (not represented here) have already been studied in Sections 2 and 3 to Chapter I. While the first two works in this collection have never before been available to modern scholarship, and are indeed hardly known even in Bhutan, the next two (which include a text translated from Portuguese) have been partially known from the work of White (1909) and Wessels (1924). Although these earlier writers fully realised their importance, neither of them were able to fit these works into the historical context with any degree of success, and the translations they provided were incomplete. Text V has already appeared in Aris 1976, reproduced here in full.

To form something of a chronological sequence the works have to be read in the order: I, IV, II, III, V. The



present order was determined by the close relationship of I and II, by the nature of IV as 'odd man out', and by the current ritual use of V.

I. Sa-skyong rgyal-po'i gdung-rabs 'byung-khungs dang 'bangs-kyi mi-rabs chad-tshul nges-par gsal-ba'i sgron-me (short title: rGyal-rigs 'byung-khungs gsal-ba'i sgron-me), dbu-can ms. in 54 folios measuring approx. 35 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  cms. Author: the monk Ngag-dbang (Wa-gindra) of the Byar clan. Date: 1728.

I first heard of this work and No. II below in 1971 from Drag-shos bsTan-'dzin rDo-rje, former magistrate of bKra-shis-sgang rDzong, who was at that time employed at the Audit Office in the capital. He very kindly offered to secure copies for me from eastern Bhutan and after some months he succeeded in obtaining the manuscripts from which these copies were made. The copyist made no attempt to correct the many orthographic errors which had crept into the two works since the time of their composition and some effort has now gone into emending the more obvious mistakes. A few lacunae remain unfilled but not so as to cause serious disruption. bsTan-'dzin rDo-rje himself wrote down a few comments on the copy of this first work and these are given here in the notes under the abbreviation TD. Slob-dpon Padma-lags (LP) very kindly answered some specific queries in a letter dated 10/5/77. The work is uniquely important for its treatment of the ancient ruling clans and families of eastern Bhutan. Much has already been said about it in Sections 4 and 5 to Chapter I above, and several unexpected references were found in Tibetan literature that shed light on its evidence. However, it should perhaps be pointed

out again that the form of the work, particularly its division into apparently unrelated sections, seems to come from the fragmented nature of Bhutanese society itself. Although there are themes linking them together unconsciously, each of the sections 2 to 5 really stands on its own for its handling of a particular unit of rule, or rather of a collection of related units sharing a common myth. The Addendum provides a glimpse into how some of that 'sharing' seems to derive from the author's own search for unity in the face of multiformity. Apart from its supremely local character, the style and conception of the work owes much to the Tibetan rgyal-rabs.

II. dPal 'brug-par lung lha'i gdung-brgyud-kyis bstan-pa'i ring-lugs / lho-mon-kha-bzhi-las nyi-ma shar-phyogs-su byung-zhing rgyas-pa'i lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long; dbu-can ms. in 24 folios, same measurements as I above. Author: Ngag-dbang. No date.

This is the second of the two works found for me by bstan-'dzin rDo-rje, and its condition exactly matched that of I above. While the rgyal-rigs is a glorification of the ancient order in eastern Bhutan, this work is an enthusiastic narrative account of its destruction by a military campaign organised for the new 'Brug-pa government in the 1650's by Krong-sar dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa. How the two works could have issued from the same pen remains something of an enigma. No doubt one reason can be found in the universal tendency to recognise and accept the powers that be once they are firmly established. Another is that the author was both a member of an ancient clan (the Byar) and a 'Brug-pa monk of the state monastery in bKra-shis-sgang

rDzong. Furthermore, the rGyal-rigs seems to be a 'secret' work directed towards the sympathisers of the ancien régime, while the Lo-rgyus is clearly of a formal nature intended to win favour in the eyes of 'Brug-pa officialdom. They were probably written at different periods in the life of the author. The way in which several figures mentioned at the bottom of the pedigrees in Section 2 of the rGyal-rigs turn up here as protagonists in the struggle with the 'Brug-pa is particularly satisfying (see Table VIII and the notes to both works). Unfortunately the geographical setting remains somewhat obscure and only the larger districts can presently be identified on the map. Nevertheless, the work is of great value, based as it is on a number of eye-witness reports and written in a most refreshing style, simple and direct. I know of no other work in Tibetan or Bhutanese literature which quite compares with it. The lack of a similar account of the 'Brug-pa expansion towards the west is much felt. The name of Mi-'gyur brTan-pa also figures prominently in that movement.

III. dPal 'brug-pa rin-po-che mthu-chen ngag-gi-dbang-po'i bka'-khrims phyogs thams-cad-las rnam-par rgyal-ba'i gtam; blockprint in 16 folios, occupying ff. 100b-115a in LCB I. Author: bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, 1701-67 (regn, as 10th Head Abbot 1755-62). Date: 1729.

This is the Bhutan Legal Code of 1729 composed by bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal for and on behalf of the 10th 'Brug sDe-srid, Mi-pham dBang-po, at the start of the latter's eight-year reign. Although this seems to be the first such code in Bhutan, it was by no means the only one. Slob-dpon

Padma-lags informs me that he has personal knowledge of at least two others, both of which similarly took the form of decrees proclaimed by new incumbents to the position of 'Brug sDe-srid. One may indeed wonder if these codes continued to hold force for very long after the reigns of their promulgators. Both Petech (1972:211 Note 75) and White (see below) appear to have thought that this particular code was the only example of its kind and that it enjoyed a constant validity through later Bhutanese history, the former referring to it as "the Bhutanese code of law (actually conduct rules for the ruling class)." The term bka'-khrims ('legal code', 'decree' or 'edict') as found in the above title has had an unbroken continuity from the time of the Tun-huang literature where it appears as bka'grims (cf. also bka'grims-gyi yi-ge, bka'i khrims-yig, Uray 1972:32). The only published text, however, which affords a parallel to this one seems to be 'The Edict of the C'os rGyal of Gyantse' (Tucci 1949:745-6). In fact work on Tibetan law began only recently with Uray's most detailed study (1972) of the tradition of Srong-btsan as lawgiver. His researches will form the starting-point of any future approach to the question of the real codes of the 14th century and later. That sufficient material does survive to warrant an exhaustive study is quite clear from the notices given of certain legal texts by Kitamura (1965: No. 408), Yamaguchi (1970:Nos. 443-4) and especially by Meisezahl (1973:222-65). Meanwhile, even if the code presented here cannot yet be properly set either in the context of the Bhutanese legal tradition or in the wider Tibetan tradition from which it stems, it does stand as a mine of information on the theory and practice of theocratic government in Bhutan. Two of the

British colonial officers who had dealings with Bhutan realised its importance and commissioned their Tibetan assistants to translate it into English. A partial translation (or rather summary) can be found in Appendix I, 'The Laws of Bhutan', to White's book of 1909 (301-10). Sir Charles Bell employed the teacher 'Dousamdub Kazi' (Zla-ba bSam-grub) to translate the whole of the lHo'i chos-'byung wherein the code is preserved, and his typescript survives in the British Library (A2 19999.b.17). Both versions are marred by inaccuracies and omissions but were on occasion found useful for resolving certain problems of interpretation. The draft by 'Dousamdub' is generally better, though less fluent, and I give a few of his readings in the accompanying notes under the abbreviation DS, followed by the page number of his typescript. Of far greater value have been the glosses provided for me by Slob-dpon Nag-mdog, which he most graciously sent in a letter dated 11/12/75. Some of these I have reproduced in their original form in the footnotes and Glossary under the abbreviation LN. No attempt has been made to trace the undocumented quotations which sprinkle the text, besides those that turned up in the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa-skya Paṇḍita (the Sa-skya legs-bshad, Bosson's edition of 1969). The annotation of the translation has presumed a fair amount of 'Tibetological' knowledge on the part of the reader, and so my notes are generally confined to matters concerning Bhutanese institutions. Much of the text is written in a clipped 'civil service' idiom to the point of ambiguity or obscurity, and some license has therefore been used to bring out the meaning in certain passage. I have not checked the text against those excerpts of it which are

said to be reproduced on slabs of slate set into a stūpa outside the rdzong of sPu-na-kha. (The stūpa is known as the rdo-ring ('pillar'), presumably by analogy with the Zhol rdo-ring of lHa-sa.) A

'definitive' translation will only be possible when the later codes become available to supply sufficient parallels and contrasts.

IV. Relação que mandou o p.<sup>e</sup> Estevão Cacella Da comp.<sup>a</sup> de Jesu ao p.<sup>e</sup> Alberto Laercio Provincial da Provincia do Malavar da India Oriental, da sua Viagem pera o Catayo, ate chegar ao Reino do Potente. 15 folios, ms. in Portuguese (29 x 20 cms.). Preserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu where it has the catalogue no. 627 $\frac{4}{x}$ . An account by Cacella of his stay in Bhutan, written at the court of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal at the temple of lCags-ri on 4th October, 1627. It is not in the author's handwriting and must be a copy sent to Rome from India.

The translation of Cacella's Relação (or rather the bulk of it which recounts his stay in Bhutan) has been made from a photocopy kindly provided by the Society of Jesus in Rome. It would have been impossible to include this interesting document here but for the help of Dr. Thomas Earle, University Lecturer in Portuguese, Oxford, who also supplied the following comment: "The Jesuits sometimes wrote highly literary reports of their activities, especially their 'cartas ánuas', but this is clearly not one of them. It is only a report of work in progress, as Cacella explains in para. 1. The report is not especially well put together, as after a rather sententious summing-up

on ff. 13-14 (omitted in our translation) he remembers that he has failed to tell the Provincial about the geography of Cambirasi [= Bhutan, see Note 147. I think the omitted para. is intended as a summing-up, because it begins 'This is the state of things in which we are at present' and he goes on to ask for the blessing of the Provincial, which he does again at the very end of the report. Where Cacella does attempt higher flights, as in the para. we have omitted, he is rather unclear and difficult to follow. The vocabulary seems straight-forward, apart from the few oriental words he uses. On the whole I would guess that this report was somewhat hastily written." (letter dated 29/3/77.)

The value of this document lies chiefly in the fact that by a stroke of pure good fortune it contains a detailed account of Cacella's meeting with Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (1594-?1651), the founder of Bhutan. Cacella and his fellow Jesuit, Cabral, spent several months in the Zhabs-drung's company in 1627 and the account corroborates several passages in the biographies of the Zhabs-drung (PBP and LCB I, ff. 12a-54a) which I point out in the notes. The only person who has given serious notice of the Relação<sub>3</sub> to date is Wessels (1924: Ch.5 and Appendix II). Although he made a brave attempt to relate the evidence to Bhutanese institutions, unfortunately Wessels only had the secondary material deriving from British authors to hand, and so the significance of the work from the point of view of the Bhutanese material was of course lost on him. However, his book is still basic reading for those who wish to see Cacella's account in the wider context of Jesuit missions to Tibet and Central Asia.

It also has to be read for its narrative of our Jesuits' approach journey to Bhutan and for their doings in Tibet, both of which lie outside the present interest.

I approach the work here almost exclusively from the Bhutanese angle. Oddly enough, the Bhutanese have a genuine 'angle' on the Portuguese and some thought must be given to the following passage in gTsang mKhan-chen's biography of the Zhabs-drung (PBP, ff. 96b-97a, repeated almost verbatim in LCB I, ff. 34b-35a). It comes after the account of a Tibetan defeat at Srin-mo-dho-kha ('Simtokha') in 1634, that is to say at least seven years after Cacella's stay. The Tibetans forming this second gTsang-pa invasion had captured the palace. The guardian deities of the 'Brug-pa are then claimed to have ignited the gunpowder store and the enemy soldiers are said to have died in the fire.

/ dus-skabs-de'i tshe / phyi'i rgya-mtsho chen-po'i  
 gling-phran purdhu-kha zhes-bya-ba'i yul-nas / me'i  
 mda' dang / me'i sgyogs-kyi 'khrul-'khor / me'i  
 rdzas dang-bcas-pa 'bul-bar / gling-de'i rgyal-po'i  
 pho-nya sngon ma-mthong-ba'i mi-tshul dang byad  
 mi-'dra-ba mang-po rgya-mtsho chen-po-la zla-ba  
 bcu-gnyis-kyi gru-gzings btang-nas rgya-mtsho dang  
 nye-ba'i yul gho-ba zhes-bya-ba dang / A-bzir-ya  
 dang A-zir-ka zhes-bya-ba'i srin-po'i yul-gyi  
 cha-shas-dag 'das-te / shar-phyogs za-hor rgyal-  
 khams brgyud / gya gha-ta-kha-nas 'ongs-te /  
 sku-zhabs rin-po-cher 'byor-te / me-mda' dang  
 me-sgyogs me'i rdzas dang-bcas-pa-dag dang /  
 rgyang-ring-po-na yod-pa'i dngos-po phra-mo-yang  
 drung-na yod-pa ltar mthong-ba'i shel-mig sogs }  
 ngo-mtsar-ba'i yo-byad sna-tshogs phul-zhing /  
 bla-ma khyed-la 'gran-bdo-ba'i dgra yod-na / nged-kyi  
 rgyal-po'i yul-nas dmag-dpung chen-po 'bod-thub  
 ces-zer-yang / kla-klo'i dmag 'dren-pa sogs rang-gi  
 skyabs-'gro-la gnod-pa'i bya-ba ci-la-rung bsam  
 khas-len ma-byas gsung / dus de-yan-du me-mda'  
 ma-dar-zhing / srol-med-pas skad thos-pa-tsam-gyis  
 dgra-sde'i tshogs 'jigs-shing skrag-par gyur-to //

At that time there came to the Precious Lord  
 /Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal/ from the



country called Purdha-kha /Portugal/, a small island in the great outer ocean, some messengers from the king of that island, being a kind of men that had not previously been seen and having many strange features, in order to make offerings that included muskets, the magical device of canons, gunpowder and so forth. After sailing a ship for twelve months on the great ocean they had passed through a place near the ocean called Gho-ba /Goa/ and some parts of the Land of Demons called A-bzir-ya /Asir ? = 'Hassier' ?/ and A-zir-ka /Asirgadh ?/, and then by way of the eastern realm of Za-hor /Punjab ? Mandi ?/ they came /here/ from Gha-ta-kha /Cooch Bihar/ in India. Offering various marvellous objects which included the muskets, canons and gunpowder, also an eye-glass which caused one to see even minute objects at a distance as if they were right in front, they declared: "Lama, if you have enemies that harass you, we can summon a large army from the country of our kind." However, /the Zhab-drung/ said /to me, gTsang mkhan-chen, once/: "Thinking /to myself/ how could it ever be fitting to invite a barbarian army or commit other such acts that would injure one's own refuge /in the Triple Gem/, I did not accept /the offer/." Up to this time fire-arms had not flourished /in Bhutan/ and since the custom did not exist, the enemy became terrified just on hearing the sound.

Is this a garbled account of the Jesuit mission or does it in fact relate to a quite separate visit paid by a group of Portuguese soldiers of fortune ('fidalgos') of whom no trace remains in the available western records ? Certainly the date, the alleged mercenary character of the visitors, the nature of their presents and possibly their itinerary all suggest the latter possibility. On the other hand, the chronology of PBP is often confusing and the fact that both visits are apparently affirmed to have been the first made by Europeans to Bhutan might point to their identity. The problem largely hinges on the Portuguese gift of guns, which finds no mention in Cacella. Could Cacella have omitted them from his report as being a subject too indelicate for the ears of his Provincial ? I would prefer to leave these various possibilities as they stand pending further research.

V. bKa'-bkyon rdo-rje tho-lum; dbu-can concertina  
ms. in 31 folios measuring  $23\frac{1}{2}$  x  $6\frac{1}{2}$  cms. No author  
or date.

This is the code governing the behaviour of the 'pazap'  
militia during the official New Year festival at the  
old winter capital in sPu-na-kha. It has been included  
here for the abundance of its historical allusions and  
themes. The article (Aris 1976) where it first appeared,  
and which is presented here, carries its own extended  
introduction; some of its points have been superseded by  
the later research embodied in the present study.

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TEXT I

(Ia) *sa skyong rgyal po'i gdung rabs 'byung khungs dang 'bangs kyi  
mi rabs chad tshul nges par gsal ba'i sgron me bzhugso //*

(Ib) *na mo Ārya lo ki sho ra dharma rā dza bho dhe sa twa ya //*

rgyal kun thugs rje gcig 'dus lhag pa'i lha //  
mtha' khob bod kyi ma rig mun gling 'dir //  
gang 'dul thabs kyis\* cir yang skur ston pa'i //  
spyān ras gzigs dbang mgon la phyag 'tshal lo //

\*kyi

gang de'i snang brnyan\* sgyu'ma'i zlos gar las //  
sna tshogs sprul pas 'dzam gling skye 'gro 'phel //  
sangs rgyas bstan pa (2a) phyogs mthar rgyas pa'i phyir  
rgya gar mi rigs lha las\* sprul pas chad //  
bod kyi mi rnam spre'ur gyur pas spel //  
de dag dge ba'i thabs mchog stsol ba\* ni //  
rgya gar yul du mang pos bskur ba'i rgyal //  
gangs can bod du rje rgyal gnya' khri btsan //  
srong btsan sgam po khri srong\* lde\*\* btsan dang //  
lho phyogs mon du lha sras gtsang ma zhes //  
rnam par (2b) sprul pa'i skye mchog de rnam kyi //  
gong ma rje'i gdung rabs 'byung khungs dang //  
'og ma 'bangs kyi mi rabs chad tshul sogs //  
nges\* par gsal ba'i sgron me 'di ni spor //  
'phags yul gangs can bod kyi chad khungs rnam //  
lo rgyus\* bstan bcos kun la mthong thos dang //  
'jig rten rgan rabs mkhas pa'i ngag rgyun\* bzhin //  
kun gyi go bde nyer mkho cung zad tsam //  
brjod par spro yang snyigs dus skye bo rnam //  
mi srun gzu lum spyod pa'i shugs 'gros kyis //  
ya rabs che btsun rje 'bangs mtho dman\* med //  
rigs rus 'chol\* bar song ba'i dus nyid la //  
brgyud khung bshad kyang don med ngal ba'i rgyu //  
'on kyang ma 'ongs (3a) dus kyi skabs 'ga' re //  
rigs rus mngon mtho dpa'\* mdzangs blo gros ldan //  
gnam bskos stobs kyis sa la dbang sgyur ba'i //  
rje rgyal brgyud pa nyin skar byung srid na //  
dgyes pa'i 'dzum zhal snyan gyi dga' ston dang //  
(4bs)<sup>1</sup> ya rabs pho mnyam khrol mor gleng ba'i gtam //  
kun gyi rna ba'i thos rgyar mi spobs kyang //  
mgrin dbyangs gsang ba'i glu chung 'di ltar len //

\*bsnyen

\*la

\*ba'i

\*sring \*\*sde

\*nge

\*rgyud

\*brgyun

\*man

\*cho

\*dpa'i

1. A considerable muddle in the original pagination is evident at this point and continues till 66l.

# SECTION I

(5a) de yang mdo sde padma dkar po las lung bstan pa bzhin / sngon  
sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das zhal bzhugs pa'i dus su / bod gangs can  
gyi gling phiyogs 'dir ri lung \*sa gzhi thams cad la mtsho chen po \*klung  
'khyil\* zhing chags nas yod pa la / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis / \*khyil  
sryan ras gzigs la lung bstan pa bka' stsal pa / sryan ras gzigs kyis  
kyang zhal gyis bzhes shing / thugs bskyed smon lam gyi stobs dran  
pa tsam la / kong chu lag\* kha phye nas mtsho thams cad der thim \*rlag  
nas sa gzhi lag mthil ltar chags shing sã\* la'i nags chen po byung bar \*sa  
gyur pas / de nas 'phags pa sryan ras gzigs dbang phyug dang / jo  
mo sgrol ma'i thugs rjes brgyud bskul nas / spre'u byang chub sems  
dpa' dang / brag srin mo gnyis bza' (5b) mir 'doms pa dang / spre'u  
phrug drug skyes pa las rims pa 'phel nas / spre'u phrug lnga brgyar  
song ba dang / 'phags pa sryan ras gzigs kyis / skye bo gzhon nu  
lang tsho dar la babs pa shin tu mdzes pa cig tu sprul nas / sprel tsha  
rnams kyis khyed kyis gzugs byad mdzes pa de ci las byung zer bas /  
mi des mi dge ba bcu spangs pa'i chos bshad pas spre'u tsha rnams  
kyis kyang de bzhin nyams su blangs pas / de rnams kyang rims par\* \*pas  
mi la gyur to // de nas 'phags pa sryan ras gzigs kyis / spre'u rgan  
byang chub sems dpa' la 'bru sna lnga gnang nas / spre'u gyur pa'i  
mi rnams kyis so nams kyis las la 'jug ste lo thog smin pa dang / sus  
thob dang hab\* thob byas pas 'thab cing rtsod\*\* pa dang / steng na \*has \*\*btsod  
rje dpon med / 'og na 'bangs kyis rim pa med pas (6a) [ . . . . . ]<sup>1</sup> //  
lan zer nas / khong rang thams chad kha mthun\* gyis rje dpon 'tshol \*thun  
ba'i 'dun ma 'grigs pa dang / 'phags pa sryan ras gzigs kyis thugs rje  
'od zer gyis / rgya gar gyi rgyal po dmag rgya\* pa'i bu tha chung \*brgyab  
ru pa skye bskul\* ba dang / bod kyis mi rje dpon 'tshol du phyin pa \*bskug  
rnams dang lha ri rol pa'i rtser phrad pas / bod kyis mi rnams kyis /  
rgyal po la khyed gang nas yin zer dris pas / de dus rgya bod skad  
ma go bas / rgyal po mdzub\* mo gnam la ker ba dang / khong rnams \*mdzum  
kyis 'di ni gnam las yong ba'i lha yin pa 'dug zer nas / gnya' ba la  
khri bzos nas 'khur yong bas / rgyal po'i ming yang rje gnya' khri  
btsan por btags so // bod kyis rgyal po la snga ba de yin no // rgyal  
po de'i rigs rus kyis 'byung khungs ji ltar yin zhe na / sngon rgya  
gar 'phags pa'i yul gyi rgyal po la snga ba rje mang po bkur ba'i  
rgyal po yin pa dang / de nas gdung brgyud rims par\* ded\*\* pa'i \*omitted \*\*dod  
rgyal rabs la / rgyal po bha (6b) ra dhwa dza dang / go'u ta ma  
gnyis byung ste / go'u ta ma nyes\* pa med pa la / nyes par bsgrags \*mnyes  
nas / gsal shing gi rtse la bskyon pa las khrag (3a2)<sup>2</sup> gi thig le 'dzag  
pa la smon lam btab pas sgo nga gsum du gyur pa / bu ram shing

1. A passage appears to have been omitted here.
2. Pagination error continues.

lo ma'i\* seb tu bzhag pas / rgyal bu khye'u chung gsum du gyur pa      \*lo'i for lo ma'i  
 la / gdungs brgyud rims par 'phel ba'i bu ram shing pa'i rgyal rabs  
 brgyud pa dus kyi dbang gis\* grong khyer chen po ser skyar\*\* gnas      \*gi \*\*skya  
 shing ming sring lhan du sdebs pa las byung ba'i brgyud pa la / shā  
 kya chen mo / shā kya li tsa byi / shā kya ri brag\* pa zhes rgyal rigs      \*grag  
 gsum du dgyes pa las / rje gnya' khri btsan po de ni / shā kya li tsa  
 byi'i brgyud pa yin no // gnya' khri btsan po'i gdung rabs nyi shu  
 rtsa (3b) lnga la / rgyal po lha tho tho ri gnyan btsan\* byon pa yin /      \*lha tho tho'i snyan  
 de nas gdung rabs lnga la / rgyal po srong btsan sgam po byon pa      shal  
 yin / de nas gdung rabs lnga la / rgyal po khri srong lde\* btsan byon      \*sde  
 pa yin / rgyal po khri srong lde\* btsan la sras mu ne btsan po / mu      \*sde  
 khri btsan po / sad na legs gsum 'byung ba'i / sad na legs kyi sras /  
 khri ral pa can / lha sras gtsang ma / glang dar ma gsum byung ba'i /  
 khri ral pa can ni / snying rje padma dkar po'i mdo las lung bstan  
 pa'i phyag na rdo rje'i sprul pa yin / de nyid rgyal sar bskos nas  
 'dzam bu gling cha gnyis la dbang sgyur nas / stobs dang mnga'  
 thang\* lha'i longs spyod mnyam zhing / 'u zhang rdo'i\*\* gtsug lag      \*'thang \*\*'u shang  
 khang chen mo rgya 'phibs\* dgu thog dang bcas pa bzhengs / sangs      mdo'i  
 rgyas kyi bstan pa dar zhing rgyas pa'i phyir du / dge 'dun gyi sde      \*bigs  
 chen po / (4a) 'dul grwa bcu gnyis / bshad\* grwa bcu gnyis / sgom      \*bshed  
 grwa bcu gnyis la sogs pa / bod dbus gtsang khams yan chod du /  
 chos sde chen po sum bcu so drug btsugs\* / rgya gar nas pañḍi ta\*\*      \*gtsug \*\*panti ta  
 da' na sh'i la la\* sogs pa'i pañḍi ta\*\* mang po spyang drangs nas /      \*omitted \*\*panti ta  
 bod kyi lo tsā ba rnams dang chos thams cad skad\* gsar\*\* bcad      \*skar \*\*gsang  
 kyi\* sgyur du bcug cing dam pa'i chos dar zhing rgyas pa dang /      \*kyl  
 khyad par du'ang dge 'dun pa re la 'bangs mi khyim bdun bdun  
 bsnyen bskur la sbyar zhing / rgyal po nyid kyi dbu'i ral pa la ras  
 yug btags / de'i steng\* la dge 'dun rnams bzhugs bcug cing / sangs      \*stengs  
 rgyas kyi bstan pa la bkur sti khams che ba bla na ma mchis par  
 mdzad pa las / mnga' 'bangs rnams la dka' las che tsam byung ba  
 dang sdig blon rnams blos ma rangs par / dbas\* rgyal to re dang /      \*dbabs  
 (4b) cog ro legs sgra gnyis kyi / rgyal po bkrongs nas chos khrims  
 bshig pa'i 'dun ma byas pas / cog ro legs sgra na re / rgyal po  
 bkrongs kyang / lha sras gtsang ma dang / blon chen dpal gyi yon  
 tan yod pas / chos khrims bshig mi thub zer ba la / dbas\* rgyal to      \*dbab  
 res nga la thabs yod zer nas / bod dbus gtsang gi mo ma brtsis pa  
 thams cad la nor rdzas kyi rnan pa byin nas / thams cad kha  
 mthun par smras du bcug pa la / lha sras gtsang ma da lo bod khams  
 'dir bzhugs na / rgyal po\* dang lha sras gnyis kyi sku tshe la bar chad      \*rgul  
 yong nyen che\* ba dang / khyad par du bod\*\* khams 'dir nad      \*tsha \*\*khod  
 yams\* dang / mu ge dus 'khrugs (6bi)<sup>1</sup> la sogs pa yong ba 'dug zer      \*yam  
 nas / thams cad kha mthun par smras du bcug nas smras pa dang /

dbas\* rgyal to re kyis\*\* / rgyal po'i snyan du gsol pas / rgyal po'i  
 zhal nas / gcung gtsang ma rang da lo nged rang rnam kyis sku chags  
 bsangs pa dang / lho mon gyi mnga'\* 'bangs mi sde rnam kyis yul  
 khams ji ltar yod dang bde sdug ci 'dra yod gzigs pa la phebs pas  
 chog zer ba bzhin lho spa gro\* phyogs la 'phebs pa dang / yang  
 dbas\* rgyal to re dang / cog ro legs sgra gnyis kha mthun nas / rgyal  
 to re dang / cog ro legs sgra gnyis kha mthun nas / rgyal po'i btsun  
 mo ngang tshul ma dang / blon chen dpal gyi yon tan gnyis / rgyal  
 po ma mkhyen par gsang thabs kyis\* 'dod pa (7a) spyad nas / nal  
 bshams 'dug zer nas phra ma bcug pas / btsun mo ngang tshul ma  
 ha las\* te lcebs te shi bas / rgyal po phra ma la gsan nas / blon chen  
 dpal gyi yon tan me dpung chen po'i nang la cug nas bkum pa dang /  
 sdig blon gnyis kyis\* glags rnyed\*\* nas / rgyal po 'bras chang gsol  
 nas gzims pa la / dbu lhag par skor nas bkrongs so // de nas glang  
 dar ma rgyal sar bskos nas / gtsug lag khang dang / sku gsung thugs  
 kyis rten rnam bshig cing / dge 'dun gyi sde rnam\* stor ste khyi ra  
 byed du ma nyan pa\* rnam gsad / chos sgyur 'phro rnam bcad nas  
 paññi ta\* rnam rang yul du log / sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa ming  
 tsam yang med par byas pas / lha sa'i gnas bdag ma cig dpal lhas  
 thugs rgyud bskul nas / lha lung (7b) dpal gyi rdo rjes\* rgyal po  
 glang dar ma bkrongs so // // de la sras 'od srungs dang / yum  
 brtan\* gnyis 'byung ba sku nar son nas / rgyal srid la ma cham par  
 dbu ru dang / g.yo ru so sor phye nas lo bcu gnyis bar du 'khrugs  
 pas / rgyal krims dang chos khrims gnyis ka med par mun pa'i gling  
 lta bur gyur nas / lo bdun cu tsam song ba dang / sangs rgyas dang  
 'phags pa spyen ras gzigs kyis thugs rje brtse\* bas gzigs nas / gang  
 can mun pa'i gling du sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa me ro smad nas lang  
 te / stod nas gso zhing bar du dbus gtsang la dar zhing rgyas pa'i  
 ngang tshul byung ba las / bstan pa'i me ro smad nas lang pa ni /  
 bstan pa bsnuhs pa'i dus gtsang rab gsal / g.yo dge 'byung / dmar  
 shākya mu ni dang gsum / dpal chen chu bo rir\* sgom zhing yod  
 tsa na / btsun (8a) pas khyi ra byed pa mthong nas lo rgyus\* dris  
 pas / rgyal pos bstan pa med par byas pa'i gtam thos pas / khong\*  
 gsum dngangs skrag nas 'dul ba'i chos rnam dri'u la bkal nas mdo  
 smad kham la bro nas gnam rdzong brag la sgom zhing bzhugso //  
 de'i dus su yul tsong\* khar skyes pa'i bon gzhon nu rmu gsal gshen  
 'bar\* zer ba'i byis\*\* pa de phyugs 'tshor phyin pas / snang gsal lha  
 khang zer ba'i lha khang zhig ral song ba'i nang gi sdebs bris logs la /  
 dge slong rab tu byung ba'i gzugs brnyan\* yod pa mthong bas / byis  
 pa de snang ba shin tu spro dga' bskyed nas / nye logs na rgan mo  
 rgas shing khok pa 'khar ba la bsten pa cig yod pa de la / de ci'i  
 gzugs brnyan\* ci yin zer nas dris pas rgan mo na re / nga na chung  
 gzhon nu'i dus na / dge slong (8b) rab tu byung ba zer ba cha lugs

\*dbabs \*\*kyi

\*mngal

\*spa dro

\*dbabs

\*kyi

\*les

\*kyi \*\*nyed

\*rnam

\*omitted

\*panti ta

\*rje

\*yum bstan

\*rtse

\*ri

\*rgyud

\*kho

\*btsong

\*mu zu gsal 'bar  
\*\*byi

\*bsnyan

\*bsnyan

de bzhin gyi sde mang po yod pa yin te / glang dar mas\* chos kyi  
 bstan pa bsnuhs\* pa'i\*\* tshun chad med pa yin zer ba / byis pa na  
 re / de dus kyi dge slong rnam sa cha gzhan la 'thor song ba med  
 dam zer bas / rgan mo na re / gzhan la yod med mi ma shes / dpal  
 chen chu bo ri nas bros song ba'i dge slong gsum da lta mdo kham  
 gnam rdzong brag la bzhugs yod zer gyi 'dug zer bas / byis pa de  
 de'i mod nyid la gnam rdzong brag la song nas / gtsang rab gsal /  
 g.yo\* dge 'byung / dmar shākya mu ni gsum dang mjal nas gus  
 pa'i btud cing / \* chos 'dul ba la lhag par dad pas rab tu byung te /  
 ming dge slong rab gsal du btags / phyis thugs rab gsal\* zhing chos  
 kyi sde snod thams cad thugs su chud pa'i (9a) bla chen dgongs\*  
 pa rab gsal du mtshan yongs su grags pas / dbus bsam yas nas yum  
 brtan gyi sras brgyud tshana ye shes rgyal mtshan dam pa'i chos la  
 dad pa bskyed nas / klu mes shes rab tshul khrims\* la sogs pa mi  
 bcu rab tu 'byung bar brdzangs pas / bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal  
 las rab tu byung nas chos rgyun dbus gtsang spel ba las / bstan pa'i  
 me ro smad nas langs pa de la zer ba yin 'dug / stod nas gso ba ni /  
 glang dar ma'i sras 'od srung dang / yum brtan\* gnyis byung ba las /  
 'od srung gi sras / mnga' bdag dpal 'khor btsan / de'i sras bkra shis  
 rtsegs pa dpal dang / skyid lde nyi ma mgon gnyis byung ba'i /  
 skyid lde nyi ma\* mgon gyi sras / dpal gyi mgon / lde btsug mgon /  
 bkra shis mgon gsum byung (9b) bas / bkra shis mgon gyi sras /  
 'od kyi rgyal mtshan / srong nge dang khor\* re gnyis byung bas /  
 srong\* nges gu ger mtho lding lha khang bzhengs / kho rang mkhan  
 slob\* med par rab tu byung nas bsnyen par rdzogs / mtshan lha bla  
 ma ye shes 'od du btags / sras gnyis kyang rab tu byung du bcug /  
 rgyal srid gcung\* lha lde la gtad / de la sras gsum byung ba'i bar pa  
 byang chub 'od yin / lha bla ma ye shes 'od dang / lha btsun byang  
 chub 'od mes dbon\* gnyis kyis / rin chen bzang po la sogs pa'i bod  
 phrug\* nyi shu rtsa gcig rgya gar yul du btang nas lo tsa' slab cing  
 dam pa'i chos bod du sgyur bcug / khyad par du rin chen gser la ma  
 brtsis\* shing / rang nyid kyi lus srog la'ang phangs pa med par sdod  
 su bcug nas / rgya gar nas pañḍi\* ta lnga brgya'i (10a) gtsug rgyan  
 jo bo rje dpal ldan A ti sha zhes mtshan nyi zla ltar yongs su grags  
 pa de nyid mnga' ris\* gung thang du spyen drangs nas chos kyi 'khor  
 lo bskor ba dang / de nas rim pas dbus gtsang du phebs nas / sangs  
 rgyas kyi bstan pa rin po che dar zhing rgyas pa nam mkha'i mtha'  
 dang mnyam par gyur ba'i rgyun dus ding sang gi bar du yod pa de  
 yin no // zhes rgyal rigs 'byung khungs gsal ba'i sgron me las / gangs  
 can bod du mi brgyud spel zhing rje rgyal spyen drangs nas sangs  
 rgyas kyi bstan pa dar zhing rgyas pa'i le'u ste dang po'o //

\*ma'i

\*brnubs \*\*pa'i nas

\*yo

\*lhag par

\*che zhing

\*dgong

\*klu med tshul  
khrims shes rab

\*bstan

\*nyi ma omitted

\*kho

\*song

\*blob

\*dbos

\*phrug

\*phrug

\*panti ta

\*ri



## SECTION II

(10a4) // de nas yang rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul dang / gangs can bod  
 du byung ba'i stobs kyis 'khor los bsgyur ba'i rgyal po\* rim par  
 byon pa'i gdung rabs kyis 'byung khungs rgyas pa ni / rgyal rabs\*  
 gsal ba'i me long dang / dpag bsam ljon pa / rgyal (10b) rabs khug  
 pa rnams la gsal bas\* 'dir ma bkod / de yang rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me  
 long las kyang / lho phyogs mon gyi rgyal po rnams / lha sras gtsang  
 ma'i gdung brgyud yin gsung 'dug pa dang / da lta na'ang rgyal rigs  
 dang mi sde thams cad kyis gtam rgyun la'ang / rgyal rigs thams cad  
 rgyal mkhar mi zim pa las so sor 'gyes pa'i gleng gtam kho na kun  
 mthun kyang / 'ga' re nas so sos 'dod gtam nga rgyal gyi nga yin  
 khyod min zer ba dang / la las ni ma go ba'i hol spyod gzu lum gyi  
 gtam lha sras gtsang ma nas sras brgyud gdung rabs bcu tsam re  
 bgrang nas de'i bu nga yin zer nas nges rtags\* kho na smras pa dang /  
 la las ni sras brgyud rim pa'i\* ming 'di yin 'di min zer nas / brtsod  
 cing rang rang so so'i 'di rang yin zer ba ni / ma rig blun rmongs\*  
 shes rig med pa (IIa) kho na yin te / dper na mi gcig la'ang ming  
 mang po yod pa\* kun gyis shes pa de bzhin / pha mas chung dus  
 bkra shis mnga' gsol nas btags\* pa'i ming dang gces par bskyang nas  
 'phangs pa'i ming dang / bya ba'i gnas skabs dang gzugs byad\* la  
 dpag pa'i ming dang / che sar bkur ba'i zhe\* sa che brjod kyis ming  
 dang bcas ji snyed yong bas gcig 'dzin pa ni dpyad dka'o // la las  
 lha sras gtsang ma lho mon du phebs nas lo grangs tsam 'das dang /  
 gdung rabs tsam song gi khungs ma chod par sras brgyud rim pa 'di  
 yin 'di man gyi 'byung khungs nges rtags ltar brjod pa ni / nga rgyal  
 khengs shing dregs pa'i bab col\* gyi gtam gzu lum kho na yin pas\*\*  
 rjes su mi 'brang 'tshal lo // // dper na lo'i nges pa ni mkhas grub  
 lha dbang blo gros kyis bstan brtsis gdan dus (IIb) mthun mongs las /  
 me kyis rtag par dpyad pa'i spyod yul du rag las pas so // // de nas  
 yang gong du bshad pa'i 'phros las / lha sras gtsang ma dpon g.yog  
 lnga tsam lho brag phyogs la byon rtsis yin kyang / sngon gyi smon  
 lam dbang gis\* gtsang phag ri phyogs nas spa gro\*\* gnam mtho-  
 ng\* dkar po la phebs / der zhag kha shas bzhugs pa'i bar la bud med  
 shin tu mdzas shing lang tsho dang ldan pa zhig rtse grogs brten nas /  
 lha sras nyid tshur phebs pa'i rjes la / phyis bu med de las ma nges  
 pa'i bu yan pa gcig btsas pa dang / 'ga' res nas lha sras gtsang ma'i  
 sras yan po yin pa 'dra zer ba'i bu brgyud / da lta spa gro'i\* rgyal  
 gdung zer ba dang / thim phu'i gdung 'brog rus che ba rnams yin  
 zer ba'i 'phros gtam re yang zer gyi 'dug / de nas rim pas thim phu  
 (12a) gzhung / thed lung chu pho chu mo dbang 'dus pho brang  
 bar grong zam pa rgal nas shar lung sgor mo la sleb/ de nas\* kho  
 dwangs kha / sngan\* lung mang sde lung / kheng / rta li / sbu li /  
 stung la sbi / zhong dkar mol ba lung pa rnams rim pas bgrod cing /

\*stobs kyis 'khor lo  
 sgyur ba'i rgyal po  
 \*rab

\*ba'i

\*rtag

\*pas

\*mongs

\*ba

\*btag

\*byas

\*zhes

\*bcod \*\*pa'i

\*gi \*\*dro

\*thong

\*dro'i

\*de nas pas

\*ngan

sku ri chu la sleb pa dang / chu bo'i stod smad gang la ltas kyang  
 zam pa med par ha las te ci drag thugs nas bsam blo zhig btang\*  
 bas / lha sras kyi thugs la ngas lung phyogs 'di la gnas shing dbang  
 sgyur ba'i skal\* ba yod na zam pa\*\* tshug par gyur cig zer ro //  
 gnam lha la dmod bor nas / shing sdong gcig bcad cing sgyel bas /  
 chu phan tshun sbrel ba'i zam pa lta bur byung bas / chu bo rgal  
 nas lcang bum du sleb cing skor ri'i lab\* rtsa rgal nas / snga tshang  
 gi sa cha dang she ri chu rgal nas ba geng bre mi he long / (12b)  
 rtseng mi'i\* sa cha rnams rim par bgrod nas byams mkhar la sleb /  
 tshang zam gyi zam pa las 'thon te mug ltang mkhar thum bur zer  
 ba'i spang logs la sleb cing log nas bltas pas / gong ri grang ma'i chu  
 rgyud de lung pa'i har yangs shing dwangs sangs pa\* 'dugs pas / lha  
 sras thugs nyams\* spro ba'i rnam pa zhig byung nas dngul gyi mda'  
 zhig yod pa de 'phangs pa'i chu byung ba da lta'i gser sgom zer ba  
 de yin no // de nas wang ser kung par sleb nas phyogs mthar gzigs  
 pas lung pa dwangs spro ba yod kyang / mi dang grong zhing re  
 gnyis las med pas der bzhugs ma spro // de dus lho mon gyi lung  
 phyogs sa cha gang la'ang / rgyal (13a) po khyi kha ra thod dang  
 mnyam po yong ba'i mi 'thor bu res bzung ba'i khyim zhing\* 'thor  
 bu re las med pa las / lha sras kyang phebs cing bzhugs ma spro bar  
 rim pas 'di phyogs la phebs pa yin 'dug / de nas lha sras nyid kyis\*  
 mi rnams la mi dang yul grong gang la mang dang / sa gzhi\* gang la  
 bzang zer nas dris pas / mi rnams kyis la 'og yul gsum dpal mkhar  
 bzang zer bas / rim pas dpal mkhar du phebs nas bzhugs pas / bod  
 khams la sdig rgyal dang sdig blon rnams kha mthun nas sangs rgyas  
 kyi bstan pa bshig pa'i skabs yin zer ba'i skad cha thos byung ba  
 dang / bod yul dang thag nye ba'i gshis\* kyis der bzhugs ma spro  
 bar 'brong mdo gsum btsan mkhar la phebs nas / rgyal mkhar  
 bzung ba'i 'os\* gang la 'dug gzigs (13b) pas / mi zim pa'i sa cha de  
 chu brag gis skor zhing lung\* pa'i 'dus che la sa btsan pa 'dug  
 dgongs nas der phebs pas / de na A mi don grub rgyal zer ba'i mi  
 zhig gis bdag byas pa'i mi khyim zhig 'dug pa la / lha sras kyis don  
 grub rgyal la gsungs pa / khyed rnams 'dir yong nas mi rabs tsam  
 song / rigs rus lung phyogs gang nas yin zer bas / don grub rgyal  
 kyis smras pa / yul phyogs bod nas nga'i pha ma'i dus la yong  
 ba yin / rigs rus ni slob dpon padma'i dngos slob A mi\* byang  
 chub 'dre bkol rlangs\* lha gzigs kyi\*\* brgyud pa / byar po'i yul  
 du yod pa pha spun nang 'khrugs nas mnga' 'bangs dbang rgyu  
 ma byung ba las 'dir yong ba yin / zer ba'i lo rgyus\* zhib par zhus  
 pas / lha sras kyang yid ches\* nas der gnas bcas nas bzhugs  
 (14a) pa A mi don grub rgyal dang rigs brgyud gcig pa ni /  
 deng\* sang sde phag mo gru\*\* pa 'am / sne gdong\*\*\* gong ma  
 chen mo zer ba dang rus gcig pa yin 'dug / A mi\* don grub rgyal

\*thong

\*bskal \*\*par

\*lam

\*ma'i

\*ba

\*nyam

\*khyin zhin

\*kyl

\*zhi

\*shis

\*od

\*lus

\*ma

\*rmyang \*\*kyls

\*brgyud

\*che

\*der \*\*grub \*\*\*sdong

\*ni

gyi bu mo bsod nams dpal skyid / lha sras gtsang ma'i btsun mor  
 blangs pas / sras khri mi\* lha'i\*\* dbang phyug dang / gces bu  
 mthong legs btsun gnyis 'khrungs nas sku nar son pa dang / mi  
 khyim yul grong 'thor bu re yod pa nams la dbang sgyur nas rgyal  
 mkhar brtsigs pas / bod chos rgyal gyi gdung zhes grags pa cher song  
 ba dang / khri mi lha'i dbang phyug / la 'og yul gsum nas blon 'bangs  
 rnams kyis rje dpon spyan\* drangs nas phebs pa / phyis sras rgyud  
 rnams lha'i kham pa la bzhugs pas kham pa jo bo zer ba'i ming de  
 las grags pa yin / (14b) gces bu\* mthong legs btsun rgyal mkhar mi  
 zim pa bzung ba'i sras khri brtan dpal dang / gong dkar rgyal dpal  
 bskyed\* dar gnyis mnyam por 'khrungs pa'i sras mtshe\*\* ma gnyis  
 yin / sras gsum sku nar son pa dang / yab kyis gsungs pa / khyed  
 gsum gyi gnyen byed pa la lung phyogs 'di la gnyen zla che cher  
 med pa las / sngon rgya gar gyi yul du rigs rus gcig la / shākya\*  
 chen mo / shākya ri brag pa / shākya li tsa byi la sogs pa ming so  
 sor btags nas gnyen du sdebs pa ltar / khyod rang gsum yang de ltar  
 gyis\* shig\*\* gsungs\*\*\* nas / de yang gnas skabs dang bstun nas rus  
 kyi ming btags ba la khri brtan dpal / sras kyi thog mar 'khrungs  
 pa'i rje rgyal po ltar bkur\* bas\*\* na rus kyi ming la rje zer cig /  
 gong dkar rgyal dang dpal bskyed\* (15a) dar gnyis sras mtshe\*\* ma  
 gnyis mnyam por sbyar nas 'khrungs pas\* na rus kyi ming la sbyar\*\*  
 zer cig gsungs nas / gong dkar rgyal kho long stod kyi rje dpon du  
 spyan drangs nas byon / khri brtan dpal gyi rgyal sa bzung bas sras  
 gnam bskos lde / de nyid kyis yab mes gong ma rnams kyis yig  
 tshang la gzigs shing phyag srol\* ji lta ba\*\* bzhin dpe blangs nas  
 mdzad pas / lung phyogs phal\* cher mnga' 'bangs la 'dus shing  
 dbang sgyur / sras yang gung ri rgyal / lha bzang dar / gnam sa  
 'bangs\*/ dpal \*\* mthong legs bzhi 'khrungs nas sku nar son zhing  
 stobs mnga' thang che ba'i skad sgra lung pa\* mtha' dag la thos  
 pa dang / de'i sngon thog tsam la bod yul du rgyal po glang dar  
 ma'i sras 'od srung dang yum brtan gnyis rgyal srid la ma cham par  
 (15b) dbu ru dang g.yo\* ru so sor phye\*\* nas lo bcu gnyis kyi bar  
 du 'khrugs pas / 'od srung pham nas mnga' ris stod du bros pa'i  
 blon 'bangs rnams lho mon\* gyi phyogs su 'thor nas yong pas mi  
 rnams kyis yul grong phal cher de dus btab pa yin pa 'dug / de'i  
 sngon la mi dang yul grong cher med pa dang / rje 'bangs kyi rim  
 pa med par 'thab cing rtsod\* pa las / sngon gyi smon lam shugs  
 byung lta bu thams cad kha cham nas / rgyal mkhar mi zim par rje  
 dpon gdan 'dren zhu bar phyin pas / rgyal po gnam bskos sde'i zhal  
 nas khyod rnams 'dir ci la yong gsungs // nged rnams bod chos kyi  
 rgyal po'i gdung yod zer ba nas rje dpon zhu bar yong ba yin zer  
 bas / rgyal po'i zhal nas de ni rten 'brel\* shin tu legs so // gsungs  
 nas / gung ri rgyal 'dir rgyal (16a) mkhar bzung ba la 'dir sdod cig /

\*mi'i \*\*omitted

\*omitted

\*pu

\*skyed \*\*\*tshem

\*shā kā

\*gyi \*\*shis \*\*\*gsung

\*bskur \*\*bar

\*skyis \*\*\*tshem

\*pa'i \*\*byar

\*sros \*\*omitted

\*pher

\*bang \*\*dpe

\*omitted

\*g.yu \*\*\*phyo

\*smon

\*brtsod

\*bres

sras gzhan rnams blon 'bangs so so'i blo dang sbyar nas gdan 'dren  
 gang du zhu ba'i sar song la / blon 'bangs rnams byams dang snying  
 rje thabs mkhas kyi sgo nas skyongs\* shig gsungs nas / bkra shis  
 smon lam\* gyi rgyas btab cing dngos po yo byad\*\* sna tshogs kyi  
 rdzong ba mdzad pas / lha bzang dar nyi ma che\* rigs la gdan  
 drangs / gnam sa 'bangs nyi ma chung rigs la gdan drangs / dpal  
 mthong legs smad gdung bsam la gdan drangs nas byon pas / de  
 mams so so'i sras brgyud rim\* par bgyis pa ni / de dus rgyal po  
 mams yul grong gcig tu nges pa mi 'dzin par / blon 'bangs rnams  
 kyi yul grong skor nas bzhugs pa yin 'dug / lha bzang dar che rigs  
 la byon pa'i sras / stong gsum rgyal po / de'i bu (16b) som rgyal /  
 som dar / som bzang / som bzang gi bu / bla ma dang / 'od 'bar /  
 bla ma'i bu rgyal gdung 'jig stang la / de nyid kyi was chur thum  
 nang mkhar la rgyal mkhar brtsigs\* shing / gnas mo chen chung  
 blangs pas chen mo'i bu rgya nag dang ma ku gnyis byung / chung  
 ma'i bu rin bzang / dpal bzang / grags pa bzang / bsod nams 'bum\*  
 bzhi byung bas / skya sa mkhar gyi sa cha gsal la dwangs\* shing  
 phu mda' 'brel pa nyam dga' ba yod pa las / khong pha bu rnams  
 kha cham nas der rgyal mkhar brtsigs shing rgyal sa bzung nas / de  
 las so sor 'gyes pa las rgyal po snga tshang phyi tshang zer ba de las  
 byung ba yin / rgya nag gi bu / ham po dang / grags pa gnyis yin /  
 ham po'i bu lha dar / de'i bu rdor chos dbang / des mkhar nang du  
 'thon rgyal mkhar (17a) brtsigs shing der sdod / de'i bu gsang bdag  
 dang / dpal bkra shis gnyis yin / dpal bkra shis kyi\* bu / dar 'jam  
 dang / chos 'jam gnyis yin / chos 'jam gyi bu / rdor tshe dbang /  
 de'i bu lha dbang / mi dbang gnyis / lha dbang gi bu / dar 'jam / de'i  
 bu nor bu dbang rgyal dang / ngag dbang nor bu gnyis / yang rdor  
 tshe dbang / rtseng mi'i blon 'bangs rnams kyi rje dpon du gdan  
 drangs yong nas / tshan lnga shing mkhar la rgyal mkhar bzung nas /  
 chung ma\* blang pa'i\*\* bu / kun thub / de'i bu rgyud stong ldan  
 dang dbang bstan 'dzin grags pa'i bu brgyud mkhar nang dang / mu  
 sde nor bu sgang la yod pa'i\* rgyal rigs\*\* rnams yin / gong du bshad  
 pa'i chung ma'i bu / rin bzang gi bu brgyud rim par 'gyes pa be tsha  
 nang mkhar gyi rgyal rigs (17b) rnams yin / bsod nams 'bum\* skya  
 sa mkhar du rgyal mkhar bzung nas sdod pa'i bu / dngos 'bum dang /  
 chos 'bum gnyis yin / dngos 'bum gyi brgyud pa spun mang tshan  
 gyi rgyal rigs rnams yin / chos 'bum gyi bu / sgrub pa dang / sgo la  
 gnyis yin / sgrub pa'i bu / rang po dang rdor\* bzang / rdor bzang\*\*  
 gi bu / bang nge dang khri mi gnyis yin / de gnyis kyi\* bu brgyud  
 rim par 'gyes pa 'da lta skya sa mkhar / khas mkhar / mug ltang  
 mkhar / skyed mkhar / the nang sbi la yod pa rgyal\* rigs rnams yin /  
 khri mi'i\* bu / nyi ma bzang / de'i bu sangs rdo rje yin / des 'dre  
 spong la song nas rgyal mkhar brtsigs nas btsan sa bzung ba'i bu  
 rgyud rim par bgyes nas\* 'dre spong gi rgyal rigs rnams yin / sangs

\*sgyongs

\*omitted \*\*yod byed

\*tsha

\*chu

\*\*bu ma

\*dangs

\*omitted

\*mo \*\*ma'i

\*omitted \*\*rtsigs

\*bum

\*rdos \*\*omitted

\*bkyis

\*rgyag

\*mi

\*omitted

rdo rje'i bu / zla'u la / des mong sgar (18a) du yong nas rgyal mkhar  
 brtsigs shing sa gzhis bzung ba'i bu / rgyal po nor bu dbang phyug  
 dang / dbang drag gnyis yin / bang nge'i\* bu sngo seng / de'i bu tshe  
 dbang / de'i bu tshe ring dbang chen / de'i bu\* rgyal po yin // //  
 gnam sa 'bangs\* nyi ma chung\*\* rigs la byon pa'i bu brgyud la /  
 me gdung stong gsum zer ba'i rgyal po spun gnyis byung ba'i / me  
 gdung gi bu / sman khyi dang / thos pa / sman khyi'i\* bu / bya ku  
 dang\* / nya ku / de las so sor 'gyes pa wang ser kum pa'i rgyal rigs  
 rnams yin / thos pa'i bu / gser gdung dang ldan pa / gser gdung beng  
 mkhar bkra shis sgang la byon nas / rgyal mkhar brtsigs shing rgyal  
 sa bzung ba'i\* bu khu na / de'i bu kha khas / dngos / rgya mtsho  
 bang gsum byung ba'i dngos kyi bu brgyud (18b) grong stod kyi  
 rgyal rigs rnams yin / rgya mtsho bang gi bu brgyud grong smad kyi  
 rgyal rigs rnams yin / kha khas kyi bu brgyud rang ci mkhar las  
 yong ba'i rgyal rigs rnams yin / ldan pas\* gcen mkhar du song nas  
 rgyal mkhar brtsigs nas\* blon 'bangs la\*\* dbang sgyur nas / rje  
 dpon mdzad pa'i bu thub sbi / de'i bu brgyud la cho ka rdo rje /  
 mgon po rdo rje / senge rdo rje gsum yin / cho ka rdo rjes\* rgyal  
 mkhar bzung nas\* rgya gar rdo rong rwa dza dang 'phrul thabs  
 bsdur bas cho ka rdo rje rgyal nas de\* tshun chad nas\*\* rgya'i las  
 sgo la dbang sgyur ba yin / cho ka rdo rje'i bu / khyi rog / rdos /  
 rgyas mtsho\* gsum yin / khyi rog gi bu / bla ma / de'i bu lha mo  
 A chi / de'i bu rdo rje phan pas / de'i bu zu gi / de'i bu brgyud gcen  
 mkhar la yod / rdos kyi bu dngos grub dang / bla ma grags pa /  
 dngos (19a) grub kyi bu rgyal mtshan / de'i bu nor bu rgyal po dang  
 gsang grags / nor bu rgyal po'i bu\* rgyas mtsho / de'i bu khyi rog  
 dpal yin brgyud chad / gsang grags kyi bu tshe dbang / de'i bu\*  
 rin chen rgyal po dang / karma rgyal po gnyis yin / bla ma grags  
 pa'i bu brgyud phra sgom gyi rgyal rigs rnams yin / spun chung ba  
 rgyas mtsho / kha gling gi blon 'bangs rnams kyis\* gdan drangs has /  
 kha gling mkhar la byon nas rgyal mkhar brtsigs shing / blon 'bangs  
 dang\* rgya gar gyi\*\* las sgo la\*\*\* dbang sgyur nas / stobs mnga'  
 thang che bar byung ba dang / phyogs mtha'i mi sde thams cad der  
 'dus\* pas\*\* da lta'i kha gling gi Ar tshan zer ba'i yul tshan rnams  
 de yin pa 'dug / rgyas mtsho'i bu / rgyal bu / de'i bu brgyud bsod  
 nams dpal 'byor / de'i sras che ba chos kas / chung ba rgyas bsam  
 grub / chos\* kas kyi sras tshe (19b) g.yang / tshe g.yang gi sras che  
 ba / rgyal bu / chung ba bla ma don grub / rgyal bu'i sras / padma  
 rgyal po / padma rgyal po'i sras / gces bu / bsod nams dbang / khri  
 mi gsum yin / gces bu'i\* bu bkra shis dar rgyas dang / sing po gnyis  
 yin brgyud pa chad / khri mi'i\* bu bde ba'i brgyud chad / bsod  
 nams dbang la brgyud pa med / bla ma don grub kyi sras / sangs  
 rgyas po / nor bu rgyal po / karma tshe ring / 'brug rgyal po bzhi

\*spang de'i

\*omitted

\*bang \*\*chu

\*khyi

\*omitted

\*omitted

\*pa'i

\*omitted \*\*omitted

\*rje

\*omitted

\*de las \*\*omitted

\*rgyal tsho

\*omitted

\*omitted

\*kyi

\*omitted \*\*gi

\*\*\*omitted

\*dus \*\*pa'i

\*cho

\*pu'i

\*mi

byung ba'i / karma tshe ring gi bu / bstan 'dzin rgyal po dang\* /  
 bstan 'dzin dbang 'dus / bstan 'dzin dbang 'dus kyi bu /  
 ngag dbang bsam 'phel/ ngag dbang bsam 'phel gyi bu /  
 ngag dbang phun tshogs dang / bsod nams 'brug rgyal gnyis yin /  
 bsod nams 'brug rgyal gyi bu / 'brug bde legs / 'brug rgyal po'i\*  
 bu / bang ga / rgyal po bsam (20a) grub / ba man gsum yin / bang  
 ga'i bu / sngon la / de'i bu bla ma rgyal po / ngag dbang bsam grub /  
 karma bstan 'dzin yin pas brgyud chad / seng ge rdo rje'i bu brgyud  
 rim par 'das pa'i brgyud pa la / U rgyan dang / rgyas dar gnyis  
 byung / rgyas dar gyi bu / rgyal po dang las kyi / rgyal po'i bu /  
 rgyal bkra shis / de'i bu tshe ring dang nor bu dbang gnyis yin / de'i  
 bu brgyud sdom mkhar la yod pa'i rgyal rigs rnams yin / las kyi'i\*  
 bu ngag dbang / de'i bu pho brang dang nag seng gnyis yin / de'i bu  
 brgyud btsan mkhar gyi rgyal rigs rnams yin / rje dpal mthong legs  
 gdung bsam la byon nas blon 'bangs dang rgya gar la dbang sgyur  
 nas / stobs mnga' thang che bar byung zhing / btsun mo blangs pas  
 sras 'od bar byung / de'i bu tsha bo chang po / de'i (20b) bu brgyud  
 rim par 'das pa'i bu brgyud la\* / bstan na dang / bang tsho zer ba'i  
 rgyal bu spun gnyis rgyal srid la ma cham par 'khrugs pas / bang  
 tsho pham nas yul 'thon song ba'i bu brgyud gung gdung rgyal po  
 dang / gzhong dkar stong phu la yod pa'i rgyal rigs rnams yin /  
 gdung bsam mon yul stong gsum la\* yod zer ba'ang / de'i dus la  
 'thor ba yin 'dug / gong du brjod pa'i me gdung gi gcung po stong  
 gsum / de'i sras stong rab / de gnyis kyis gcen mkhar dang sgam ri  
 lung pa ra'ti / phong mi khang pa mkhar la sogs par rim par phebs  
 kyang / rgyal sa bzung ma thub par mthong rong wa ma spang  
 gdung la yul bzung nas re zhig der sdad / de nas slar log nas mkhar  
 gdung la yul bzung sdod pa'i bu brgyud mkhar gdung gi rgyal (21a)  
 rigs rnams yin / yang gong du bshad pa'i 'phros las / gong dkar  
 rgyal kho long stod smad kyi blon 'bangs rnams kyi rje dpon du  
 gdan drangs nas kho long stod la 'phebs / rgyal mkhar brtsigs shing  
 mnga' 'bangs mi sde thams cad la stobs shugs\* che ba'i sgo nas  
 dbang sgyur nas / btsun mo che ba dpal 'dren skyid / rdor 'dzom  
 pa / A thung skyid / g.yang dpal mo bzhi yang khab tu blangs /  
 btsun mo che ba dpal 'dren skyid las / sras mthong legs dpal dang /  
 btsun gong rgyal gnyis 'khrungs pa dang mo nga rgyal langs nas /  
 rgyal po la'ang\* zlo / btsun mo gzhan gsum phyir bton nas rang  
 rang so so'i yul du log btang ba'i rtsis byas pa la / rgyal pos ma  
 nyan par bzhag pa dang / btsun mo gsum (21b) gyis kyang semis  
 chung gi dngos nas btsun mo che ba'i g.yog mo'i tshul ltar bzung  
 nas sdod pa'i / zla dus 'khor ba dang btsun mo gsum la'ang rgyal  
 po'i sras lus la chags pa dang / gtso\* rgan stong 'dus dar\*\* gyis\*\*\*  
 shes nas / btsun mo gsum la gsang gtam phan tshig smras pa /  
 khyed gsum la rgyal po'i sras lus la yod pa btsun mo che bas\* shes

\*omitted

\*po

\*kyl

\*rim

\*omitted

\*shug

\*langs

\*gtso \*\*dur \*\*\*gyi

\*ba'i

nas ngan sems phrag dog gi gnod pa skyal nyen che bas bag gzon legs  
 par gyis shig zer bas / btsun mo gsum gyis\* kyang de bzhin byas / \*gyi  
 zla grangs tshang rim\* gyi sras po re re btsas pa dang / btsun mo \*rin  
 che bas\* tshor gyi dog nas / rdor 'dzom pas\*\* btsas pa'i sras po de / \*ba'i \*\*pa'i  
 zo ba\* gyas kyi nang du gsang nas gsos / A thung skyid kyi sras po \*xo ba de |  
 de gzeb ma stung gi nang du sbas nas gsos /g.yang dpal mo'i sras  
 (22a) po de / sa dong wang gi nang du 'gab nas gsos pas / gsum ka  
 gzugs byad\* bzang shing bskyed yang che bar byung nas 'gro 'grul \*byas  
 shes shing gtam 'thol re smra shes pa dang / btsun mo chung ba  
 gsum gyis\* kyang btsun mo che bas gnod pa skyel\*\* gyis dogs\*\*\* \*gyi \*\*skyal \*\*\*dog  
 nas / blon 'bangs rnams kyis\* bran nas bu chung gsum khrid cing \*kyl  
 gong dkar drung du phyin nas smras pa / btsun mo che ba'i phra  
 dog la 'jigs nas sbas gsang thabs mkhas kyis\* gsos\*\* pa'i sras\*\*\* \*kyl \*\*bsos \*\*\*pa'i  
 gsum po 'di yin zer bas / rgyal po thugs dgongs shin tu dgyes shing sras omitted  
 bud med shes rab kyi rang bzhin yin zer ba bden par 'dug gsungs\* \*gsung  
 nas / sras gsum po rim pas phang du blangs shing mgo la btsugs\* \*rdzus  
 btsugs\* re mdzad nas / dus ma 'ong pa na gtam rgyun ngo mtshar \*'jus  
 che zhing ya mtshan pa'i phyir du sras gsum po'i (22b) mtshan ma'i  
 ming dang rus kyi ming so sor btags dgos gsungs nas / rdor 'dzom  
 pa'i bu snod yas kyi nang du gsang nes gsos\* ba yin pas na / ming \*bsos  
 gsang sde btsan du btags\* / rus kyi ming la yas sde zer / A thung  
 skyid kyi bu snod stung gi nang du sbas nas gsos\* pa yin pas na /  
 ming sbas sde btsan du btags\* / rus kyi ming la stung sde zer /g.yang \*btag  
 dpal mo'i bu sa dong wang gi nang du 'gab\* nas gsos\*\* pa yin pas \*gab \*\*bsos  
 na / ming 'gab\* sde btsan du btags\*\* / rus kyi ming la wang ma \*gab \*\*btag  
 zer cig / da dung bu gsum nar ma son gyi bar du legs par bskyangs  
 shig gsungs nas / yum gsum la bza' btung mkho ba'i yo byad\* dpag \*byed  
 tu med pa gnang ngo / de nas sras lnga nar son zhing dpa' brtul lang  
 tsho dar la babs nas / stobs mnga' thang che bar song ba dang / yab  
 gong (23a) dkar rgyal yang thugs dgyes pa'i nga rgyal langs nas /  
 blon 'bangs rnams la khral 'u lag gi rgyun che bar btsugs shing / lung  
 pa'i phu las sha khral / mda' las nya khral / tshong pa lam 'grul las  
 lam khral tshugs\* len pa dang / blon 'bangs rnams dka' las che bar \*tshug  
 len pa dang / blon 'bangs rnams dka' las che bar byung ba dang /  
 thams cad kha mthun gyis ngo log nas / gong dkar rgyal yab sras  
 rnams rgyal mkhar las bton\* btang ba dang / log yong nas re\*\* zhig \*gton \*\*ri  
 rgyal mkhar mi zim par bzhugs pa'i skabs der / sngar nas rje dpon  
 gdan 'dren ma zhus pa'i mi rnams kyis / lha sras gtsang ma'i gdung /  
 gong dkar rgyal gyi sras rnams yod par shes nas / rgyal mkhar mi  
 zim par yong nas / gong dkar rgyal gyi drung du zhus pas / nged kyi  
 yul du rje dpon med par 'thab (23b) cing brtsod pa'i sdug bsngal  
 yod pas\* de sel ba'i phyir du / sras rnams nged\*\* so so'i yul phyogs \*pa'i \*\*ded  
 kyi rje dpon la zhus dgos zer bas / gong dkar rgyal gyi zhal nas /  
 mthong legs dpal nga rang gar sdod kyi sa gzhi zung ba la bzhag

dgos / bu gzhan rnams khyed rang blon 'bangs so so 'i blo dang sbyar  
 nas khrid cig gsungs pas / yas\* sde gsang sde btsan / sa gling rgyan \*yang  
 mtshams la gdan drangs nas byon / stung sde sbas sde btsan / zang  
 lung pa la gdan drangs nas byon / wang ma 'gab\* sde btsan / gang \*gab  
 zur stod la gdan drangs nas byon / sras rnams so sor 'gyes pa'i rjes  
 su / yab gong dkar rgyal yang thugs mkhyen stobs kyi mdzad  
 khyon\* rlabs che ba'i bshams ra sgrigs pa dang / sngar nas mi zim \*khyod  
 pa'i rgyal mkhar 'dzin mkhan gnam bskos (24a) lde'i\* thugs ji ltar \*sde  
 yong mi shes bsam nas / gong dkar rgyal yab sras gsum ri gzhung  
 thang ngos\* la phebs nas gnas gzhi bcas bas / de'i nye 'khor na yod \*ngos  
 pa'i mi sde thams cad kyang sngon gyi smon lam shugs byung lta  
 bur\* rang dbang med par mnga' 'bangs la 'dus\*\* pa dang / gzhan \*bu'i \*\*dud  
 yang yul grong mang po zhi rgyas dbang drag gi sgo nas mnga' 'bangs  
 la bcug cing / stobs mnga' thang che bar byung nas / sgo khyi yang  
 stag la byas pa'i rdo phong bug\* pa phug nas gtags pa'i bshul da \*phug  
 lta'ang 'dug / gong dkar rgyal gyi sras / mthong legs dpal / de'i sras  
 rgyal gdung dar / de'i sras ngam bzang la / de'i sras sprang po dar /  
 btsan 'dus la / Ong ma gsum byung ba'i / sprang po dar gyi pha nor  
 che dgu thams cad khyer nas / shar dom (24b) kha la song nas stobs  
 shugs che ba grub thob spyod pa lta bus / mi sde thams cad mnga'  
 'bangs la bchug cing rgya'i las sgo la dbang sgyur nas stobs mnga'  
 thang che bar byung ba'i bu brgyud\* shar dom kha dang / mur \*brgyud  
 shing la yod pa'i ba spu rnams yin / bar ma btsan 'dus la\* tsha se \*btsan 'dul  
 la song nas rgyal mkhar bzung nas blon 'bangs la dbang sgyur ba'i  
 bu / btsan gong la dang / lag sdum pa de gnyis kyi bu brgyud so sor  
 'gyes pa / tsha se dang / yu rung / khang pa / phyi mung / zla gor la  
 yod pa'i byar pa'i rigs thams cad de'i brgyud pa yin no // chung ba  
 Ong ma U dza rong la song nas / rgyal mkhar bzung nas blon 'bangs  
 la dbang sgyur nas rje dpon mdzad pa'i bu / dpal 'bum dang / bzang  
 dar / lu btsan gsum byung ba las so sor 'gyes (25a) pa / U dza rong  
 dang / gtor ma gzhong / yong ka la / lcags mkhar bzung / ku ri smad /  
 rgya ras zur / byog kang / ngang la / khom shar / ne to la / kheng\* \*khyed  
 rigs rnam\* gsum la yod pa'i byar pa'i rigs thams cad byar Ong ma'i \*rnams  
 bu brgyud yin no // yang zur du bshad\* na / dpal 'bum gyi bu \*phye  
 brgyud la / gser 'bum\* / dngos 'bum\* / dar 'bum\* gsum byung ba'i \*bum  
 gser 'bum\* gyi bu / thur skye / de'i bu rdo rje grags pa / de'i bu \*bum  
 las kyi bang dang / padma dbang / las kyi bang gi bu / bstan 'dzin  
 bsod nams dang / bstan 'dzin grags pa yin / 'di gnyis kyi bu brgyud  
 dang / dngos 'bum\* dang dar 'bum\* gyi bu brgyud U dza rong yod \*bum  
 pa rnams yin / gong du brjod pa'i 'phros las / yas\* sde gsang sde \*yang  
 btsan / sa gling rgyan mtshams (25b) du blon 'bangs rnams kyis\* \*kyl  
 gdan drangs nas byon te / rgyal mkhar brtsigs shing rgyal sa bzung  
 ba'i bu brgyud la yas sde su na zer ba'i dpa' mdzangs blo gros thabs  
 la mkhas pa zhig yong ste / des\* sgam ri'i chu rgyud phan tshun gyi \*de'i



mi sde blon 'bangs thams cad la dbang sgyur nas bu na la'ang rgyal  
mkhar brtsigs shing lam khral bsdu bas stobs mnga' thang che bar  
byung nas / sngon gyi dus su sa brtsi ri brtsi la ma cham par / yas  
sde su na la gtug nas bgo shag byas pa yin zer ba'i gtam rgyun / dus  
ding sang\* gi bar la'ang 'dug / de'i bu brgyud rim par 'gyes pas sa \*gsang  
gling rgyan mtshams dang / dga' gling mkhar mi / 'phong mi / ra ma  
geng ra / khre phu / stag tshang la yod pa'i yas sde rgyal rigs thams  
cad (26a) yas sde su na'i bu brgyud yin no // // yang de'i bu brgyud  
la yas sde yang phan zer ba / 'phong mi blon 'bangs rnams kyi rje  
dpon du gdan drangs nas yong bas / de nyid rje dpon gyi bya ba  
mdzad pa la / rig\* rtsal shin tu che shing 'phrul thabs la mkhas pas \*rigs  
pha rol gyi dgra bo thams cad zil\* gyis gnon zhing / rku 'phrog \*gzil  
khrims 'gal gyi gnod pa thams cad las\* bsrungs bas na / blon 'bangs \*omitted  
rnams kyi\* ming yang yas sde bsrungs ma dar zer nas mtshan yongs \*kyl  
su grags pa stobs mnga' thang che ba byung / de'i bu bsod nams  
rgyal po / sa na / 'tsheng rgyal po / rgyal bu don grub bzhi byung  
bas / bsod nams rgyal po rgyal mkhar bzung ba'i brgyud / glang  
khyim gyi yas sde rgyal rigs rnams (26b) yin\* / sa na dang\*\* \*omitted \*\*omitted  
rgyal bu don grub gnyis kyi zer khyim bzung ba'i bu brgyud  
breng khyim gyi yas sde rgyal rigs rnams yin<sup>1</sup> / 'tsheng\* rgyal pos \*tshengs  
khang pa mkhar bzung ba'i bu brgyud khang pa mkhar gyi yas sde  
rgyal rigs rnams yin / de las yang zur du bshad\* na / 'tsheng\*\* \*phye \*\*\*tshengs  
rgyal po'i bu / som bzang / de'i bu som rgyal / karma rgyas / rdor  
tshe ring gsum / rdor tshe ring gi bu / sgo nu / de'i bu dag pa / de'i  
bu lug dkar / de'i bu\* dkon dbang yin / gong du bshad pa'i 'phros \*omitted  
las / stung\* sde sbas sde btsan / zangs lung pa / 'dus stung mkhar \*stong  
la 'phebs nas rgyal mkhar bzung nas blon 'bangs la dbang sgyur bas  
sras / thom pa dang som dar gnyis byung bas / thom pa'i bu brgyud  
(27a) la stung\* sde As mang zer ba brtul phod shin tu che ba grub \*stong  
thob kyi spyod pa lta bus / ngam grog g.yang sa chen po btags zer  
tog la sogs pa las sngar med pa'i lam bton zhing / dag pa be mi sa ri  
yul grong thams cad la dbang sgyur nas stobs mnga' thang che ba\* \*ba'i  
byung ba'i khral gyi rgyun da lta'ang yod zer gyi 'dug / de'i bu  
brgyud so sor 'gyes pa khyi nyil / kham nang / bu ri gyang phu /  
zangs lung pa / kha 'thor dag pa be mi la yod pa'i stung\* sde'i rigs \*stong  
thams cad stung\* sde As mang gi bu brgyud yin no // // yang \*stong  
gong du brjod pa'i 'phros las / wang ma 'gab\* sde btsan gyis / \*gab  
sgang zur stod la yong nas rgyal mkhar wang ma mkhar brtsigs nas  
rgyal sa bzung zhing / blon 'bangs 'thor bu re yod pa la kha lo sgyur /  
de'i bu gnyis byung ba'i / che ba gung la rgyal / chung ba dpal la  
(27b) dar yin / rgyal mkhar wang ma mkhar de / sa cha zur chod du  
song ba dang / blon 'bangs yang cher mi 'dus shing / longs spyod

1. This sentence is repeated.

yang dkon tsam byung ba dang / bu chung ba dpal la dar / lha sa  
 bsam yas nas yong ba'i sgom chen gsum dang chas nas / Ar po gnyis  
 khrid nas / lha sa bsam yas mjal ba la song nas / bod kyi sgom chen  
 gnyis dang bcas lo rog phyogs nas slog te / shar them spang la sleb  
 pa dang / sgom chen gnyis kyis wang ma dpal la dar la zhe sa che  
 brjod byas nas / lha btsun zer nas bos pas / them spang gi gtso rgan  
 A rgyal zer bas\* / lha btsun zer ba'i ming gi rgyu mtshan ci yin zer  
 ba las / sgom chen rgan pa na re / lha btsun chos rje\* zer ba de /  
 sngon gyi bsam yas kyi rgyal po khri srong lde\* btsan gyi sras  
 brgyud yin pas na / lha btsun zer ba yin zer bas / (28a) gtso rgan  
 A rgyal yid ches nas / 'o na de ltar yin na nged rang gi rje dpon gyi  
 glo\* kha' dkar kha nag kha gnon la bzhugs dgos zer nas / blon  
 'bangs rnam kyis bkur zhing / rgya'i las sgo la\* dbang sgyur bas /  
 ba spu zer ba de rgya skad kyi ming btags pa yin / dga' re nas them  
 spang ba spu'i chad khungs bsam yas nas yin zer ba yang / wang ma  
 dpal la dar bsam yas phyogs nas yong ba la\* brten\*\* nas zer ba yin /  
 them spang la chad pa'i ba spu wang ma dpal la dar gyi brgyud pa  
 yin no // wang ma 'gab sde btsan / pha spad gnyis kyang / rgyal  
 mkhar wang ma mkhar bzhags nas / kha gling lung pa'i mjug / man  
 chod lung pa la song nas / gdung rus che ba'i lo rgyus\* bshad pa  
 dang / der mi 'thor bu re yod pa rnam kyis\* kyang bkur sti cher  
 byas pas / rgya gar (28b) gyi mi rnam kyis\* bkur zhing las sgo la  
 dbang sgyur bas longs spyod che bar byung 'dug pa dang / da lta'i  
 man chod dang / gzhan la yod pa'i wang ma'i rigs thams cad /  
 wang ma gung la rgyal gyi brgyud pa yin no // 'dir yang 'phros las /  
 la 'og yul gsum rgyal rigs jo bo rnam kyi brgyud khungs kyang  
 cung zad brjod par bya'o // de las\* yang rgyas pa\*\* ni jo bo na rim  
 gyis blon 'bangs la dbang sgyur zhing rgyal sa bzung nas mdzad  
 khyon\* rlabs chen gyis stobs mnga' thang che bar byung ba'i  
 gleng gtam rgyas\* pa ni / jo bo sras brgyud mkhyen dpyod che  
 ba rnam kyi phyag gi deb\* ther yig cha la gsal bas\*\* 'dir ma bkod /  
 nye bar brgyud pa'i rim pa ni / lha sras gtsang ma rgyal mkhar mi  
 zim par phebs nas / sras gnyis byung ba'i sras che ba khri mi lha'i  
 dbang phyug / la 'og yul gsum du blon 'bangs (29a) rnam kyis rje  
 dpon du gdan drangs nas phebs pa'i sras lha ngon / de'i sras bkra  
 shis bsod nams / de'i sras tshe dbang nam rgyal / de'i sras dpal  
 'byor bzang po / de'i sras nam mkha' bsod nams / de la sras bdun  
 byung ba'i che ba gong dkar rje yin / de yis lha'u kham par byon  
 nas rgyal sa bzung ba'i kham pa jo bo zer ba'i ming yongs su grags  
 pa de las byung ba yin 'dug / sras bdun las gcig shar sde rang gi rje  
 dpon du gdan drangs nas phebs pa'i sras brgyud shar sde rang gi jo  
 bo rnam yin 'dug / zhib par ni yig cha dang gtam rgyun mthong  
 thos med pa las 'dir ma bkod / gong dkar rje'i sras dzo ki dang

\*ba'i

\*mrjod

\*sde

\*do

\*omitted

\*las \*\*rten

\*brgyud

\*kyl

\*kyl

\*omitted \*\*par

\*khyod

\*rgyal

\*debs \*\*ba'i

btsun cung / btsun cung gi sras rgyal mtshan grags pa byung / des  
 bu ri gyang phu nas stung\* sde min bla ma skyid btsun mor blangs \*stong  
 pas / (29b) sras che bar rgyal po dar / lhun grub / ku nu / gsum  
 byung ba'i / rgyal po dar gyis\* rus po mkhar bzung nas bse ru'i \*gyi  
 rje dpon mdzad / lhun grub kyis ber mkhar bzung nas shar tsho'i  
 rje dpon mdzad / kun nus kham pa rang du bzhugs nas / yab kyi  
 rgyal sa bzung ste lha'u'i rje dpon mdzad / lhun grub kyi sras jo bo  
 sangs rgyas cung / de'i sras sangs rdo rje / la kra / dge shes / kra'u  
 bzhi byung ba'i / kra'u sgam ri lung pa'i blon 'bangs rnams kyis rje  
 dpon du\* gdan drangs nas ra ti la phebs / sangs rdo rje'i sras jo bo \*omitted  
 dar rgyas kyis / ram geng ra nas U sen rgyal mo blangs nas bzhugs  
 pa'i skabs der / grub thob thang stong rgyal po bsod snyoms la  
 byon pa nang du gdan drangs nas bsnyen bkur phun sum\* tshogs \*gsum  
 par mdzad cing / 'bras éhang tshim par drangs pa gsol ba'i rjes la  
 'bras (30a) chang gis ka' pa li bkang nas grub thob kyis nam mkha'  
 la 'phangs pas / chang ma 'bor bar grub thob kyi phyag la babs pa  
 jo bo dar rgyas la gnang ste / chang 'thung gang thub gyis dang rten  
 'brel gyi rtags khyad par can yong gsungs pas / jo bo dar rgyas kyis  
 chang ka' pa li drug rdzogs par 'thung / gcig las phye kha lus pa  
 dang grub thob kyi zhal nas / khyod la bu bdun yong ba 'dug ste /  
 gcig gis\* phan mi thog / bu drug pa las gcig sa bcu'i byang chub \*gi  
 sems dpa' bshad grub kyi bstan pa 'dzin zhing sems can gyi 'gro don  
 dpag tu med pa zhiq 'ong ba 'dug gsungs nas / ka' pa li chang gi  
 bkang nas / 'o jo bo chen po ka' pa li 'di ni mkha 'gro ma 'gro ba  
 bzang mo'i dbu thod yin pas / shin tu 'gangs\* che khyod la dad' \*gangs  
 pa'i rten du bzhag (30b) go gsungs nas gnang / de nas gzhan yang  
 grub rtags bton pa'i rten khyad\* par can rnams kyang gnang ngo // \*khyed  
 grub thob kyi lung bstan pa bzhin sras bdun byung ba'i / che ba  
 bkra shis dar rgyas / de 'og bsod bzang / gsum pa / rgyal po dar /  
 sangs rdo rje / dgos cung rnams yin / jo bo bkra shis dar rgyas  
 kyis\* rgyal sa mdzad / jo bo gsum pas thams cad mkhyen pa dge  
 'dun rgya mtsho\* dpal bzang po las / rab tu byung zhing mdo  
 sngags la sbyangs pa mdzad cing phul du phyin pas / mtshan yang  
 blo bzang bstan pa'i sgron me\* gsol nas bshad sgrub\*\* kyi bstan pa  
 'dzin zhing / grub thob kyi spyod pa lta bus / shar stag lung / me  
 rag sag stengs / Ar rgya gdung la sogs par dgon gnas mang po btob  
 cing 'gro don rgyas par byung ba dang / jo bo gzhan bzhi pos kyang  
 spa'u gdung byam (31a) mkhar / shar nub / sgrenq mkhar bcas  
 bzung ba'i brgyud pa da lta yod pa'i jo bo rnams yin no / sras tha  
 chung ni lung bstan bzhin chung dus\* nas 'das / jo bo bkra shis dar \*du  
 rgyal\* gyi sras / bkra shis bzang po / de'i sras sa 'dzin / de'i sras  
 sangs rgyas grags pa / chos mdzad / dar rgyas gsum byung ba'i / \*rgyal  
 sangs rgyas grags pa'i sras jo bo karma / de'i sras phun tshogs dang\* / \*omitted

'dzom pa dbang / phun tshogs kyi sras brgyud ber mkhar 'og ma'i  
 jo bo rnams yin / 'dzom pa\* dbang gis A'u gdung du sa bzung nas \*omitted  
 rje dpon mdzad pa'i sras sangs rgyas rdo rje dang jo bo sri thar gnyis  
 yin / jo bo dar rgyas kyi sras / karma rdo rje dang jo bo sde pa  
 gnyis yin / karma rdo rje'i\* sras brgyud ber mkhar gong ma la yod \*rje  
 pa'i jo bo rnams yin / sngon dus sgam ri lung pa ra ti la / rje dpon  
 (31b) rim pas yul mkhar bzung ma thub par 'thon song ba dang /  
 blon 'bangs rnams gros sdur byas nas / la 'og yul gsum nas kham pa  
 jo bo gdan 'dren\* du phyin pas / de'i dus su\*\* la 'og yul gsum la / \*dren \*\*su tsho la  
 jo bo ku nu / lhun grub / rgyal po dar gsum gyis\* rje dpon mdzad \*gyi  
 nas yod pa las / ber mkhar nas jo bo lhun grub kyi sras\* sangs cung / \*omitted  
 de'i bu skya'u la rgya mtsho gdan drangs yong nas / ra ti la rgyal  
 mkhar bzung zhing rje dpon mdzad pa'i bu bla ma / de'i bu brgyud  
 rim par 'gyes pa'i rgyal mkhar bzung mkhan mi rabs brgyad la jo bo  
 kham pa zer ba byung nas brgyud chad / pha spun so sor 'gyes pa'i  
 bu brgyud da lta ra ti sgam rir\* yod pa'i kham pa jo bo'i rigs yin zer \*ri  
 ba thams cad skya'u la rgya mtsho'i bu brgyud yin no // rgyal rigs  
 'byung khungs (32a) gsal ba'i sgron me las lha sras gtsang ma'i  
 gdung brgyud la rigs rus kyi ming so sor btags nas / lho phyogs mon  
 gyi lung phyogs so sor 'gyes shing rje dpon mdzad pa'i le'u ste gnyis  
 pa'o //

## SECTION III

(32a2) // da ni bum thang\* sde bzhi'i gdung rnams kyi chad khungs \*stang  
 'byung tshul kyang brjod par bya'o // de nas sngon rgyal po khyi  
 kha ra thod dang mnyam po yong ba'i mi ser 'thor bu re yod pa  
 rnams rje dpon med par 'khrugs cing brtsod pa las / khong rang  
 rnams kha mthun gyi rje dpon 'tshol ba'i rus chen rgyal rigs med  
 pas rje dpon ma rnyed par / gnam\* lha 'o de gung rgyal mchod cing \*gnas  
 gsol ba btab pas / 'o de gung rgyal gyis bka' bsgos nas / lha'i bu gu  
 se lang ling lha'i rmu thag la 'jus nas / U ra la bab po 'od du zhun\* \*zhu  
 nas / bud med ye shes (32b) kyi mkha' 'gro'i mtshan dang ldan pa  
 bsod nams dpal 'dren gyi lhum\* su bzhugs nas rdzus skye lta buir \*lhum  
 'khrungs pa'i phyir / bar snang gi sgra las / 'o bu 'di ni lha'i bu yin  
 pa'i gdung rabs mang po'i bar du rje dpon byed par 'gyur to zer  
 ba'i sgra / yul de'i mi dpon gyi skye dman 'dzom pa sgron gyis\* \*gyi  
 thos pa dang / de ltar yong na mi sde la dbang sgyur nas mo la  
 mthong\* bkur mi yong bsam pa'i gdug rtsub kyi nga rgyal langs nas \*'thong  
 simon lam log par btab kyang / lha'i bden pa'i\* mthus / lha'i sprul \*par  
 pa'i gdung 'khrungs / mtshan lha mgon dpal chen gsol nas / mi sde'i  
 yul khams la dbang sgyur nas rje dpon mdzad pa'i sras lha bzang

rgyal<sup>1</sup> / (33a) de'i sras gdung grags pa dbang phyug byung nas / de  
la sras med par snyung gzhi drag pos thebs nas grongs khar thug pa  
dang / blon 'bangs rnams kyi smras pa / gdung rin po che nyid mya  
ngan 'das nas / nged rnams kyi re ltos su la re zer nas smre sngags\* \*smres ngag  
'don pas / gdung grags pa dbang phyug gi zhal nas / nga nad 'di las  
ma thar par tshe'i 'dus byas nas khyed rang rnams nga dran pa'i  
dus byung na / bod yul dbus kyi gzhung yar lung grong mo che la  
song nas / mon gyi shing 'bras stong kha dog legs pa khyer nas byis  
pa mang po'i khrod du stor cig / stong mang po gang gis zin pa de  
lha'i nam 'phrul yin pas\* de gdan 'dren zhus las / khyod rang \*pa'i  
rnams kyi rje dpon bcol zhig zer nas 'das so // de nas (33b) blon  
'bangs rnams kyi kyang lo lnga tsam song ba dang / sngon nas  
rje dpon gdung gi kha chems bzhin / U ra pa mi lnga stong gi 'bras  
bu khyer nas yar lung du de\* ltar phyin pas / yar lung gi sa cha de \*omitted  
lag mthil ltar mnyam shing yul sde che ba lta bas mi ngom pa 'dug /  
kha chems bzhin lha'i 'phrul pa\* gar yod ni ma shes pa dang / yul \*omitted  
grong mang po bshal nas phyin pas / grong mtshams kyi thang zhig  
la byis pa mang po tshogs nas rtsed mo rtses kyi 'dug pa dang /  
khong 'tshol mkhan mi lngas / gnam gyi lha mchod cing dmod\* bor \*smod  
nas / byis pa mang po 'dzom pa'i khrod du stong kha shas skyur  
btang bas / byis pa gzhan rnams sngar nas mthong ma myong ba'i  
shing 'bras mthong\* ba dang / thams cad ha las te 'thu ma shes par  
ha re lus pa dang / de'i nang nas (34a) byis pa mtshar zhing mdzas  
pa lta na sdug pa / yan lag khyug bde ba hrig ge ba zhig gis skad\* \*bskad  
cig la shing 'bras thams cad hub kyis\* blangs nas bsdus pas / 'tshol \*kyi  
mkhan lnga po yang sngar nas lung bstan pa'i byis pa de yin par  
'dug bsam nas yid ches so // de dus bod mon gnyis ka'i skad ma go  
ba dang / mi lnga pos lag brda\* byas nas shing 'bras de byis pa  
gzhan la byin / da rung yod khyod la ster ro zer ba'i brda byas nas  
stong bstan\* pas / byis pa des stong byis pa gzhan rnams la sbyin  
nas / kho rang la da rung dgos zer nas lag pa gdeng nas yong ba  
dang / mi lnga pos stong bstan\* zhing tshur tshur khrid yong nas  
lkog tu sleb pa dang / gsang thabs kyis\* rtsid phad nang du bcug  
cing 'khur yong nas / U ra zhang ma'i la la slebs\* pa (34b) dang /  
rtsid phad kha 'phye nas bltas pas / byis pa lha'i bu 'dra ba de zhal  
'dzum mu le ba byas langs nas 'thon byung ba dang / bcug pa'i snod  
stong rtsid phad sprugs\* pas bod kyi rtsa chun po zhig yang tshud  
'dug pa der 'thon song ba\* las skyes nas / dus da lta'i bar du yang  
bod kyi\* rtsa\*\* sa cha gzhan la med pa zhang ma'i la la rtsa  
sgor ba cig yod do / byis pa des U ra la gdan drangs nas rje dpon du  
bkur nas ming yang lha dbang grags pa btags nas / sku nar son zhing  
blon 'bangs la dbang sgyur ba dang / lha dbang grags pa rang nyid  
\*kyis \*\*rtsa

1. This sentence is repeated.

byis pa'i dus / pha ma gnyis ka'i ming phan\* tshun 'bor re rna bas  
 thos pa tsam ma gtogs\* rigs rus che chung ji ltar yin sogs dran pas  
 mi zin pa nas / [ . . . ]<sup>1</sup> pha ma'i\* ming bton ste\*\* de'i byis pa\*\*\*  
 stor ram ma stor zer nas yar lung du rtsad gcod par (35a) btang  
 bas / de'i rigs rus khungs chod do / de\* ji ltar yin zhe na / glang dar  
 ma'i sras mnga' bdag 'od srungs / de'i sras mnga' bdag dpal 'khor  
 btsan myang stod du snyags kyis bkrongs nas rgyal srid 'thor ba'i  
 skabs / sras bkra shis brtsegs pa dpal dang / skyid lde\* nyi ma mgon  
 gnyis kyang / stod mnga' ris dang dbus gtsang du 'thor song bas /  
 bkra shis brtsegs pa dpal gyi sras / dpal lde\* / 'od lde\* / skyid lde\*  
 gsum byung ba las / rim par gyes\* nas\*\* dpal lde sras brgyud yar  
 lung du chags pa'i jo bo kun dga' grags pa dang / yum dpal mo  
 'dzom gnyis la\* sras bzhi yod pa'i tha chung hur rgol la gar song  
 cha med du stor ba de yin par nges shing / chos rgyal gyi\* gdung  
 kho na nyid yin pas na / blon 'bangs rnams kyang (35b) dga' zhing  
 mgu la rjes su yid rangs\* nas / chos 'khor nas A lce sgron 'dzom  
 btsun mor blangs nas phul bas / sras grags pa dbang phyug / lha  
 dbang bkra shis / phun tshogs don grub gsum byung ba nas / rim  
 par 'gyes pa'i sras brgyud / chu smad gdung dang / rgya tsha / sdom  
 mkhar / dur dang / ngang / bum thang\* la yod pa'i gdung thams  
 cad de'i brgyud pa yin no // kheng rigs rnam\* gsum dang / gzhong  
 sgar mol ba lung pa la'ang / U ra gdung gis\* dbang sgyur nas gdung  
 grags pa\* dbang phyug lô re bzhin khral bsdu ba la yong ba dang /  
 zur du dpon mo bkra shis dbang mor bsten pa'i sras nyi ma dbang  
 rgyal byung ba nas sras brgyud rim par 'gyes pa / stung la sbi / go  
 zhing / phang mkhar / ka lam ti / nya mkhar dang / kheng rigs  
 rnam\* gsum la yod pa'i gdung (36a) thams cad dang / gzhong sgar  
 mol ba lung pa la yod pa'i yong lam rje zer ba thams cad kyang  
 de'i brgyud pa yin no // // yang bum thang\* sde gzhi gdung dang /  
 yong\* lam rje'i chad khungs lugs cig la ni / bon thang la 'od dkar  
 gyi yig gter dang / gzhong sgar mol ba lung phyogs dang / gdung  
 bsam mon yul stong gsum gyi gleng gtam ngag rgyun la ni / me rag  
 sag stengs 'brog pa'i mes po\* rnams sde pa ya bu bzang po gsang  
 nas / mtsho sna bse ba mkhar las yul 'thon nas yong skabs gnam  
 gyi lha la mchod cing gsol ba\* btab nas yong bas / sum cu rtsa  
 gsum gyi pho brang nas lha dbang po brgya\* byin gyis / lha'i bu  
 gu se lang ling lho gdung mtsho skar ma thang gi lha la stongs  
 grogs gyis bka' bsgo\* brdzangs pas / rmu'i yul du phebs nas re zhig  
 der bzhugs shing rmu'i rje (36b) dpon mdzad pas / ming\* yang  
 rmu btsan lha gnyan chen por btags / de nas shar gangs ri dkar po'i  
 rtse la phebs nas gzig pas / ri mtho la mdzas pa wang seng gi ri bo  
 de mthong nas der phebs shing / gnas yangs shing rgya che la

\*phun  
 \*togs  
 \*ming \*\*omitted  
 \*\*\*pa'i  
 \*de'i  
 \*sde  
 \*sde  
 \*gyes \*\*omitted  
 \*omitted  
 \*gyis  
 \*rang  
 \*stang  
 \*rnams  
 \*gi  
 \*pa dang  
 \*  
 \*stang  
 \*yang  
 \*mepho  
 \*omitted  
 \*rgya  
 \*sgos  
 \*mi

1. A passage appears to be missing here.

nyams\* dga' ba mu ku lung mtsho mo la pho brang gzhal yas khang \*mnyam  
 bkod nas / snang srid lha srin sde brgyad kyi sde dpon mgo nag mi'i  
 skyabs mgon mdzad cing bzhugs pa la / shar phyogs nas bud med lang  
 tsho rgyas shing shin tu mdzes pa'i A ya cig gdung bsam mkhar rgyal  
 po'i bag ma la yong ba mtsho 'gram la zhag nyal ba'i nub mo / mtsho  
 de'i nang nas sbrul dkar po zhig 'thon bag ma de la\* gom\*\* nas song \*omitted \*\*gom  
 ba dang gnyid\* gsad / de nas gdung bsam la sleb pa dang bu gcig \*gnyls  
 skyes\* ba las pha med par bar las byung ba dang / ming yang bar \*skye  
 skyes btags (37a) nas / gzugs byad nar son pa dang / rgya'i las sgo  
 la phyin pas / ngas gtsang long pa'i mtsho gram la slebs pa dang /  
 bar skyes de lha btsan gyi bu yin pa'i gshis\* kyis / ngas gtsang long \*shis  
 pa'i klu bdud kyi cho 'phrul bstan nas rgya la ma thar ba dang /  
 khyim du log nas A ma la nga su'i bu yin dris pas / A mas slab ma  
 nyan / g.yo thabs kyis sgo nas dris pas A mas smras pa / khyod ni  
 mu ku lung lha btsan mi ma yin gyi bu yin pas na / klu bdud kyis\* \*kyi  
 cho 'phrul bstan nas lam bkag pa yin zer bas / byis pa bar skyes de  
 nyid kyis / de ma thag tu mu ku lung mtsho 'gram gyi rtsar song  
 nas / A pa la 'o\* dod 'bod pas / mtsho'i nang nas skyes pa gzhon \*'od pa yin 'dod  
 nu lang tsho\* dar la\*\* babs pa dar dkar gyi gos gyon zhing / dar \*tshod \*\*ba  
 dkar thod being pa'i rtse la (37b) yid bzhin gyi nor bus brgyan pa  
 zhig 'thon yong nas / khyod kyi pha ni nga yin pas don ci dgos  
 nas yong ba yin zer bas / ngas gtsang long pa nas lam ma thar ba'i  
 lo rgyus zhib par smras pas / pha na re 'o de ltar yin na ngas khyod  
 la dmag dpung zhig ster\* ro zer nas / smyug ma'i dong pa kha bcad  
 pa cig byin byung nas / ngas gtsang long pa'i mtsho'i gram la ma  
 sleb bar du kha ma 'phye cig zer nas btang bas / bar skyes kyi bsam  
 pa la 'di ci yin nam ma shes bsam nas / lam bar khre phu la sleb pa  
 dang / yid ma ches bar smyug dong kha 'phye nas bltas pas dug  
 sbrul\* kha shas der song ba dang / yang la 'ur kha bcad nas / smyug \*sprul  
 dong de khyer nas ngas gtsang long pa'i mtsho 'gram la sleb pa dang  
 kha 'phye bas / de'i nang nas sbrul rigs\* mi gcig\*\* pa sa gzhi\*\*\* \*rig \*\*ci \*\*\*zhig  
 gang bar (38a) 'thon nas / skad cig de nyid la mtsho brtol nas bye  
 ma'i thang skam shar re ba byung ba dang / de'i dkyil na zangs chen  
 cig kha sbub nas yod pa mthong ba dang / gzhon nu bar skyes des\* / \*de  
 der song shing kha slog\* nas bltas pas / de'i nang nas klu bdud \*slob  
 kyi\* g.yog mo nang sgur ma cig yod pa des / zangs skyogs kyis \*kyis  
 gzhon nu bar\* skyes kyi dpral bar rgyab nas der gsad pas klad pa \*bang  
 de nya gcig gis zos pas / bar skyes mi ma yin gyi bu yin pa dang /  
 kho'i nam par shes pa\* de nya la 'dzul nas nya la gyur to / de nas \*omitted  
 nya de grang ma'i chu dang ku ri chu gzhong sgar\* mol ba'i chu \*dkar  
 rnams la rims pas bzhugs cing / de nas phyang khos kyi\* chu la \*kyis  
 mdzogs pas / phyang khos kyi nya rwa\* la tshud nas / pho renga \*omitted  
 gcig gis\* khyer nas yong / mi'i skad gtam smras (38b) pa dang / \*gi

za ma nus par chu bkang sa'i wa nang la bzhag pas / nyin\* cig pho  
 rengs de zhing las la song nas log yong ba dang / khyim nang la mi  
 med pa la chu\* len nas bzhag 'dug / yang nyin cig thab\*\* kha la me  
 phu nas bzhag 'dug pa las / pho rengs\* de ci yin nam bsam nas  
 nyams\* mi dga' bar zhing las la song ba ltar byas te log yong nas  
 khyim gyi zur cig las gsang nas ltas pas / wa nang gi nya'i khog pa'i  
 nang las byis pa dpa' zhing khyug bde ba zhis 'thon nas / me phu  
 chu len gyi\* bya ba byas pas / pho rengs\*de'i bsam pa la byis pa  
 de kho'i bu tshab byas dgos bsam nas / nya'i pags pa'i sob de thab  
 nang gi me la skyur btang bas me tshig pas / byis pa 'dzul sa ma  
 snyed par de gar lus song bas mi la gyur to // kho mi ma (39a) yin  
 gyi bu yin pa'i gshis\* kyis / mthu stobs dang dpa\*\*\* rtsal shin tu  
 che ba sus kyang 'gran\* par mi nus pa byung bas na / ming\*\* yang  
 ral pa stobs can du grags shing / de nyid kyis I tung la zer ba'i sa  
 btsan po\* zhis la mkhar rtsigs nas / U ra dang mol ba lung pa la  
 sogs pa'i yul khams mi sde thams cad la dbang sgyur nas / stobs  
 mnga' thang che bar byung ba dang / grags tshad mi zin par / zhang  
 po'i yul phyi li mthong ba'i phyir du stong phu'i ri'i sa bcad nas  
 brdal dgos zer nas ri bcad pas / bud med shes rab kyi rang bzhin  
 can gcig\* gis\*\* smras pa\*\*\* / ri mthon po bcad pa las mi mthon  
 po bcad na sla zer bas / tshig de'i don blon 'bangs rnam kyis rig  
 nas / ral pa stobs can de g.yo thabs kyis\* bsul nas / kar\*\* sbi'i  
 (39b) thang la gser gyi mda' rtses byed kyi 'dug / ltas mo la 'gro  
 dgos zer khrid yong nas / snying khar mda' rgyab nas der bsad\*  
 pa'i kha chems la / khyed rang rnam nga dran pa'i dus yong na  
 nga'i skye ba bod yul gyi gzhang yar lung grong mo che la yong  
 rgyu yin pas\* khyed rang rnam 'gron\*\* bu khyer la shog cig  
 'gron bu de byis pa mang po 'dzom pa'i khrod du stor cig 'gron bu  
 'ub gyis 'dus nas khyer ba de nga'i skye ba yin no zer nas 'das so /  
 de nas lo gcig gnyis song ba dang rje 'bangs kyi rim pa med pa las /  
 steng nas 'phrog\* 'og nas brkus pa las / 'khrugs cing brtsod pas\*\*  
 yul khams thams cad mi bde bar gyur pa las / sngon gyi rje'i kha  
 chems dran nas / mi lnga 'gron bu khyer nas / bod gzhang yar lung  
 grong mo cher phyin nas byis pa mang po tshogs pa'i sar 'gron\*  
 bu stor nas khrid yong ba dang / gong du bshad pa'i U ra pa mi  
 lnga pos stong gi\* 'bras bu stor nas brkus yong ba ni / don cig ming  
 gi (40a) mam\* grang yin 'dug / de ji ltar zhe na / U ra pa dang mol  
 ba lung pa\* rnam kyis yar lung du rje dpon gyi skye ba 'tshol du  
 phyin pa dang / gdan drangs nas U ra la byon lugs yab mes\* gong  
 ma rnam kyi rigs brgyud kyi 'byung khungs / phyi gdung lha  
 dbang grags par mtshan gsol ba sogs ngo bo gcig pa kho na yin  
 'dug kyang / mdzad pa so sor rnam pa mi cig pa lta bu'i gtam rgyun  
 smras pa de ni / khong lha klu mi ma yin gyi\* bu yin pas na / so  
 so'i mthong snang tsam ma gtogs ngo bo cig pa kho na nyid yin no //

\*nyon  
 \*me \*\*thabs  
 \*reng  
 \*nyam  
 \*gyis \*\*reng  
 \*shis \*\*dpal  
 \*gram \*\*mi  
 \*pa  
 \*tsam \*\*gyi \*\*\*pas  
 \*kyi \*\*ka ra  
 \*gsad  
 \*pa'i \*\*gron  
 \*phrog cig \*\*pa'i  
 \*gron  
 \*gyis  
 \*rnam  
 \*pa'i  
 \*med  
 \*gyi pa'i



zhes rgyal rigs 'byung khungs gsal ba'i sgron me las / bum thang  
sde bzhi'i gdung rnams kyi chad khungs 'byung tshul bshad pa'i\*  
le'u ste gsum pa'o //

\*omitted

## SECTION IV

(40as) da\* ni lho phyogs mon lung shar phyogs kyi dpon chen / \*de  
(40b) zhal\* ngo kheng po zer ba'i brgyud khungs kyang cung | \*zhel  
zad brjod par bya'o // de yang gong du bshad pa'i 'phros las / rgyal  
po glang dar mas sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa bshig\* cing snubs pa'i dus / \*shig  
lha sa'i gnas bdag ma gcig dpal gyi lha mos / lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje  
la lung bstan zhing rgyud bskul ba dang / nyin cig rgyal po glang dar  
ma lha sa'i phyi skor du skyo bsangs la phebs nas / rdo ring gi yi ge  
la gzigs cing bzhugs pa'i skabs lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje sngags chas  
phod ka phu dung gi nang du mda' gzhu bcug nas gar stabs 'cham  
zhing yod pas thams cad de la bltas' nas g.yeng ba dang / phu dung  
gnyis kyi nang las mda' gzhu kha sprad\* nas rgyal po'i\*\* dpral bar  
rgyab ste der bkrongs te bros\* song ba dang su yin ma shes / rjes  
snyags nas bdas pas ma zin / de (41a) nas lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje  
yer pa'i brag la song nas sgom sgrub byed pa'i tshul du bzhugs shing /  
rkang rjes\* rnams bya zin zhing dkrogs nas bya thal gyis rkang \*rje  
rjes bsub nas sdod pa dang bded mi\* rnams der yong nas / mi 'di \*'das mo  
ni man pas rkang pas rgyu 'grul med pa yun ring po song 'dug zer  
nas log song ba dang / mi blo\* gros can nyams che ba gcig gis logs \*'lo  
yong nas / lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje'i snying kha'i thad kyi brang la  
spar mo\* bkab nas bltas\*\* pas / snying\*\*\* 'phar\*\*\*\* 'phar spar ba  
shes nas dmangs\* kyi don la sgos kyis thod\*\* pa mi bcag zer nas  
gzhan la ma bshad\* par log song ba dang / lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje  
der g.yang grog za nas tshug ma thub\* par khams la bros song ba  
las / khong gi sku mched\* rdo rje spun drug yang so sor kha 'thor  
nas bros song ba (41b) las / stobs ldan la ba rdo rje / mgar ba khye'u  
rdo rje / g.yang rtasal spre'u\* rdo rje gsum / gtsang pha ri\*\* phyogs \*sprul 'u \*\*phag rig  
las spa gro\* rgyud nas rim pas bum thang\*\* la slebs pas / sngar de \*dro \*\*stang  
na rgyal po khyi\* kha ra thod dang mnyam po yong ba'i mi brgyud \*omitted  
dang grong zhing 'thor bu re yod pa rnams kyi yul bshal nas song /  
khong spun gsum gyi bsam pa la / bod kyi dpon rigs rus yin pas na\* / \*nas  
rigs rus kyi mthong\* bkur re byed mi yong ba bsam pa la byed mi  
ma byung nas / stobs shugs che tsam gyi ngos kha lo sgyur dgos  
bsam pa la / sngar nas rje 'bangs kyi rim pa mtho man med pa las  
bstod bkur byed ma nyan pa dang / spun gsum ci drag la thug nas  
gros bsdur byas shing / zhi ba thabs gyi sgo nas gang la gang 'dul  
mi sde'i blo dang sbyar\* nas byas pas (42a) kha la nyan tsam byung \*byar  
ba dang / stobs ldan la ba rdo rje / stang lung pa la song nas yul

mkhar\* btab cing sa gzhi bzung ba'i\*\* bu brgyud rim par je 'thor  
 song zhing dpon por gyur ba'i bu brgyud yin no / / g.yang rtsal  
 spre'u rdo rje bum thang\* du yul mkhar btab cing sa gzhi bzung /  
 bu brgyud rim pas pha las bu drag\* pa byung nas bum thang\*\* chos  
 'khor dpon po zer / stobs mnga' thang che ba ming yongs su grags  
 pa de byung ba yin 'dug / chos 'khor dpon po spa gro\* nas yin zer  
 ba'ang gtsang pha\*ri phyogs las spa gro\*\* rgyud nas yong ba las  
 zer ba yin 'dug / mgar ba khye'u rdo rje sa gtsang la ri mtho zhing  
 bod yul thag nye ba bod mon gnyis kyi mtshams / sha mar thud  
 gsum dang 'bru sna 'dzom pa'i las sgo la long spyod pa'i phyir bod  
 mon mtshams kyi\* (42b) 'brog bzung ba'i bu brgyud\*\* da\*\*\* lta'i  
 mtshams pa'i 'brog rigs mtho ba rnam yin 'dug / yang spun gsum  
 lho brag phyogs las yong ba / kha rtsing las kyi rdo rje / pho mtshar  
 grags pa rdo rje / smras mkhas\* spyang rig\*\* rdo rje gsum ku ri  
 lung du sleb nas / gros bsdur byas pas / kha rtsing las kyi\* rdo rje  
 na re nged\* rang gsum mnyam po sdod\*\* nas / pha ma'i lugs  
 kyis\* sa gzhi\*\* bzung nas mi sde la dbang sgyur ba zhig byed dgos  
 zer bas / pho mtshar grags pa rdo rje na re / de bzhi byas na lung  
 phyogs 'di la mi dang grong zhing 'thor bu re las med pas / nged\*  
 rang spun gsum bya spyod kyi rlabs 'dir byed\* rin mi chog / lung  
 phyogs so sor song\* nas pho res stobs shugs kyi sgo nas mnga'  
 'bangs btsol\* nas yul mkhar bzung dgos zer bas / spun gsum de la  
 kha cham nas / kha rtsing las kyi rdo rje (43a) 'du rang gi smad  
 tshi rab stong phu zhang tshan yong nas mi sde\* la dbang sgyur  
 bas / mi zim pa'i rgyal mkhar bzung mkhan rgyal po yong la phan  
 gyi sems la phog nas / khong nas 'khrugs pas yong la phan gyis\*  
 tshugs\* ma thub par yul las 'thon song ba las / de'i mi sde thams  
 cad kyang kha rtsing las kyi\* rdo rje'i 'og tu bcug go / de'i bu  
 brgyud so sor gyes\* pa tshi rab stong phu zhang tshan\*\* dang /  
 mu hung shes ro gsar rnying\* la yod pa'i dpon chen zer ba'i rigs  
 thams cad kha rtsing las kyi rdo rje'i\* bu brgyud yin no // pho  
 mtshar grags pa rdo rje ku ri lung stod smad thams cad la dbang  
 sgyur ba\* brgyud pa da lta'i ku\*\* ri lung gi dpon chen zhal ngo  
 thams cad pho mtshar grags pa rdo rje'i bu brgyud so sor 'gyes pa'i  
 brgyud pa yin no // smras mkhas spyang rig\* rdo rjes gzhang sgar  
 mol ba (43b) lung pa song nas thabs mkhas g.yo 'phrul sna tshogs  
 kyis kha lo sgyur nas mi sde thams cad mnga' 'bangs la bcug cing  
 pho ngar khengs\* pa byung bas na / rus kyi ming la 'ang kheng\*  
 po zer nas btags cing / stobs shugs che ba byung ba'i\* bu  
 brgyud / gzhang sgar\* dang tog ka ri / the mung / phya li /  
 nya rtsis sogs la yod pa'i kheng\* po'i rigs thams cad smras mkhas  
 spyang rig\* rdo rje'i bu brgyud so sor gyes\*\* pa'i brgyud pa yin  
 no // rgyal rigs 'byung khungs gsal ba'i sgron me las / lha lung  
 dpal gyi rdo rje'i sku mched rdo rje spun drug lung phyogs so sor  
 song nas / dpon po gyur ba'i le'u ste\* bzhi pa'o //

\*repeated \*\*bas  
 \*stang  
 \*grags \*\*stang  
 \*dro  
 \*phag \*\*dro  
 \*gyi \*\*omitted  
 \*\*\*omitted  
 \*khas \*\*spyod rigs  
 \*omitted  
 \*red \*\*stod  
 \*kyl \*\*gzhis  
 \*red  
 \*byas  
 \*bsong  
 \*btsal  
 \*lde  
 \*gyi  
 \*tshug  
 \*omitted  
 \*gye \*\*mtshan  
 \*snying  
 \*rdo rje'i repeated  
 \*bas \*\*sku  
 \*cad rigs  
 \*mkheng  
 \*bas  
 \*dkar  
 \*kheng  
 \*cad rigs \*\*gyes  
 \*te

## SECTION V

- (43b4) // da ni 'og ma 'bangs kyi mi rabs chad khungs 'byung tshul  
 dang rigs kyi ming yang brjod par bya'o // de yang sngon gangs can  
 bod du mi\* brgyud spel ba'i pha rgan byang chub sems dpa' de /  
 bu brgyud rin\* par phel\*\* (44a) zhing / rus rigs bzhi ru 'phye ba  
 la / se dang rmu / ldong dang stong ste bzhi'o // de las so sor 'phye  
 ba la / se las byu\* legs kyi\*\* bu bzhi srid / rmu las ko le phra\*\*\*  
 brgyad\* srid / ldong las rus chen bco brgyad srid / stong las rje  
 bzhi khol\* brgyad srid ces pa / se las 'gyes pa'i rus rigs bzhi ni /  
 rgyal nang rje / 'gro gang nyer ba / 'og gog btsan / bde stong se dang  
 bzhi'o // stong las rje bzhi khol brgyad so sor 'gyes pa'i rus kyi ming  
 ni / cog la ram pa rje / rtsang rje thod dkar rje / te tsom\* snyal po  
 rje / snyags rje thog sgrom\* rje dang bzhi'o // 'bangs ni dmar dang  
 dmar ma dang / snyal\* dang snyal dben rngog dan khrog / rtog dang  
 sbas te brgyad yin no // rmu las ko le\* khra brgyad so sor 'gyes pa'i  
 rigs rus kyi ming ni ngam\* dang snubs dang gzhung dang smon / 'gar  
 dang dkar dang (44b) snyos dang ngan lam ste brgyad yin no //  
 ldong las rus chen bco brgyad so sor 'gyes pa'i rus kyi ming ni / cog  
 dang cog rtse cog ro dang / 'brom dang khyung po zla ba dang /  
 'bring dang lha lung lha rtse dang / brang\* dgos pa khu na dang /  
 nya dang tshe spong lu nag dang / snying\* dang pho gong thag  
 bzang la rus chen bco brgyad zer ba yin / sngon gyi dus su gangs  
 can bod kyi rigs rus ming gi rtsa ba de rnams las med kyang phyis  
 nas mi brgyud yul kham lung phyogs so sor 'gyes pa las / bya ba'i  
 gnas skabs dang sbyar ba'i rus kyi ming dang yul skad so so'i smras  
 gtam gyi skad zur chag pa dangs rigs rus kyi so sor lta bur snang ba  
 yin 'dug / khyad par du 'ang lho mon kha bzhi'i lung phyogs 'di  
 nyid kyi mi rnams bod yul nas lho mon la yong nas yun ring po\*  
 ma song bas / gong du brjod pa'i rigs rus kyi brgyud pa kho na  
 (45a) nyid yin 'dug kyang / lho mon gyi lung phyogs 'dir / rgya  
 bod kyi lugs ltar rigs rus la mtho dman gyi dbye ba med cing  
 mthong\* bkur che bar mi 'dzin pa las yig cha la ma bkod\*\* pa dang  
 khungs ma chod pa yin 'dug / lho mon nyi ma shar phyogs 'di  
 nyid la pha tshan so sor 'phye ba'i rus kyi ming / dang ri\* / skye  
 stong / yu sbi / ri bsangs / ba gi / glang la / chur nang / shar ro /  
 ra ma / nya mi / gnam sa / skom mo / rlon mo / rog mo / mkhar  
 mo / khu mo / brag mo / skyid mo / seng po / rong bu / nithong  
 re / geng ra / snying len / zur / gter ci / nga rig la sogs pa'i rus kyi  
 ming ji snyed yod pa dang / de bzhin lho mon shar phyogs kyi lung  
 phyogs gang la 'ang so so'i yul skad dang bstun\* pa'i rus kyi ming  
 ji snyed yod pa sha stag yin kyang / 'dir khungs ma chod\* pa las  
 (45b) 'di tsam las yi ger ma bkod do //  
 // 'ga\* re nas so sos gtam rgyun smras pa la las 'byung khungs lha'i  
 rmu skas\* dang gser dngul gyi phyas\*\* thag la 'jus nas mi'i yul du  
 babs pa yin zer ba'i gleng gtam phal cher gyis yongs su grags pa de  
 ni bon lugs kyi yig gter gyi gtam rgyun yin nam / sangs rgyas byang  
 sems rnams kyis 'gro ba'i don du sprul pa'i snang brnyan\* rigs rus

\*omitted

\*rims \*\*phel

\*byus \*\*omitted

\*\*\*khra

\*brgyal

\*kho las

\*tsog

\*sgom

\*snyel

\*las

\*dbab

\*brang na

\*snyid

\*yul rin po

\*\*thong \*\*bkos

\*perhaps ngang ri

\*bstan

\*mchod

\*gag

\*skad \*\*dpyad

\*snyan

de rnams kyi bu brgyud la 'khrungs nas / rtags\* bcu yon tan \*tag  
 brgyad\* la sogs pa'i sgo nas 'gro ba'i don mdzad cing / dbon sras \*brgyas  
 rim par dbu 'phang gong na 'phags shing chos kyi 'khor lo rgyun  
 chad med par skor ba la zer ba yin nam /\* yang na 'jig rten gyi lha \*omitted  
 chen po tshangs pa dang / dbang phyug la sogs par pha mes gong  
 ma na rim nas lung phyogs thams cad kyi mgrin gcig\* tu lo re \*omitted  
 bzhin mchod cing (46a) gsol ba las / mgon skyabs dang stongs  
 grogs mdzad pa'i phyir du lha'i bu'i rnam par sprul pas / gong du  
 brjod pa'i rigs rus de rnams la 'khrungs shing / stobs kyi 'khor lo  
 sgyur nas yangs pa'i rgyal khams thams cad bde skyid kyi dpal la  
 bkod cing / sras-gdung brgyud rim pas sa chen kun la dbang sgyur  
 zhing stobs mnga' thang gong du\* 'phags pas lha'i longs spyod kyi \*omitted  
 dpal la ji srid yun ring du spyod cing / lha'i rnam par sprul pa'i  
 snang brnyan dngos su bstan pa las ya mtshan pa'i gtam rgyun  
 yongs su grags pa\* yin nam / de dag ni skye bo phal pa rnams \*omitted  
 kyis\* rtogs par dka' zhing bsam pa'i yul las 'das pas / skye bo dam \*kyi  
 pa mkhyen dpyod phul du phyin zhing mngon par shes pa mnga'  
 ba rnams kyi spyod yul du\* snang ngo // zhes rgyal rigs 'byung \*omitted  
 (46b) khungs gsal ba'i sgron me las / 'og ma 'bangs kyi mi rabs kyi  
 'byung khungs\* dang rigs rus so sor 'phye ba'i le'u ste lnga pa'o // \*omitted

(46b1) smras pa //

gangs can lho phyogs mon khamshar gling 'dir //  
 sngon nas rim par byung ba'i skye ba yis //  
 rje 'bangs rigs kyi\* chad khungs gleng ba'i gtam //  
 brtag par ma dpyad yi ger ma bkod pas //  
 gtam rgyun khungs bcad yi ge 'thor bu 'dus //  
 legs par sgrigs pa'i mun gsal sgron me 'di //  
 mkhas pa'i gral bsnyegs rlom pa'i nga rgyal dang //  
 snyan grags gtam gyi 'dod pa ma yin par //  
 ma 'ongs rjes 'jug dus kyi phyi ma la //  
 ya rabs mkhas btsun bzang po rim byon tshe //  
 sngon med 'byung khungs deb\* ther 'di gzigs pas //  
 zhal bgad rtse mo'i zhal 'dzum 'phye ba dang //  
 gzu lum (47a) nga rgyal 'joms pa'i dpa'\* bo de\*\* //  
 ma rig\* mun pa sel ba'i sgron me yin // |  
 pho mnyam gzhon pa phan tshun smra\* ba'i gtam //  
 lhag bsam rnam par dkar bas\* 'di sgrigs pas //  
 kun 'dus tshig la lhag chad 'gal 'khrul rnams //  
 mkhas mchog blo gros spyang yangs bzod par bzhes //  
 rnam g.yeng nor dang 'dzol ba'i cha mchis pa //  
 mkhyen dbang dag gis gzigs nas bcas par gsol //  
 zhes dang //

\*omitted

\*debs

\*dpa'i \*\*ste

\*rigs |

\*omitted

\*omitted |

kha gling gi rgyal rigs bslab gsum sde snod 'dzin pa mkhyen pa la  
 mi rmongs pa'i lha btsun ngag dbang phun tshogs dang / phyi tshang  
 mong sgar\* gyi rgyal rigs dpa'\*\*\* mdzangs\*\*\* brtul phod che zhing  
 khungs btsun pa'i rgyal po dbang grags dang / phyi tshang skya sa  
 mkhar gyi rgyal rigs shes bya blo gros rgyas shing smra ba stong  
 sde'i\* ru dar la mkhas pa'i rgyal po dang / phong mi'i yas sde'i  
 rgyal (47b) rigs 'phrul thabs sgyur rtsal la mkhas pa'i chos mdzad  
 lug\* dkar dang / shar phyogs sde rang gi rgyal po mi chos yon tan  
 drug dang / thabs bzhi'i mnga' brnyes\* 'phrul thabs kyi 'khor lo  
 sgyur ba'i jo bo A bzang dang / de dag rnams kyis so sos nas lhag  
 bsam rnam par dkar bas gsung gis bskul ba las / shes rig sbyangs  
 brtson gyi yon tan dang mthong thos nyams\* myong rig rtsal gyi  
 spobs pa gang yang med kyang / gsung rigs gyen zlog ma nus par  
 byar gyi bende wa gindras ming gis sngon byung gi rgyal rabs dang /

\*omitted \*\*dpal  
\*\*\*bdzangs

\*de

\*klu

\*banyes |

\*mnyam |

phyis byung gi yig cha 'thor bu rnam so so nas 'dus shing / rgan  
 rabs kyi gtam rgyun gyi khungs legs par dpyad cing gcig tu bsdus  
 pa\* 'di ni phur bu zhes pa\*\* sa pho spre lo'i hor zla brgyad pa'i yar \*pa'i \*\*pas  
 tshes bzang po la / gza' dang skar ma'i sbyor ba phun gsum tshogs  
 (48a) shing lang tsho dpal gyi nyi mas gang ba'i nyin / rgya bod kyi  
 'dun sa bkra shis sgang gi pho brang gzhal yas khang gi zur khang  
 du zin bris su bkod pa las / thog mar yi ge'i lam du spel ba po snga  
 tshang bkra shis sding mkhar gyi rje rigs chos mdzad nor bu dar rgyas  
 kyis\* bris pa dge legs phyogs dus gnas skabs thams cad du dar zhing \*kyl  
 rgyas la yun ring du gnas par gyur cig /  
 Om swa sti dha rmā ra dza ni rmā kā ya na ma /

gangs can ljongs 'dir dpal ldan rgyal ba'i bstan //  
 chos srid rnam pa zung gis gong nas gong //  
 spel mdzad sngon byon chos rgyal mes\* dbon ni // \*me  
 yab sras brgyud par bcas la phyag bgyi'o //  
 gang de'i gdung rabs mtha' bzhir 'gyes pa yis //  
 rgya bod lho mon rgyal khams 'dzin pa dang //  
 dgos 'dod kun 'byung las sgo'i sgo\* phye nas // \*go  
 rnam mang skye 'gro'i re ba (48b) skong ba'i gtam //  
 ya rabs gong ma'i gsung ngag dri med dang //  
 dngos bzhugs rgan mgo'i rgyud tshig drang\* po'i don // \*drag  
 phyogs lung 'dod dbang spong ba'i lhag bsam gyis //  
 mchog gsum dbang du bzhugs pa'i tho chems bris //

#### ADDENDUM

#### [ I ]

(48b<sub>2</sub>) / de yang rgyal brgyud zur tsam bshad pa ni / rgyal po  
 srong\* btsan sgam po / khri lde gtsug brtan\*\* / de'i brgyud khri  
 srong lde\* btsan / de'i bu mu khri btsan po / ma rung btsan po /  
 bzhi khri btsan po / khri ral pa rnam yin / bzhi khri btsan po'i  
 brgyud pa mon\* yul la 'og yul gsum la byon pa yin / de nas rgyal  
 mkhar mi zim pa la babs pa yin / mi zim pa la mi rabs lnga drug  
 sdod pa yin / de nas shar sde\* rang rgyal po dang / sgam ri radhi  
 rgyal po dang / snga tshang phyi tshang rgyal po dang / sngon la  
 srin mi rgyun mi'i rgyal po dang / beng mkhar / kha gling /  
 gdung\* bsam / de tsho'i rgyal po mi (49a) zim pa las 'gyes pa yin /  
 mi zim pa'i rgyal po khun dang zer ba dang / thum bi zer ba gnyis  
 yod pa'i khun dang gi bu gser gdung / thum bi'i bu ldan bu yin /  
 gser gdung dang ldan bu gnyis kyi thog la mi zim pa nas babs ste /  
 gser gdung gis\* beng mkhar bzung / mkhar la btsan sa\*\* brag chen  
 yod / phyi'i lcags ri'i grang ma chu dang mi thi gnyis kyis bskor ba  
 \*spong \*\*khri sde  
 btsug bstan  
 \*sde  
 \*yon  
 \*sdi  
 \*bdung  
 \*gi \*\*pa

yod / las sgo ni sgam ri nya'u chung gser mi yod / phu ni tsheng  
phu'i 'og la sdod pa yin / de nas mkhar gcen mkhar 'di / sngar dang  
po ni rgyal po stong rab kyis bzung ba yod / stong rab kyis mag\*  
pa sbyar pa da las bu yin / stong rab kyis brgyud pa chad nas mag\*  
pas bzung ba yin / de nas rgyal po ldan bu\* ni mi zim pa nas gcen  
mkhar la babs pa yin / ldan bus\* zer ba la /

\*smag

\*smag

\*bu'i

\*bu'i

chos rgyal gdung brgyud nga rang yin //

bu ri stag gi mgo\* stog yin //

\*go

gcen mkhar stag gi sked pa yin //

smad gdung bsam 'di rkang bsten gyi mdzub (49b) mo\* yin //

\*mtsho mo

'gdung bsam stag gi 'jug ma yin //

ri sa pha sgam 'byung mo 'di rgyab rten\* gyi ri bo yin //

\*bstan

sgom la 'brog gsum gser gyi gzhong pa 'dra //

sgam ri mdo bzhi yid\* bzhin nor bu 'dra //

\*yin

beng mkhar 'di srin yul gyi sgo bsrung 'dra //

gcen mkhar 'di ka ta rgyug pa'i shong lam yin //

kha khra\* rgyug pa'i chu lam yin //

\*khrag

mi lam rgyug pa'i gsang lam yin //

rgya bod 'gro ba'i lam 'gags yin //

'di las ma gtogs gzhan las 'gro sa med //

phu yon phu gser gyi yol ba\* brkyang\*\* ba 'dra ba 'dug //

\*la \*\*rkyang

mda' ldom gzi ni glang chen 'dra ba 'dug //

zhes gsungs so //

'di'i dus su 'bum pa yer la tshong 'dus btsugs ste / rgya'i A tsa ra

dang bod pa khams pa / mon yul gyi mi thams cad 'dzom pa yin

no† // rgyal po\* ldan bu la bu gsum yod pa'i che\*\* shos\*\*\*

\*bu \*\*bche

\*\*\*shog

mchog ka rdo rje / de'i 'og ma mgon po rdo rje / chung (50a) shos

seng ge rdo rje // mchog ka rdo rje yab sras kyis the skor sor gdub

bskur ba tsam gyis kyang gnyer kha thub\* pa yin no //

\*thum

## [ II ]

de nas yo\* gdung wang ma rnams kyis rgyal rabs bshad pa ni / rgyal

\*yong

mkhar mi zim pa nas pha ma'i lung bstan dang bstun te / las sgo yo

gdung la babs pa yin\* / de nas 'brug pa kun mkhyen padma dkar

\*... pha ma'i lung  
bsten te / las sgo  
dang bstun nas yo  
gdung...

po'i slob ma bla ma bkra shis dbang zer ba lung bstan mdzad nas

gnang ba yin\* / de nas bla ma bkra shis dbang dang yo gdung wang

\*... lung bstan /  
mdzad nas nang ba  
yin /

ma yon mchod gnyis kyis\* rgya gar rtswa mchog grong gi gnas sgo

\*kyi

1. The following two lines are taken from  
† below where they do not appear to belong.

phye nas / rgya bod / hor khams pa / stod mnga' ris\* man chad kyis  
 gnas mjal la 'dzom sa yin / de nas las sgo sa\* gzhi thams cad kyi\*\*  
 bdag po yo\* gdung wang mas byed pa la / spun so sor ma 'chams  
 ste / yo gdung wang ma / dog shing wang ma ya (50b) ran wang  
 ma / rgyal gdung sman mkhar gyi wang ma de tsho las sgo'i rtsa ba  
 las ma 'chams par / yo gdung wang mas gcen mkhar rgyal po  
 mchog ka rdo rje las\* srid tshol nas / dmag bkug ste rgyal gdung  
 sman mkhar la dmag rgyab ste / thams cad gtor brlag gtang nas /  
 las sgo rtsis len te / gcen mkhar ba la las sgo sbyin pa'i rtsa ba 'di  
 yin / mchog ka rdo rje yan chad ni khong gis las sgo mi thob / de  
 nas bu mo btang ste gnyen yang byas\* pa yin /

\*rigs  
 \*omitted \*\*kyls  
 \*g.yo  
 \*la  
 \*byes

## [ III ]

de nas yo gdung wang ma'i brgyud pa\* rim par las sgo thob' tshul  
 dang / sa bcad kyi tshams gzhan yang gnas rtsa\* mchog grong gi\*\*  
 gnas sgo bye\* tshul zur tsam bkod pa ni / sngon thog mar dkar  
 rgyud bla ma kun mkhyen ngag dbang nor bu de nyid kyis\* mdzad  
 pa'i dus su wang ma ge gser rgyal po dang gtso rgan dung bu yin /  
 (51a) de'i rjes su bla ma bkra shis dbang rgyal kyis mdzad dus wang  
 ma lnga rigs rgyal po dang gtso rgan gsang gus yin / de'i rjes su bla  
 ma Om bu kun bzang gis\* mdzad dus su wang ma phrong rgyal po  
 dang gtso rgan la pas yin / rje de'i rjes su bla ma dge slong dmags  
 'dus kyis\* mdzad dus wang ma rin chen rgyal po dang gtso rgan ru  
 pa yin / de'i rjes su bla ma 'brug pa kun legs kyis\* mdzad dus wang  
 ma kun rgyal po dang gtso rgan spen da yin / de'i rjes su bla ma  
 sku'i skyes dang thugs dam pad dkar\* gyis mdzad dus wang ma  
 bstan nyi rgyal po dang gtso rgan rdo las yin / de'i rjes su bla ma  
 sku'i skyes dang dpon slob ngag dbang bkra shis gnyis kyis\* mdzad  
 dus wang ma chos rgyas dang gtso rgan zo gi yin / de'i rjes su [bla  
 ma sku'i skyes dang dpon slob ngag dbang bkra shis] skye pa rnam  
 rgyal 'phrin las gnyis kyis mdzad dus / wang ma nor bu dar rgyas kyi  
 bu gsum las che ba ko li rgyal po / bar ma smin drug dbang rgyal /  
 chung ba ka rma dbang rgyal gsum / gtso rgan bkra shis yin / kar rdzi  
 shes rab 'brug rgyas 'di rnams yin no // de'i rjes su (51b) bla ma  
 bstan 'dzin rgyal pos\* mdzad dus / wang ma ko li gyi bu gsum las  
 che ba nor bu rgya mtsho dang / bar ma bkra shis srid thal / chung  
 ba cu pas gsum / gtso rgan ngag dbang tshe ring de'i bu sprul rgyal  
 yin / de'i rjes su bla ma sku drung shar phyogs 'dra'os\* mdzad dus /  
 wang ma nor bu rgya mtsho'i bu gsum las che ba tshe dbang rgyal  
 po / bar ma 'brug dbang rgyal / chung ba ngag dbang 'phrin las yin /  
 gtso rgan bstan 'dzin 'brug rgyal yin / de'i rjes su bla ma bsam grub

\*... wang mas  
 \*rtsa \*\*gis  
 \*dbye  
 \*kyi  
 \*gi  
 \*kyl  
 \*kyl  
 \*thugs gdams dpe  
 dkar  
 \*kyl  
 \*po'i  
 \*dra'o'i



dang bla ma . . .<sup>1</sup> / wang ma tshe dbang rgyal po'i\* bu gnyis las che  
 ba 'brug rnam\* rgyal dang chung ba rdó rje\*\* bar ma 'brug dbang  
 rgyal gyi\* bu gnyis las che ba srid thal nor bu dang chung ba bkra  
 shis srid thal / gtso rgan bsam\* bstan 'dzin yin / de'i rjes su bla ma  
 . . .<sup>2</sup> /

\*spod

\*snam \*\*sdor rjes

\*gyis

\*sams

## [ IV ]

de nas rgyal po wang ma bdag gi\* yo gdung rgyal mkhar nas (52a) \*gi  
 rgyal sa thob tshul 'di'i sa mtshams ni / stod skyi shing rung nas man  
 chad / mu ris sgam phug nas man chad / jo bo sha wang nas man  
 chad / rdo mchod rten\* nas tshur / tur pa nas yan chad / nye ring  
 ngang rgyu nas yan chad / ti ki ri rdo phug nas yan chad / dngul  
 gum ba nas man chad / phrang phrang ba lab rtsa nas man chad /  
 'di rnams thams cad wang ma bdag gi sa yin no //

\*mchor brten

## [ V ]

de nas yang wang ma bdag gi las sgo'i sa mtshams 'di yin bya'ba'i  
 'dzin tho\* la / thog mar sbo ka li sa phyogs kyi stod go ma ri / shar  
 pas ki pa ra / khe sha zu li / nub phyogs ma / khyir zan / hal da sba  
 ri / sbe ta na / za lugs sba ri / sdi ga las sdob li bar gzhung / gling  
 zan / mo long dga' / bar gtsong / sgam ri ka ta / sdo bskor par /  
 khang zu li / wag (52b) zam sba ri / no sgor / shing ging sba ri /  
 shams nyi ya / kho kho ra sdob li stod / phan tsho / shab kha / spu  
 la / yang shar phyogs nye'u li nas man chad / sbar da nas tshur / ga  
 ga ri zan nas\* tshur / bzo ya chu nas nub phyogs / brong dgon chu  
 nas nub phyogs / da khu bha nas nub phyogs / dho kha shing nas  
 nub phyogs / bhu la zu li nas shar phyogs / nye ri chu phran nas  
 yar phyogs / shu ka la nas shar phyogs / gho na bar nas sdong gos  
 shar phyogs / bhu li sdob li nas shar phyogs / shu ba pur / bhos  
 sprog chu nas shar\* phyogs\*\* / 'di rnams wang ma bdag gi dbang  
 ba'i sa yin / bdag gi rgya'i sa dang ming dang sa mtshams tshang\*  
 ngo //

\*thog

\*omitted

\*shis \*\*omitted

\*\*tshang

## [ VI ]

de nas tha khur gyi rgyud las sngar dang po thog mar tha khur phur  
 gtum pa / de'i bu Ur ka / de'i bu la'u zi / de'i bu mas na / de'i bu  
 kong ga / de'i bu (53a) khong thabs / de'i bu the kha ra / de'i bu  
 sham lung / de'i bu sham za / de'i bu lo khin bar / de'i bu sho na

1. A name seems to be missing here.
2. Names omitted.

ram / por ya pha'o la / tha khur A nas / spun gsum yin\* / 'di  
mams bdag gi tha khur gyi brgyud yin tshang ngo\* //

\*spun sum yin  
wrongly placed  
after sho na ram.  
\*'tshang go

[ VII ]

de nas dang po nye ba li gyi las sgo shor ba'i\* rgyu mtshan ni /  
gdung bsam pa'i\* tsha'o shag ci yang rgyas dang / khres phug pa'i  
tsha bo la na spun gsum gnyis ma cham nas / rgyal sa gcig la rgyal  
po gnyis mi 'thad\* pa 'dug zer nas / sho rgyan rgyab pas la na spun  
gsum pham nas gsod\* dgos pa byung / gsod\* pa dang srog nor  
dngul phor byin nas btang bas / yang dngul phor 'di lam du sbas  
bzahag nas (53b) log te yo gdung wang ma'i rtsar yong nas las sgo  
gcig dgos pa 'dug zer nas bsangs\* byung / de nas nye ba li de las  
shor ba yin no //

\*bas  
\*pas  
  
\*thad  
\*bsod  
  
\*blongs

[ VIII ]

sngon dang po chos rje\* 'brug pa sku gsar byon pa'i skabs su /  
rgya gar las sgo med pa'i dus / rgyal po wang ma bdag gi\* las  
sgo las / mo long dga' zer ba'i\* las sgo 'di / 'brug pa sku gsar byon  
pa'i skabs dus su / phud du 'bul ba'i las sgo yin no //

\*rjes  
\*gis  
\*bas

[ IX ]

bla ma bkra shis dbang rgyal\* gtso byas nas / wang ma lnga\*\*  
rigs\* rgyal\*\* po dang gtso rgan gsang\*\*\* gus dang / kar rdzi  
padma rus gnam sa yin / 'di rnams kyis\* gnas rtsa\*\* mchog  
grong\* gi gnas tshol phyin nas brnyed\*\* de / rtsa mchog grong  
gi gnas kha 'di dag\* rnams kyis\*\* thob nas de las tshur mjal ba  
byung ngo //

\*rgyas \*\*nga  
\*rig \*\*rgyal rgyal  
\*\*\*bsang  
\*kyl \*\*rtsa  
\*omitted \*\*brnyen  
\*bdag \*\*kyl

(54a) gong gsal mdzad bzang rnam dkar rta bdun 'od //  
tshul min kunda'i nags ljongs kun bcom zhing //  
dge legs padmo'i ze'u brtas pa ni //  
gangs can bod\* rigs bkra ba khyod kyis\*\* dran //

\*omitted \*\*kyl

(1a) The Lamp Which Illuminates with Certainty the  
Origins of Generations of 'Earth-Protecting'  
Kings and the Manner in Which Generations of  
Subjects Came into Being is contained [herein].

(1b) nama Āryalokeśvara-dharmarājabodhisattvayā

I bow down to the powerful protector  
Avalokiteśvara,

The 'superior deity' in whom the compassion  
of all Jinas is united

And who by his method of converting in all  
situations shows himself in  
forms everywhere

In this ignorant and dark land of Tibet,<sup>1</sup> a  
barbarous border region.

Having manifested his various visible forms  
Out of the dance of illusion, beings in the  
world increased.

(2a) So that the Buddha's teachings might spread  
in all directions,

The human race in India was emanated from the  
gods and thus generated and

The humans of Tibet were transformed from  
monkeys and spread.

As for those who bestowed on them the finest  
method of attaining virtue,

In the country of India King Mahāsammata,

In Tibet, the Land of Snow, the Lord-King  
gNya'-khri bTsan[-po],

Srong-btsan sGam-po and Khri Srong-lde-btsan;  
and

In Mon to the South, the Divine Prince  
gTsang-ma, so it is said.

The origins of generations of lords above

And the manner in which generations of subjects  
beneath [them] came into being,

- (2b) /All of whom were under the authority/ of these  
 excellent emanated beings,  
 Is recited in this Lamp which Illuminates with  
 Certainty.  
 A needful account in brief, that all can  
 understand well, of  
 The geneses in India and in Tibet, the Land of Snow,  
 According with all the stories and shastra read  
 and heard  
 And the oral traditions of wise old men of the  
 world,  
 Will be enlarged upon by discourse. As a result,  
 however, of the  
 Malicious and rash conduct of beings in the Age  
 of Degeneration  
 There is no distinction between noble lords  
 and their subjects.  
 At /this/ very time when families and lineages  
 have become disordered  
 Even though ancestral origins are explained, it is  
 the cause of useless sloth.
- (3a) However, if at certain times in the future  
 One of high family and lineage, noble and judicious,  
 A descendant of the Lord-Kings who governed the  
 earth  
 From the power of their being appointed by heaven,  
 can come forth like a star that appears  
 in daytime,
- (3a2) Then for the sake of joyful smiles and a feast  
 for the ears
- (4b5) I sing the tune of a secret little song in this  
 manner,  
 Even though I do not dare to address to the }  
 audience of all ears  
 This discourse which is given so as to be  
 intelligible to nobles of equal standing.

- (5a) Now then,<sup>2</sup> according to the prophecy given in the Puṇḍarīka-sūtra,<sup>3</sup> at the time when the Buddha Bhagavan was living, there was a great lake which had come forth swirling on top of all the mountains, valleys and ground in this region of Tibet, the Land of Snow. Whereupon the Buddha Bhagavan commanded Avalokiteśvara and he, agreeing, opened up the effluent of the Kong-chu river simply by recollecting the power of a 'visualizing prayer'. The entire lake sunk away there and so the ground appeared forth as clear as the palm of one's hand. A great forest of Sāla trees arose and then Ārya Avalokiteśvara and the Lady
- (5b) Tārā transformed themselves into a monkey bodhisattva and a rock demoness. Coming together as husband and wife, they begat six monkey children who gradually increased. When there were five hundred monkey children, Ārya Avalokiteśvara transformed himself into an extremely handsome and mature youth. The monkey grandchildren asked him: "Where does your beautiful appearance come from?" So the man explained to them the doctrine of abstaining from the ten evil deeds. Accordingly, after the monkey grandchildren had themselves practised it, they too gradually turned into humans.

Then Ārya Avalokiteśvara gave five kinds of grain to the old monkey bodhisattva and so the monkeys who had become humans started upon agricultural work. When the harvest ripened, they each scrambled to obtain what they could, fighting and quarrelling.

Since there was no lord-chief above and no graded

(6a) order of subjects below, [someone] replied: [ "...v ]

So with universal accord they held consultations during which it was decided to search for a lord-chief. There-

upon, induced by the rays of compassion of Ārya

Avalokiteśvara, Ru-pa-skye [Rūpati] who was the youngest

son of King dMag-rgya-pa [Īdayana] met those Tibetans }  
 who had gone in search of a lord-chief on the peak of

lHa-ri Rol-pa. The Tibetans asked the king: "Where do

you come from ?" Since at that time Indians did not

understand the language of Tibet, the king raised his

finger to the sky and so they said: "This person seems

to be a god who has come from the sky." So making a

throne of their necks, they bore him off. The king's

name was therefore fixed as rJe gNya'-khri ('Neck-throne')

bTsan-po. He was the first king of Tibet. If it be

asked: "What was the origin of this king's family and

lineage ?" [the answer is as follows:] In former times

the first king of the sacred land of India was the Lord

Mahasammata Rāja. In the dynasty of the line of his

descendants who followed each other successively there

(6b) appeared Kings Bharadvāja and Gautama, these two.

Gautama, while innocent, was declared guilty and impaled

(3a2) on the top of a pointed stake. As drops of blood dripped

forth he said prayers over them, causing them to turn

into three eggs. These were placed in between the leaves

of a sugar-cane tree and turned into three little infant

princes. When the line of their descendants had

proliferated successively, [it became known as] the

lineage of the Bu-ram-shing-pa (Iksavāku) dynasty. From

force of circumstances [its members] came to reside in the

great city of Ser-skya (Kapilavastu) and in the lineage which arose as a result of brothers and sisters cohabiting there issued forth the three royal families of the so-called 'Mahā-Śākya', the 'Śākya-Licchavī' and the 'Śākya Ri-brag-pa'. As for nJe gNya'-khri bTsan-po, he was of the Śākya-Licchavī lineage.

- (3b) In the twenty-fifth generation after gNya'-khri bTsan-po there came forth King lHa-tho-tho-ri gNyan-btsan. Then, after five generations, King Srong-btsan sGam-po came forth. Then, after five generations, King Khri Srong-lde-btsan came forth. King Khri Srong-lde-btsan had three sons: Mu-ne bTsan-po, Mu-khri bTsan-po and Sad-na-legs. Of these, Sad-na-legs had three sons: Khri Ral-pa-can, lHa-sras gTsang-ma and Glang Dar-ma. Of these, as for Khri Ral-pa-can, he was the emanation of Vajrapāṇi as prophecied in the Karunapundarīka-sūtra.<sup>4</sup> } After he had been raised to the royal throne and had gained power over the remaining two-thirds of the world, his strength and dominion equalled that enjoyed by the gods. He built the great temple of 'U-zhang-rdo with a Chinese roof and nine stories. In order to cause the
- (4a) doctrine of the Buddha to flourish and increase, he established thirty-six great religious communities throughout dBus-gtsang in Tibet and as far as Khams; these included twelve colleges of the Vinaya, twelve colleges of scriptural study and twelve colleges of meditation, all of them great monastic communities. He invited many pandits from India, including the pandit Danasila; together with the Tibetan translators, he caused them to render all the scriptures into Tibetan by means of the 'new language' devised for

the translation of Buddhist texts/ . . . So the holy dharma flourished and increased. In particular, seven households of his subjects were appointed [to provide for] the honour of each member of the sangha and the king himself caused the monks to sit upon a length of cotton [the end of] which he attached to the tresses of his own head.

As a consequence of his paying enormous and unsurpassed honour to the doctrine of the Buddha, his subjects were faced with quite considerable difficulties. Thereupon the sinful ministers became obstinate to the extent that dBas-rgyal

(4b) To-re and Cog-ro Legs-sgra --[these]two -- held consultations about how they would destroy the religious law after killing the king. Cog-ro Legs-sgra said: "Even if the king should be killed, there still remain the Divine Prince gTsang-ma and the Chief Minister dPal-gyi Yon-tan. It would therefore be impossible to destroy<sup>the</sup> religious law." To that dBas-rgyal To-re replied: "I have a solution." He gave rewards in the form of wealth and goods to all the (female?)diviners and astrologers throughout dBus-gtsang in Tibet and forced them to say with universal accord: "If the Divine Prince gTsang-ma resides this year in this realm of Tibet, there is a danger that impediments will arise in the lives of both the king and the Divine<sup>Prince</sup>/gTsang-ma.

(6b1) In particular also, pestilence, famine, troubled times and so forth will come to this realm of Tibet." He said this [to the diviners and to the astrologers] and having forced them to speak these words with universal accord, they were spoken. Thereupon dBas-rgyal To-re reported them to the king who declared: "This year my younger brother gTsang-ma may depart in order to remove our



obstacles and in order to see what the subjects and communities in lHo Mon are like and to enquire into their welfare." When, in accordance with these words, he [gTsang-ma] had departed<sup>5</sup> in the direction of lHo sPa-gro, once again both dBas-rgyal To-re and Cog-ro Legs-sgra agreed and spread a slander, saying: "The King's queen, Ngang-tshul-ma, and Blon-chen dPal-gyi Yon-tan — [these] two — have secretly indulged their (7a) lust and fornicated without the king's knowing it." On account of this, the queen Ngang-tshul-ma became terrified and, committing suicide, she died. The king, paying heed to the slander, had Blon-chen dPal-gyi Yon-tan placed on a great pyre and killed. Having accomplished their purpose, the two sinful ministers } twisted the king's head round and killed him while he was sleeping after he had drunk rice beer.

Then, after Glang Dar-ma had been raised to the royal throne, he destroyed the temples and the body, speech and mind-supports. He scattered the monastic communities and killed those [monks] who refused to hunt. He stopped the remaining work of translating the scriptures and so the pandits returned to their own countries. The doctrine of the Buddha was abolished, not even its (7b) name remaining, so that lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje killed Glang Dar-ma, his spirit having been roused by Ma-gcig dPal-lha, the guardian deity of lHa-sa.

He [Glang Dar-ma] had two sons, 'Od-srungs and Yum-brtan. When they grew up they fell out over the government and, having split into a 'central wing' and a 'left wing' . they contended over a period of twelve years, so that [The country]

became like a land of darkness, devoid of both state and religious law. When about seventy years had elapsed, the Buddha and Ārya Avalokiteśvara looked down with loving compassion and so the circumstances arose whereby in the land of darkness the ashes of the Buddha's doctrine were revived from sMad, nourished from sTod and caused to flourish and prosper in dBus-gtsang. As to how the ashes of the Buddha's doctrine were revived from sMad: At the time when the doctrine was being caused to decline, gTsang Rab-gsal, g.Yo dGe-'byung and dMar Śākyamuni --

- (8a) [these] three -- who were at dPal-chen Chu-bo-ri meditating, saw a monk who was hunting and asked him his story. Hearing an account of how the king was abolishing the doctrine, the three of them became terrified and, having loaded up a mule with the volumes of the Vinaya, they fled to mDo-smad-khams and stayed at gNam-rdzong-brag meditating.

At that time a child called rMu-gsal gShen-'bar, who was a young Bon[-po] born in the district of Tsong-kha, set off to pasture his cattle and [came to] a temple which had gone to ruin called sNang-gsal lHa-khang. When he saw the picture of a monk on the wall-paintings inside, the child experienced a feeling of extreme happiness. There was an old lady close by, supporting herself on a stick, and he asked her: "What is this picture and who does it depict?"

- The old lady replied: "When I was young there were many (8b) communities of so-called 'monks' [who used to wear] that kind of costume. There have been none since Glang Dar-ma caused the doctrine to decline." The child said: "Weren't the monks of that time scattered to some other area?" The old lady replied: "Nobody knows whether or not they are somewhere else. It is said [however] that there are

three monks now resident at mDo-khams gNam-rdzong-brag who fled from dPal-chen Chu-bo-ri." At that very instant the child went off to gNam-rdzong-brag and on meeting gTsang Rab-gsal, g.Yo dGe-'byung and dMar Sakyamuni — [these] three — he bowed down to them with devotion. Having surpassing faith in the dharma and in the Vinaya, he was ordained monk and given the name of dGe-slong Rab-gsal. Later his mind became exceedingly clear (rab-gsal) and, having absorbed all the pitaka of the dharma into his mind, he became

(9a) widely renowned under the name of Bla-chen dGongs-pa Rab-gsal. In dBus bSam-yas, Tshana Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan, who was the descendant of Yum-brtan, having gained faith in the holy dharma, he sent ten persons including Klu-mes Shes-rab Tshul-khrims to be ordained monks. They were ordained by Bla-chen dGongs-pa Rab-gsal and so the continuity of the dharma was spread to dBus-gtsang. It is this [sequence of events] which is called "the revival from sMad of the doctrine's ashes".

As for "the nourishing [of the doctrine] from sTod":

Of the two sons which Glang Dar-ma had, 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan, 'Od-srung's son was mNga'-bdag dPal-'khor-btsan. Of the two sons which he had, bKra-shis rTsegs-pa-dpal and sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon, the latter had three

(9b) sons: dPal-gyi-mgon, lDe-btsug-mgon and bKra-shis-mgon. Of the sons which bKra-shis-mgon had, 'Od-kyi rGyal-mtshan and both Srong-nge and Khor-re, it was Srong-nge who built the mTho-lding temple in Gu-ge. Without abbot or teacher, he became a monk and took his final ordination. He was given the name of lHa-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od. He made his two sons become monks too. He

handed the government over to the younger brother lHa-lde. The latter had three sons of whom the middle one was Byang-chub-'od. lHa-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od and lHa-btsun Byang-chub-'od, both grandfather and grandson, sent twenty-one Tibetan boys including Rin-chen bZang-po to India. Having studied to be translators, he made them translate the holy dharma into Tibetan. In particular he compelled himself to live without regard for precious gold and without sparing his own life in order to invite from India 10a) to mNga'-ris Gung-thang the crown-ornament of five hundred pandits , Jo-bo-rje dPal-ldan Atiśa, whose name is as widely renowned as the sun and the moon. He 'turned the wheel of the dharma' [there] and then proceeded by stages to dBus-gtsang and so the precious doctrine of the Buddha came to flourish and prosper. That its continuity which reached the very limits of the sky should continue to exist up to present times is due to this sequence of events.

This is the first section from The Lamp Which Illuminates the Origins of Royal Families concerning how, after the human race had come to be spread in Tibet, the Land of Snow, a lord-king was invited and the doctrine of the Buddha flourished and prospered.

## SECTION II

Now, since the extended account of the origins of successive generations of bāla-cakravartī-rājas who appeared in India and in Tibet, the Land of Snow, has been made clear in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long,  
 (10b) the dPag-bsam ljon-pa and in the rGyal-rabs khug-pa,<sup>6</sup> it is not included here. Now even in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long it is said that the kings of Mon to the south are of the lineage of the Divine Prince gTsang-ma<sup>7</sup> and even at present times the oral traditions of the royal families and of the public are also all in perfect agreement in their versions of how all the royal families came to be separately diffused from the direction of<sup>8</sup> the Mi-zim-pa royal castle. Some, however, give arrogant versions based on their individual desires, saying: "It is I, not you". Others give misunderstood accounts which are unexamined and ill-considered; having counted about ten generations of the Divine Prince gTsang-ma's issue they say: "I am that person's son", telling this as sure evidence. Others say: "These are the names of the successive descendants. Those are not." This quarrelling and saying of "It is exactly this"  
 (11a) by each one differently is just ignorant, foolish and uneducated. For example, just one person can have many names and can be known to everyone in this manner: by the name given to him in his childhood by his parents at the ceremony of wishing him auspicious success and by the name they used when looking after him lovingly and succouring him; by the names given according to the circumstances of his work and his physical appearance; and by his honorific name given to him in eulogy as a mark of respect for his

high position, and so on -- as there are so many it would be difficult to examine them all in order to hold to one of them. Other people speak unfoundedly of a certain number of years having elapsed since the Divine Prince gTsang-ma came to lHo Mon and of a certain number of generations having gone by. Such declarations as: "The successive descendants [of our ancestors] are these, not those", given as with certain proof of their origins, are just arrogant and proud talk that is rash and ill-considered and so I ask you not to concur with them. For example,

(11b) with regard to chronological accuracy, it is said in the bsTan-brtsis gdan-dus mthun-mongs of mKhas-grub lHa-dbang Blo-gros: "To examine by means of 'fire' [the number 3] depends on the object of enquiry (?)." <sup>9</sup>

Now -- in continuation of that which has been explained above -- although the Divine Prince gTsang-ma in a party of about five persons including the lord and his attendants had intended to proceed in the direction of lHo-brag, due to the power of his aspirations made in previous lives, from the direction of Phag-ri in gTsang he went to gNam-mthong dKar-po<sup>10</sup> in sPa-gro. While residing there for some days he cohabited with an extremely beautiful young girl as his play-mate and when the Divine Prince himself had proceeded on his way, that girl later gave birth to an unclaimed son of uncertain paternity and some people said that he was probably the illegitimate son of the Divine Prince gTsang-ma. Nowadays some legends are still told of how the important clans of the so-called rGyal-gdung of sPa-gro and of the gDung-'brog of Thim-phu<sup>11</sup> are the descendants of that son. Then in stages he [gTsang-ma]

(12a) proceeded by way of the central region of Thim-phu, the

Chu-pho and Chu-mo rivers<sup>12</sup> of the Thed valley, and  
 dBang-'dus Pho-brang. Having crossed the bridge of  
 Bar-grong<sup>13</sup> he arrived at sGor-mo in the Shar district.  
 Then he travelled in stages through Kho-dwangs-kha,  
 sNgan-lung, Mang-sde-lung, Kheng, rTa-li, sBu-li,  
 sTung-la-sbi and Zhong-dkar Mol-ba-lung-pa.<sup>14</sup> When he  
 arrived at the sKu-ri Chu river, wherever he looked  
 upstream or downstream there was no bridge. He was  
 surprised and, pondering in his mind what would be best  
 done, the Prince said to himself: "If I have the for-  
 tune to reside in this region and gain control of it,  
 may I [first] erect a bridge." Sending up a prayer to the  
 God of Heaven,<sup>15</sup> he felled and toppled a tree trunk so that  
 it became like a bridge joining both sides of the river.  
 Crossing the river he arrived at lCang-bum<sup>16</sup> and then  
 passed over the top of the sKor-ri<sup>17</sup> Pass. After travelling  
 in stages through the lands of sNga-tshang, crossing the  
 She-ri Chu river and then [having proceeded] through  
 (12b) Ba-geng Bre-mi-he-long and the lands of rTseng-mi, he  
 arrived at Byams-mkhar.<sup>18</sup> Leaving the bridge of Tshang-  
 zam he came to the open surface of the pasture called  
 Thum-bur at Mug-ltang-mkhar<sup>19</sup> and looked back. The course  
 of the Grang-ma'i Chu river of Gong-ri formed a broad and  
 clean valley and so the Divine Prince had a feeling of  
 happiness and discharged a silver arrow he had, causing a  
 stream to appear [where the arrow came down]; it is the  
 place called gSer-sgom nowadays. Then he arrived at Wang-  
 ser-kung-pa<sup>20</sup> and looking around in all directions he saw  
 that although the valley was clean and pleasant, there  
 were very few inhabitants, settlements and fields and so  
 he did not feel inclined to reside there. Since at that

time throughout the regions of lHo Mon there were no more than a few houses and fields which had been appropriated by the small number of people who had come in company

(13a) with King Khyi-kha Ra-thod,<sup>21</sup> when the Divine Prince also came he had no desire to stay there and so proceeded by stages in this direction. Then the<sup>Divine</sup> Prince himself asked the people, saying: "Where are there many people and settlements and where is there good land?" The people replied: "dPal-mkhar in La-'og Yul-gsum<sup>22</sup> is good." So he went in stages to dPal-mkhar and resided there. When he came to hear talk of how it was a time in Tibet when the sinful king<sup>23</sup> and sinful ministers had agreed among themselves to destroy the teachings of the Buddha, he did not feel inclined to reside in that place due to its close proximity to Tibet and so he went to bTsan-mkhar in 'Brong-mdo-gsum. Looking around for a suitable place to take for

(13b) a royal castle, he thought: "That land of Mi-zim-pa is surrounded by water and rocks, the valley is rich and the site is strong," and so he went there. At that place there was a habitation owned by a man called A-mi Don-grub-rgyal<sup>24</sup> and the Divine Prince said to Don-grub-rgyal: "How many generations have passed since you people came here? Which family, clan and region are you from?" Don-grub-rgyal said: "We came in my parents' time from the land of Tibet. As for our family clan it is of the lineage of A-mi Byang-chub 'Dre-bkol of the Rlangs lHa-gzigs [clan] who was the direct disciple of the ācārya Padma[Sambhava]<sup>25</sup> Due to a quarrel with my paternal siblings who were in the country of Byar-po,<sup>26</sup> the control that I should have gained over our subjects was not forthcoming and because of that we came here." As he told this story in detail the Divine Prince



believed him and so, having settled there, he took up  
 (14a) residence. As to the family lineages which are the  
 same as that of A-mi Don-grub-rgyal, nowadays <sup>27</sup> [that of]  
 the so-called sDe[-srid] Phag-mo-gru-pa [otherwise  
 called] the sNe-gdong Gong-ma Chen-mo is of the same clan.  
 bSod-nams dPal-skyid,<sup>28</sup> the daughter of A-mi Don-grub-rgyal,  
 was taken as wife by the Divine Prince gTsang-ma and so  
 both Khri-mi lHa'i-dbang-phyug and gCes-bu mThong-legs-  
 btsun were born. When they grew up they gained control  
 over the few habitations and settlements which existed and  
 built a royal castle. When the fame of the so-called  
 'Clan of the Tibetan Dharmarājas' had become great, Kri-mi  
 lHa'i-dbang-phyug was invited by the officers and sub-  
 jects from La'og Yul-gsum as their chief and he went there.<sup>29</sup>  
 Later the name of the so-called 'Khams-pa Jo-bo' [clan]<sup>30</sup>  
 achieved renown from the fact that his descendants resided  
 (14b) in the domain of the gods (lha'i khams-pa ?). The son of  
 gCes-bu mThong-legs-btsun who took control of the Mi-zim-pa  
 royal castle was Khri-brtan-dpal. There were also the sons  
 Gong-dkar-rgyal and dPal-bskyed-dar who were two twins born  
 together. When these three sons grew up, their father said:  
 "Since for the marriages of you three there are none really  
 fit for matrimonial alliance in this region, so just as in  
 India in previous times there were applied various names  
 to one family — i.e. the Mahā-Śākya, the Śākya Ri-brag-pa,  
 the Śākya-Licchavi and so on who then intermarried —  
 so also should you three do likewise." Then, giving clan  
 names in accordance with their individual circumstances,  
 he said: "Call Khri-brtan-dpal by the clan name of rJe<sup>31</sup>  
 ('Lord') in order to honour him like a lord-king, being

(15a) the first-born of my sons. Call both Gong-dkar-rgyal and dPal-bskyed-dar by the clan-name of sByar ('Attached') since they were born as two twins attached to each other." Gong-dkar-rgyal was invited as the lord-chief of Kho-long-stod and went there. The son of Khri-brtan-dpal who took control of the royal site [of his father] was gNam-bskos-sde. He looked to the records of his ancestral forebears and, taking their custom as an example just as they used to be,<sup>32</sup> he acted accordingly and so subjugated most regions and gained power. His sons, Gung-ri-rgyal, lHa-bzang-dar, gNam-sa-'bangs and dPal-mthong-legs, [these] four, were born. They grew up and accounts of their great strength and power were heard in all the valleys.

At a time just prior to these events, 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan, the two sons of King Glang Dar-ma, had not been  
(15b) in accord over the government and, separating into a central wing and a left wing, they had contended over a period of twelve years. After 'Od-srung had been defeated those of his officers and men who had fled to mNga'-ris sTod<sup>33</sup> were dispersed in the direction of lHo Mon and it seems that it was at that time that most of the settlements were established by these people who had come. Previous to that there had not been many people or settlements and in the absence of a graded order among ruler and subjects they disputed and quarrelled. Then, as if by the power of their former aspirations [made in previous lives], they all came to agreement and set off for the Mi-zim-pa royal castle in order to extend an invitation to a lord-chief. King gNam-bskos-sde said: "Why have you come here?" "We have come to ask for a lord-chief since it is said that there is a

clan of the Tibetan Dharmarājas [here] ", they said.

"Then that is a very good auspice", said the king. "Let Gung-ri-rgyal stay here so as to take control of the

(16a) royal castle in this place. May the other sons depart to whatever places they are invited according to the intentions of the subjects and officers and may they protect the subjects and officers by clever means with love and compassion," he said. Sealing the matter with prayers of good auspice, he sent them off with a variety of goods and chattels. lHa-bzang-dar was invited to Nyi-ma Che-rigs. gNam-sa-'bangs was invited to Nyi-ma Chung-rigs. dPal-mthong-legs was invited to lower gDung-bsam; and so they went off. As to the successive issue of their various descendants: At that time the kings did not take control of single settlements decisively but instead they circulated around the settlements of the subjects and officers, residing there [each by turn]. The son of lHa-

(16b) bzang-dar who went to Che-rigs was sTong-gsum rGyal-po. His sons were Som-rgyal, Som-dar and Som-bzang. Som-bzang's sons were Bla-ma and 'Od-'bar. Bla-ma's son was rGyal-gdung 'Jig-stang-la who built a royal castle at Was-chur Thum-nang-mkhar.<sup>34</sup> Acquiring a senior and junior wife, two sons of the senior, rGya-nag and Ma-ku, came forth and four sons of the junior, Rin-bzang, dPal-bzang, Grags-pa-bzang and bSod-nams-'bum came forth. Since the land of sKya-sa-mkhar was clear and pure and its connected upper and lower parts were pleasant, they, father and sons, came to an agreement and building a royal castle in that place they took control of a royal site. The so-called 'Kings of sNga-tshang [and] Phyi-tshang'<sup>35</sup> arose from among their various issue. The sons of rGya-nag were Ham-po and

Grags-pa, [these] two. The son of Ham-po was (Ha-dar

17a) and his son was rDor Chos-dbang who proceeded to mKhar-nang and, building a royal castle, resided there. His sons were gSang-bdag and dPal-bkra-shis, [these] two. The sons of dPal-bkra-shis were Dar-'jam and Chos-'jam, [these] two. The son of Chos-'jam was rDor-tshe-dbang. His sons were Lha-dbang and Mi-dbang. The son of Lha-dbang was Dar-'jam.<sup>36</sup> His sons are (i) Nor-bu dBang-rgyal and Ngag-dbang Nor-bu, [these] two. As for rDor-tshe-dbang, he was invited [to act] as the chief of the officers and subjects of rTseng-mi and came there. Having taken control of a royal castle at Tshan-lnga Shing-mkhar, Kun-thub, the son of the junior wife he married [there, was born]. The descendants of his progeny, sTong-ldan<sup>37</sup> and dBang bsTan-'dzin Grags-pa, are the royal families who are at mKhar-nang and Mu-sde Nor-bu sGang.

The successive issue of the descendants of Rin-bzang, the son of the junior wife mentioned above, are the royal (17b) families of Be-tsha Nang-mkhar. bSod-nams-'bum took control of a royal castle at sKya-sa-mkhar and resided there. His sons were dNgos-'bum and Chos-'bum, [these] two. The descendants of dNgos-'bum are the royal families of sPun-mang-tshan. The sons of Chos-'bum were sGrub-pa and sGo-la, [these] two. The sons of sGrub-pa were Rang-po and rDor-bzang. The sons of rDor-bzang were Bang-nge and Khri-mi, [these] two. The successive issue of the descendants of these two are now the royal families who are at sKya-sa-mkhar, Khas-mkhar, Mug-ltang-mkhar, sKyed-mkhar and The-nang-sbi. The son of Khri-mi was Nyi-ma-bzang. His son was Sangs-rdo-rje. Having gone to 'Dre-spong he built a royal castle and took control of the stronghold. Having proliferated successively,

his descendants are the royal families of 'Dre-spong.

- (18a) The son of Sangs-rdo-rje was Zla'u-la.<sup>38</sup> Having gone to Mong-sgar, he built a royal castle and took control of an estate. His sons are the rGyal-po(s) Nor-bu dBang-phyug and dBang-drag<sup>39</sup>, [these] two. The son of Bang-nge was sNgo-seng. His son was Tshe-dbang. His son was Tshe-ring dBang-chen. His son is rGyal-po.<sup>40</sup>

Among the descendants of gNam-sa-'bangs, who had gone to Nyi-ma Chung-rigs, there came forth two brothers, the kings called Me-gdung and sTong-gsum. The sons of Me-gdung were sMan-khyi and Thos-pa. The sons of sMan-khyi were Bya-khu and Nya-khu. The successive issue from them are the royal families of Wang-ser-kum-pa.<sup>41</sup> The sons of Thos-pa were gSer-gdung and lDan-pa.<sup>42</sup> gSer-gdung went to Beng-mkhar bKra-shis-sgang,<sup>43</sup> built a royal castle and took control of a royal site. His son was Khu-na.

- His sons, Kha-khas, dNgos and rGya-mtsho-bang, [these] three, came forth. The descendants of dNgos are the  
(18b) royal families of Grong-stod.<sup>44</sup> The descendants of rGya-mtsho-bang are the royal families of Grong-smad. The descendants of Kha-khas are the royal families who come from Rang-ci-mkhar. lDan-pa, having gone to gCen-mkhar, built a royal castle, gained power over the officers and subjects and acted as lord-chief.<sup>45</sup> His son was Thub-sbi. Among his descendants there were Cho-ka rDo-rje, mGon-po rDo-rje, and Senge rDo-rje, [these] three.<sup>46</sup> After Cho-ka rDo-rje had taken control of a royal castle he vied in magical skill with the Indian rDo-rong Rwa-dza;<sup>47</sup> Cho-ka rDo-rje won and thereafter the Indian duars were in a state of subjugation.<sup>48</sup> The sons of Cho-ka rDo-rje were Khyi-roq, rDos and rGyas-mtsho, [these] three. The son of

Khyi-roq was Bla-ma. His son was lHa-mo A-chi. His son was rDo-rje Phan-pas. His son was Zu-gi. His descendants are at gCen-mkhar.<sup>49</sup> The sons of rDos were dNgos-grub and Bla-ma Grags-pa. The son of dNgos-grub was rGyal-mtshan.

- (19a) His sons were Nor-bu rGyal-po and gSang-grags. The son of Nor-bu rGyal-po was rGya-mtsho. His son was Khyi-roq-dpal and then the lineage expired. The son of gSang-grags was Tshe-dbang. His sons were Rin-chen rGyal-po and Karma rGyal-po, [these] two. The descendants of Bla-ma Grags-pa are the royal families of Phra-sgom. The youngest brother, rGyas-mtsho, having been invited by the officers and subjects of Kha-gling, he went to Kha-gling-mkhar and built a royal castle. He brought under his power the officers and subjects and [also] the Indian duars, and when his strength and dominion became great all the communities from every direction assembled there and so the present so-called Ar-tshan districts of Kha-gling seem to be those [places where they settled].<sup>50</sup> The son of rGyas-mtsho was rGyal-bu. His descendant was bSod-nams dPal-'byor. His elder son was Chos-kas and
- (19b) his younger son rGyas-bsam-grub. The son of Chos-kas was Tshe-g.yang. The elder son of Tshe-g.yang was rGyal-bu and his younger son was Bla-ma Don-grub. The son of rGyal-bu was Padma rGyal-po. The sons of Padma rGyal-po were gCes-bu, bSod-nams-dbang and Khri-mi, [these] three. The sons of gCes-bu were bKra-shis Dar-rgyas and Sing-po, [these] two, and then the lineage expires. The son of Khri-mi was bDe-ba<sup>51</sup> and then the lineage expired. bSod-nams-dbang had no lineage. The sons of Bla-ma Don-grub, Sangs-rgyas-po, Nor-bu rGyal-po, Karma Tshe-ring and 'Brug rGyal-po, [these] four, came forth. The sons of Karma Tshe-ring were bsTan-'dzin rGyal-po and bsTan-'dzin dBang-'dus. The son of bsTan-'dzin dBang-'dus

was Ngag-dbang bSam-'phel. The sons of Ngag-dbang bSam-'phel are Ngag-dbang Phun-tshogs<sup>52</sup> and bSod-nams 'Brug-rgyal, [these] two. The son of bSod-nams 'Brug-rgyal is

(20a) 'Brug bDe-legs. The sons of 'Brug rGyal-po were Bang-ga, rGyal-po bSam-grub, and Ba-man,<sup>53</sup> [these] three. The son of Bang-ga was sNgon-la. His sons were Bla-ma rGyal-po, Ngag-dbang bSam-grub and Karma bsTan-'dzin and then the lineage expired.

In the lineage that passed down successively among the descendants of Seng-ge rDo-rje there came forth U-rgyan and rGyas-dar, these two. The sons of rGyas-dar were rGyal-po and Las-kyi. The son of rGyal-po was rGyal-bkra-shis. His sons were Tshe-ring<sup>54</sup> and Nor-bu-dbang. Their descendants are the royal families who are at sDom-mkhar. The son of Las-kyi was Ngag-dbang. His sons were Pho-brang<sup>55</sup> and Nag-seng,<sup>56</sup> [these] two. Their descendants are the royal families of bTaan-mkhar.

Having gone to gDung-bsam, Lord (rJe)<sup>57</sup> dPal mThong-legs gained power over the officers and subjects and [also] the Indians and his strength and dominion became great.

After marrying a consort, a son, 'Od-bar, came forth. His (20b) son was Tsha-bo Chang-po. In the lineage that passed down successively among his descendants the two princely brothers called bsTan-na and Bang-tsho were not in accord over the government and they contended. Bang-tsho was defeated and departed from the home. His descendants are the kings of Gung-gdung<sup>58</sup> and the royal families who are at gZhong-dkar sTong-phu.<sup>59</sup> They are also said to be at gDung-bsam<sup>60</sup> Mon-yul sTong-gsum and it was at that time that they were scattered there.

sTong-gsum was the younger brother of Me-gdung who is

mentioned above. His son was sTong-rab.<sup>61</sup> Although they both went in stages to gCen-mkhar, sGam-ri-lung-pa Ra-ti, Phong-mi Khang-pa-mkhar and other places they were unable to take control of a royal site and so they seized a home at mThong-rong Wa-ma sPang-gdung and for a time resided there. Then, having returned, they seized a home at mKhar-gdung<sup>62</sup> and their

21a) descendants who reside there are the royal families of mKhar-gdung.

Now, in continuation of what was explained above, Gong-dkar-rgyal went to Upper Kho-long having been invited as the chief of the officers and subjects of Upper and Lower Kho-long. Having built a royal castle and brought under his power all the subjects and communities by means of great force, he brought to his court the senior consort dPal-'dren-skyid, and rDor-'dzom-pa, A-thung-skyid and g.Yang-dpal-mo, [these] four. When the sons mThong-legs-dpal and bTsun-gong-rgyal, [these] two, were born to dPal-'dren-skyid, the senior consort, she became proud and vied<sup>63</sup> even with the king. As for her plan to expel the other three consorts and send them back each to their various homes, the king would not listen

21b) and retained them. The three consorts, however, because of their genuinely humble disposition, kept on behaving in the manner of servants to the senior consort. When the months had elapsed and when the king's sons had also been generated in the bodies of the three consorts, the headman sTong-'dus-dar, knowing about it,<sup>64</sup> spoke useful words in secret to the three consorts. "If the senior consort knows that you three have the king's sons in your bodies there is great danger that she will try to harm you on account of malicious envy. So take careful heed," he said. The three consorts therefore did so. When the number of months had come to an end and



they each gave birth to a son, fearing that the senior consort would perceive it, the son whom rDor-'dzom-pa had given birth to was reared secreted inside a g.yas trough. The son of A-thung-skyid was reared hidden inside

(22a) a stung pannier. The son of g.Yang-dpal-mo was reared concealed in a wang pit.<sup>65</sup> The three of them were born of fine appearance and when they grew bigger and knew how to walk about and suddenly began to speak words, the three junior consorts were fearful that the senior consort might do them an injury and so the officers and subjects, knowing about it, went before Gong-dkar [rgyal] and said: "These are the three sons who in fear of the jealousy of the senior consort have been reared by clever means in secret hiding." The king was overjoyed and <sup>commonly</sup> declared: "It is/said that women are of the true nature of wisdom and it would seem to be true." He took up the three sons in succession on his lap and patted each on the head. "In order that in times to come the legend may be wondrous and strange, it is necessary to give personal

(22b) names and clan names to the three sons individually," he said. "Since the son of rDor-'dzom-pa was reared secreted (gsang) in a yas-vessel give his name as gSang-sde-btsan<sup>66</sup> and call his clan name Yas-sde. Since the son of A-thung-skyid was reared hidden (sbas) inside a stung-vessel give his name as sBas-sde-btsan and call his clan name sTung-sde. Since the son of g.Yang-dpal-mo was reared concealed ('gab) in a wang-pit give his name as 'Gab-sde-btsan and call his clan name Wang-ma. Now guard the three sons well until they grow up," he said. To the three mothers he gave a limitless supply of food, drink and requisites. Then when the five sons grew up, became brave

and attained youthful manhood, their strength and dominion  
 (23a) increased and their father, Gong-dkar-rgyal, in his joy  
 bursted with pride. So he established in large measure a  
 regular custom of taxation and corvée among the officers  
 and subjects; he introduced and collected a meat-tax from  
 the upper part of the district, a fish-tax from the lower  
 part and a road-tax from the traders who travelled the roads.  
 When great difficulties arose for the officers and subjects  
 they unanimously revolted and Gong-dkar-rgyal, father and  
 sons, were expelled from the royal castle. At the time  
 when, having returned [to their original home] they were  
 residing at the Mi-zim-pa royal castle, those people who had  
 previously not invited a chief, knowing that the sons of  
 Gong-dkar-rgyal were of Prince gTsang-ma's clan, they came  
 to the Mi-zim-pa royal castle. In front of Gong-dkar-rgyal  
 they declared: "There being no lord-chief in our country  
 there is suffering on account of quarrels and contentions  
 (23b) and so in order to remove it (i.e. the suffering) we must  
 request your sons [to act] as the lord-chiefs of our various  
 districts." Gong-dkar-rgyal said: "I must keep mThong-legs-  
 dpal in order to control the estates wherever I stay. Take  
 away with you the other sons in accordance with the various  
 desires of your officers and men." Yas-sde gSang-sde-btsan  
 was invited to Sa-gling rGyan-mtshams and departed. sTung-  
 sde sBas-sde-btsan was invited <sup>to</sup> Zang-lung-pa and departed.  
 Wang-ma 'Gab-sde-btsan was invited to Upper Gang-zur and  
 departed. After the sons had dispersed in different direc-  
 tions, their father, Gong-dkar-rgyal, through the strength  
 of his perceptions also prepared a plan of extensive action  
 and thinking that he could not know what would arise in the  
 (24a) mind of gNam-bskos-lde [his nephew] who had acted from

previous times as the castellan of Mi-zim-pa, Gong-dkar-rgyal father and sons - three [in all] - went to a pasture at Ri-gzhung and founded a settlement there. All the communities that were in the vicinity of that place were gathered together as subjects with no freedom [of choice], as if the force of aspirations made in previous lives had been accomplished, and furthermore many districts and villages were subjugated by peaceful, enriching, strong and fierce means and so his strength and dominion became great . Using a tiger as a guard dog, he tied it to a boulder in which he had pierced a hole, the gap of which exists even at present. The son of Gong-dkar-rgyal was mThong-legs-dpal. His son was rGyal-gdung-dar. His son was Ngam-bzang-la. His sons, sPrang-po-dar, bsTan-'dus-la and Ong-ma - [these] three - came forth. Of them, sPrang-po-dar, taking with him all his patrimony and (24b) his most precious possessions and having gone to Shar Dom-kha, subjugated all the communities with great energy as in the manner of a mahāsiddha and gained power over the Indian duars. His descendants, whose strength and dominion became great, are the ba-spu ('Babu') who are at Shar Dom-kha and at Mur-shing.<sup>67</sup>

The middle son, bTsan-'dus-la, after going to Tsha-se, took control of a royal castle and gained power over the subjects and officers. The descendants of his two sons, bTsan-gong-la and Lag-sdum-pa, dispersed in different directions and their lineages are [preserved by] all the

Byar-pa families who are at Tsha-se, Yu-rung, Khang-pa, Phyi-mung and Zla-gor.

The youngest son, Ong-ma, after going to U-dza-rong, took control of a royal castle and, gaining power over

the subjects and officers, acted as their chief. After his sons, dPal-'bum, bZang-dar and Lu-btsan - [these] three - had come forth they spread in different directions. The descendants of Byar Ong-ma are all the Byar-pa

25a) families who are at U-dza-rong, gTor-ma-gzhong, Yong-ka-la, lCags-mkhar-bzung, Ku-ri-smad, rGya-ras-zur, Byog-kang, Ngang-la, Khom-shar, Ne-to-la and Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum.

Now if it should be explained additionally, among the descendants of dPal-'bum there came forth gSer-'bum, dNgos-'bum and Dar-'bum, [these] three [brothers ?] and of them, the son of gSer-'bum was Thur-skye. His son was rDo-rje Grags-pa. His sons were Las-kyi-bang and Padma-dbang. The sons of Las-kyi-bang were bsTan-'dzin bSod-nams and bsTan-'dzin Grags-pa. The descendants of these two and the descendants of dNgos-'bum and Dar-'bum are those who are at U-dza-rong.

In continuation of what was said above, Yas-sde gSang-  
(25b) sde-btsan was invited by the officers and subjects to Sa-gling rGyan-tshams and went there. Building a royal castle he took control of a royal site. Among his descendants there came forth a certain courageous and wise person who was intelligent and clever in skilful means called Yas-sde Su-na. He gained power over all the communities, the officers and subjects on both sides of the course of the sGam-ri Chu river and then since he also built a royal castle at Bu-na and collected road-tax his strength and dominion became great. There is a legend still existing at present which says that in previous times they [his subjects] fell out with each other over the question of the delineation of their agricultural land and pastoral land and so the matter was brought before Yas-sde Su-na who made [suitable]

divisions. His descendants spread successively and so all the Yas-sde royal families who are at Sa-gling rGyan-mtshams, dGa'-gling-mkhar-mi, 'Phong-mi, Ra-ma-geng-ra, Khre-phu and sTag-tshang are the descendants (26a) of Yas-sde Su-na.

Now among his descendants there was one called Yas-sde Yang-phan who was invited to act as the chief of the officers and subjects of 'Phong-mi and so went there. As for the performance of his work as chief, his skill in learning was very great and as he was clever in magical [or mechanical ?] devices he conquered all external enemies. Because he guarded (bSrungs) against all injuries that transgressed the law [such as] robbery, the officers and subjects called him by the name of Yas-sde bSrungs-ma-dar, a name everywhere renowned, and his strength and dominion became great. His sons, bSod-nams rGyal-po, Sa-na, 'Tsheng rGyal-po and rGyal-bu Don-grub, [these] four, came forth. The descendants of bSod-nams rGyal-po who took control of a royal castle are the Yas-sde royal families (26b) of Glang-khyim. The descendants of Sa-na and rGyal-bu Don-grub who took control of Zer-khyim are the Yas-sde royal families of Breng-khyim. The descendants of 'Tsheng rGyal-po who took control of Khang-pa-mkhar are the Yas-sde royal families of Khang-pa-mkhar.

If it should be explained in even greater detail, the son of 'Tsheng rGyal-po was Som-bzang. His sons were Som-rgyal, Karma-rgyas and rDor-tshe-ring, [these] three. The son of rDor-tshe-ring was sGo-nu. His son was Dag-pa. His son is Lug-dkar.<sup>68</sup> His son is dKon-dbang.

In continuation of what was said above, sTung-sde sBas-sde-btsan went to 'Dus-stung-mkhar<sup>69</sup> in Zangs-

lung-pa having taken control of a royal fort he gained power over the officers and subjects. His sons, Thom-pa and Som-dar, [these] two, came forth. Among the descendants of Thom-pa there was one called (27a) sTung-sde As-mang whose bravery was very great and whose behaviour was like that of a mahāsiddha; he laid out roads which had previously not existed from ngam-grog, g.Yang-sa Chen-po, Brags-zer-tog and so forth and having gained power over all the Dag-pa districts and villages of Be-mi and Sa-ri his strength and dominion became great. It is said that the tradition of his [right to] taxes exists even at present. His descendants dispersed in different directions and all the sTung-sde families who are at Khyi-nyil, Kham-rang, Bu-ri Gyang-phu, Zangs-lung-pa, Kha-'thor and Dag-pa Be-mi are the descendants of sTung-sde As-mang.

Again, in continuation of what was said above, Wang-ma 'Gab-sde-btsan, having come to sGang-zur-stod and built the royal castle of Wang-ma-mkhar, he took control of the royal site and ruled the few officers and subjects who were there. Of his two sons that came forth, (27b) the elder was Gung-la-rgyal and the younger was dPal-la-dar. As for the royal castle of Wang-ma-mkhar, when its land had become split up and when the officers and subjects no longer assembled there in great number and when even its riches had become rather scarce, the younger son dPal-la-dar set off with three meditators who had come from lHa-sa and bSam-yas. Taking a couple of menials with him he went [on pilgrimage] to see lHa-sa and bSam-yas and then together with two Tibetan meditators came back by way of lo-roq. When they reached Shar Them-spang the two meditators addressed Wang-ma dPal-la-dar in most respectful terms. As they addressed him saying

'lHa-btsun' the headman of Them-spang called A-rgyal said: "What are the grounds for this name 'lHa-btsun'?"

The elder meditator replied: "As for the form of address

'lHa-btsun Chos-rje', since he is a descendant of the ancient king of bSam-yas, Khri Srong-lde-btsan, he is

(28a) called 'lHa-btsun'." The headman A-rgyal believed him and said: "Well, if that is so, he must reside [here] as a lord-chief to suppress the Glo Kha-dkar and Kha-nag."<sup>70</sup>

The officers and subjects honoured him and since he gained power over the Indian duars he was given the Indian name of Ba-spu (Babu). Although some say that the Ba-spu of Them-spang had their origin in bSam-yas, it is said so however due to the fact that Wang-ma dPal-la-dar had come there from the direction of bSam-yas. The Ba-spu born in Them-spang are the lineal descendants of Wang-ma dPal-la-dar.

Wang-ma 'Gab-sde-btsan, both father and son, also abandoned the royal castle of Wang-ma-mkhar and went to the district of Man-chod at the lower end of the Kha-gling district. When they delivered an account of their great clan, the few people who were there paid them great respect and so the Indian people honoured them and they

(28b) gained power over the duars and their wealth became great.

All the Wang-ma families who are at present in Man-chod and elsewhere are the lineal descendants of Wang-ma Gung-la-rgyal.<sup>72</sup>

I will also speak briefly here in continuation [of the passage above<sup>73</sup> about the ancestral origins of the Jo-bo [clansmen] who are the royal families of La-'og Yul-gsum. Since a more extended version containing a full account of how the successive Jo-bo, having gained power over the officers and subjects and taken control of a royal site, came to

enjoy great strength and dominion due to their far-ranging endeavours has been clarified in the personal documentary records of the Jo-bo descendants who possessed great discernment, [the details of these records] are not included here. As to the succession of their close lineal descendants: After Prince gTsang-ma went to the Mi-zim-pa royal castle, two a) sons appeared of whom the elder, Khri-mi lHa'i-dbang-phyug, was invited as chief to La-'og Yul-gsum by the officers and subjects and so he went there. His son was lHa-dgon. His son was bKra-shis bSod-nams. His son was Tshe-dbang rNam-rgyal. His son was dPal-'byor bZang-po. His son was Nam-mkha' bSod-nams. Of his seven sons that came forth the eldest son was Gong-dkar-rje. Having gone to lHa'u Kham-pa<sup>74</sup> he took control of a royal site and it was from there that the widely renowned name of Kham-pa Jo-bo arose. Of the seven sons one was invited as chief to Shar sDe-rang and went there. His descendants are the Jo-bo of Shar sDe-rang. As to the details, since I have not seen or heard the written records and oral traditions, they are not included here.<sup>75</sup> The sons of Gong-dkar-rje were Dzo-ki and bTsun-cung. The son of bTsun-cung, rGyal-mtshan Grags-pa, came forth. He took as his 9b) wife sTung-sde Min-bla-ma-skyid<sup>76</sup> from Bu-ri-gyang-phu and so rGyal-po-dar, the eldest son, lHun-grub and Ku-nu, [these] three, came forth. Of these, rGyal-po-dar took control of Rus-po-mkhar and so acted as the lord-chief of bSe-ru, lHun-grub took control of Ber-mkhar<sup>77</sup> and acted as lord-chief of Shar-tsho and Ku-nu, staying in Kham-pa itself, took control of the royal site of his father and acted as the lord-chief of lHa'u. The son of lHun-grub was Jo-bo Sangs-rgyas-cung. His sons, Sangs-rdo-rje, La-kra, dGe-shes and Kra'u, [these] four, came forth. Kra'u, having been invited as chief by the officers and subjects of sGam-ri Lung-pa, went to Ra-ti. At



the time when Jo-bo Dar-rgyas, the son of Sangs-rdo-rje, had taken U-sen from Ram-geng-ra as his queen and was residing [there ?], he invited to his home the mahāsiddha Thang-stong rGyal-po<sup>78</sup> who was going around begging alms

and performed him excellent works of veneration. After he had consumed some rice-ale' which had been served him

(30a) to his full satisfaction he filled a skull-cup with some rice-ale' and the mahāsiddha threw it into the sky. He gave to Jo-bo Dar-rgyas the ale which fell into his hands without spilling and said: "Drink as much ale as you can and a special sign of the omens will come forth."

Jo-bo Dar-rgyas completely drank up six skull-cups of ale.

When half remained from a [further] cupful the mahāsiddha

declared: "It seems that you will have seven sons but

one will be of no use. Of the six [remaining] sons one

will be a bodhisattva of the tenth stage who will uphold

the teachings pertaining to explanations of the doctrines

and their realisation, and who will be of infinite benefit

to sentient beings." Filling the skull-cup with ale, he

said: "Oh, Great Jo-bo! Since this skull-cup is the

cranium of the dākinī 'Gro-ba bZang-mo it is extremely

valuable. I leave it with you as the support of your faith"

(30b) and he gave it to him. Furthermore, he then also gave him special relics which had brought forth signs of realisation.

In accordance with the prophecy of the mahāsiddha, seven

sons came forth of whom the eldest was bKra-shis Dar-rgyas

and below him bSod-bzang, gSum-pa, rGyal-po-dar, Sangs-rdo-

rje and dGos-cung. Jo-bo bKra-shis Dar-rgyas controlled

the royal site. Jo-bo gSum-pa received his ordination.

from the Omniscient dGe-'dun rGya-mtsho dPal-bzang<sup>79</sup> and as

he pursued the study of the sūtras and tantras and

attained perfection therein he received the name of Blo-bzang bsTan-pa'i sGron-me. Upholding the teachings of explanation and realisation, and in behaviour like a mahāsiddha, he founded many monasteries at Shar sTag-lung,<sup>80</sup> Me-rag Sag-stengs,<sup>81</sup> Ar-rgya-gdung<sup>82</sup> and so on, accomplishing extensive benefit to beings.<sup>83</sup> The other four Jo-bo took control of sPa'u-gdung,<sup>84</sup> Byam-mkhar,<sup>85</sup> Shar-nub,<sup>86</sup> sGren-g-mkhar and so forth and their lineal descendants are the Jo-bo who are there at present. The youngest son died at an early age in accordance with the prophecy.<sup>87</sup> The son of Jo-bo bKra-shis Dar-rgyas was bKra-shis bZang-po. His son was Sa-'dzin. His sons, Sangs-rgyas Grags-pa, Chos-mdzad and Dar-rgyas -- [these] three -- came forth. The son of Sangs-rgyas Grags-pa was Jo-bo Karma. His sons were Phun-tshogs and 'Dzom-pa-dbang. The descendants of Phun-tshogs are the Jo-bo of Ber-mkhar 'Og-ma. 'Dzom-pa-dbang took control of land at A'u-gdung and acted as chief. His sons were Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje and Jo-bo Sri-thar -- [these] two. The descendants of Karma rDo-rje are the Jo-bo who are at Ber-mkhar Gong-ma.

31b) In previous times when the successive lord-chiefs at Ra-ti in sGam-ri-lung-pa had been unable to take control of the district castle and had departed, the officers and subjects discussed the matter and then went to invite a [member of the clan of] Kham-pa Jo-bo. At that time in La-'og Yul-gsum there were Jo-bo(s) Ku-nu, lHun-grub and rGyal-po-dar acting as lord-chiefs. At their invitation sKya'u-la rGya-mtsho, the son of Sangs-cung who was the son of Jo-bo lHun-grub, came and, taking control of the royal castle at Ra-ti, acted as lord-chief. His son was Bla-ma. After eight generations of royal castellans called Jo-bo Kham-pa had come forth among his successive descendants, the lineage died out. The descendants

of the paternal siblings who spread in different directions /or who issued collaterally 27, that is those said to be of the Kham-pa Jo-bo families that are now in Ra-ti sGam-ri, are all the descendants of sKya'u-la rGya-mtsho.

- (32a) This is the second section from The Lamp which Illuminates the Origins of Royal Families concerning how, after individual names were given to the families and clans descended from the Divine Prince gTsang-ma, these came to be spread in the different parts of Southern Mon and became lord-chiefs.

SECTION III

(32a2) Now I shall speak about the history of the origins of the gDung [/families/] of the four districts of Bum-thang.<sup>88</sup>

Now then, in previous times after the few subjects who came in company with King Khyi-kha Ra-thod had, in the absence of a lord-chief, contended and quarrelled, they searched for a unanimously chosen chief. Since there was no royal family [/among them belonging to/] a great clan they did not find a chief and so they worshipped and supplicated the God of Heaven 'O-de Gung-rgyal. 'O-de Gung-rgyal enjoined saying: "The divine son Gu-se Lang-ling, having grasped the divine rmu-cord, will descend to U-ra" and he melted into the light. After he [/Gu-se Lang-ling/] had resided in the womb of bSod-nams

(32b) dPal-'dren, a woman who possessed the marks of a dākinī of gnosis, in order that he might be born as if by a miracle a voice from space declared: "Oh! This boy is a divine son and for many generations [/his descendants/] will come to act as lord-chiefs." When 'Dzom-pa-sgron, the wife of the headman of that place, heard it she thought that if it should come to pass in such a manner no honour would be paid to her after [/Gu-se Lang-ling/] gained power over the community and so malicious arrogance arose in her and she uttered maledictions. Due, however, to the power of divine truth the divinely emanated gDung was born. After receiving the name of lHa-mgon dPal-chen he gained power over the community's (33a) territory and acted as lord-chief. His son was lHa-bzang-rgyal. His son, gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug came

forth and, having no son, when he was afflicted with an illness and was on the point of dying the officers and subjects said: "After you, Precious gDung, have died, in whom should we place our hope?" Saying this they lamented. gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug said: "As I am not going to survive this illness, after the composite substance of life [has dissolved], when the time comes that you remember me go to Yar-lung Grong-mo-che at the<sup>89</sup> centre of dBus in the country of Tibet and taking with you some nicely coloured stong<sup>90</sup> fruit of Mon, drop these among a large crowd of children. Since the one who seizes many stong is [my] divine emanation invite and appoint him your lord-chief." Saying this he died.

Then when about five years had elapsed for the officers and subjects, in accordance with the will which the lord-chief gDung had previously given, five men of U-ra went in that manner to Yar-lung taking with them some stong fruit. The territory of Yar-lung was as flat as the palm of one's hand and the great district was so beautiful that they could not gaze at it long enough. They did not know where the divine emanation was and so in accordance with the will they went roving through many villages. In the pasture on the outskirts of a certain village there were many children assembled and playing, whereupon the five searchers worshipped the God of Heaven and cast prayers up to him. They then scattered some of the stong into the large crowd of children assembled there. When the children other [than] the one who was to be chosen<sup>7</sup> saw fruit which they had never seen before they were so amazed that they <sup>were</sup> / unable to pick them up, being left wonder-struck. Among them a child who was fine, handsome and lovely to behold, agile in limb

, and sharp-sighted, in an instant seized and gathered up all the fruit in handfulls. The five searchers therefore thought: "The child about whom the prophecy was previously given seems to be this one" and so they believed in him. At that time the languages of Tibet and Mon were not mutually understood and so the five men made gestures as if to say: "Give those fruit to the other children. There are more and we shall give them to you." Indicating this, they showed the stong. The child gave his stong to the other children and, saying that he wanted more, came forward with his hands open. Showing him the stong, the five men led him further and further away and when they arrived at a place of concealment they stealthily put him inside a yak hair bag and carried him off. On arriving at the pass of Zhang-ma'i La in U-ra they opened the yak hair (34b) bag and looked inside. The child who was like a divine son stood up smiling and came out. When the empty receptacle, the yak hair bag into which he had been put, was shaken a bundle of Tibetan grass which had also been put into it came out and grew [in that place]. Even up to present times there is at Zhang-ma'i La a patch of this Tibetan grass which does not exist in any other place but this.<sup>91</sup>

The child was invited to U-ra, installed as lord-chief and given the name of lHa-dbang Grags-pa. When he grew up he gained power over the officers and subjects. At the time when lHa-dbang Grags-pa was himself a child, apart from just hearing the names of both his parents being called out here and there, he had no recollection as to whether his family and clan were great or small..

[Some people] were therefore sent off to Yar-lung in order to make an investigation by mentioning the names of his parents and asking whether or not their child had been lost.

- 5a) So the origin of his clan was substantiated. If it be asked "What was it like?" [the answer is as follows:] The son of Glang Dar-ma was mNga'-bdag 'Od-srungs. At the time when royal government declined after his son, mNga'-bdag dPal-'khor-btsan, had been killed in Myang-stod by sNyags, his sons, bKra-shis brTsegs-pa-dpal and sKyid-lde Nyi-ma-mgon - [these] two - were also dispersed to dBus-gtsang. After the sons of bKra-shis brTsegs-pa-dpal, [namely] dPal-lde, 'Od-lde and sKyid-lde - [these] three - had come forth they gradually spread and the descendants of dPal-lde appeared at Yar-lung.<sup>92</sup> Among them Jo-bo Kun-dga' Grags-pa<sup>93</sup> and the mother dPal-mo-'dzom - [these] two - had four sons of whom it seemed certain that he [lHa-dbang Grags-pa] was the youngest who had been lost in a sudden raid without news of where he had gone. Because he was of the very same clan as the Dharmarājas the officers and subjects were happy and
- 5b) glad and they rejoiced. From Chos-'khor they fetched A-lce ('The Lady') sGron-'dzom as his consort and offered her to him and so the sons Grags-pa dBang-phyug, lHa-dbang bKra-shis and Phun-tshogs Don-grub - [these] three - came forth. Their descendants who gradually spread, [i.e.] all the gDung [families] who are in Bum-thang [including] the Chusmad gDung and [those of] rGya-tsha, sDom-mkhar, Dur and Ngang, are of their lineage. The U-ra gDung having also gained power over Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum<sup>94</sup> and gZhong-sgar Mol-ba-lung, gDung Grags-pa dBang-phyug came annually to collect taxes and in private he lived with dPon-mo ('Chieftainess') bKra-shis dBang-mo of whom the son Nyi-ma rNam-rgyal came

forth. His descendants gradually spread and all the gDung [Families] who are in Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum, [i.e.

- (36a) those of] sTung-la-sbi, Go-zhing, Phang-mkhar, Ka-lam-ti and Nya-mkhar and also all the so-called rJe [Families of] Yong-lam who are in gZhong-sgar Mol-ba-lung-pa are of his lineage.

Now, according to one version of the origins of the gDung [Families] of Bum-thang sDe-bzhi and of the rJe [Families] of Yong-lam, [i.e.] according to the treasure-writing of Bon Thang-la 'Od-dkar and the oral tradition of stories told in the vicinity of gZhong-sgar Mol-ba-lung and of Mon-yul sTong-gsum in gDung-bsam, the ancestors of the pastoral people of Me-rag [and] Sag-stengs left their home at mTsho-sna bSe-ba-mkhar, concealing [their departure] from sDe-pa Ya-bu bZang-po. As they went they worshipped and supplicated the God of Heaven so that from the palace of the Trāyastriṃśat Heaven Indra the ruler of the gods despatched the divine son Gu-se Lang-ling, commanding him to assist the god of [the lake at] lHo gDung-mtsho sKar-ma-thang.<sup>95</sup> So he [Gu-se Lang-ling] went to the land of rMu,<sup>96</sup> stayed there for a time and acted as the lord-

- (36b) chief of rMu, being given the name of rMu-btsan lHa-gnyan Chen-po. Then having gone to the summit of Gangs-ri dKar-po to the east he looked and saw a tall and beautiful mountain, the mountain of Wang-seng and so he went there. Having built a palace at [the lakeside of] Mu-ku-lung mTsho-mo, a broad, extensive and pleasant place, he resided as the chief (sde-dpon) of the 'Eight Classes of lHa-srin [Belonging to] the Visible World' and as the protector of the 'black-headed ones', the humans. At that time a girl in the fullness of youth, a



- most lovely beauty, who was coming from the east as the bride of the king of gDung-bsam-mkhar, slept the night at the side of the lake. During the night a white snake came out from within the lake and when it went away after crawling on her she awoke. When she arrived at gDung-bsam she gave birth to a son who was given the name of Bar-skyes ('Born Interjacently') since he had come forth
- (37a) interjacently without a father. When he grew up he set off for the Indian duars. On arriving at the lakeside of Ngas-gtsang-long-pa, on account of the fact that Bar-skyes was the son of a lha-btsan, the nāga-devil of Ngas-gtsang-long-pa displayed magical apparitions and so he did not reach India. Having returned to his house he asked his mother: "Whose son am I?" His mother would not hear of telling him but when he asked her cunningly, the mother said: "Since you are the son of the hon-human lha-btsan of Mu-ku-lung, the nāga-devil displayed magical apparitions and so the road was blocked." The child Bar-skyes therefore immediately went himself to the lakeside of Mu-ku-lung and called out loudly<sup>97</sup> for his father's help. From within the lake a mature youth wearing clothes of white silk and adorned with a wish-fulfilling gem at the top of his bound turban of white silk came forth and said:
- (37b) "Since I am your father I have come to fulfil whatever it is that you want." After [Bar-skyes] had recounted in detail the story of how he could not proceed on his way beyond Ngas-gtsang-long-pa the father said: "If that is the case I shall give you an army." Giving him a bamboo tube with a closed opening he said: "Do not open it until you have arrived at the lakeside of Ngas-gtsang-long-pa" and he sent him off. Bar-skyes thought to himself: "I

don't know what this is" and so when he reached Khre-phu halfway on his path he opened up the bamboo tube and looked inside disbelievingly. Some poisonous snakes came out and so he quickly closed it up again. Carrying the bamboo tube off with him he arrived at the lakeside of Ngas-gtsang-long-pa and opened it up. Different kinds of snakes came out from inside, filling (38a) the ground and at the very instant they reached the lake in a flash it became a dry sandy plain. On seeing in its centre a great copper vessel which was there turned upside down, the young Bar-skyes went there, turned it over and looked. Coiled inside was a maid servant of the nāga-devil who hit the young Bar-skyes' forehead with the copper vessel, killing him there. His brain was eaten by a fish and since Bar-skyes was the son of a non-human his consciousness entered the fish and so he became a fish. Then the fish stayed by turns in the Grang-ma'i Chu river, the Ku-ri Chu river and the gZhong-sgar Mol-ba'i Chu river and then, having climbed up the river of Phyang-khos it entered a fish-net of the (38b) Phyang-khos people and was carried off by a bachelor . Since it spoke to him in human speech he could not eat it and so he kept it inside a trough in the ground filled with water. One day the bachelor went to work in the fields and when he came back [he saw that] water had been fetched and left in the house although it was empty of people. Again one day a fire was left burning in the hearth. Wondering how this had happened and feeling disturbed, the bachelor pretended to set off for his work in the fields and then returned and watched in concealment from a corner of the house. From inside the belly of the

fish that was in the trough there emerged a strong and agile child who performed the work of fetching water and lighting a fire. The bachelor thought how he would like to make the child his adopted son and so he threw the empty fish skin into the hearth fire and it burnt.

Since the child, being unable to find anything to enter,

9a) was left in that condition, he became human. Due to the fact that he was the son of a non-human his strength and skill in combat was exceedingly great and nobody could challenge him. On account of this he was renowned by the name of Ral-pa sTobs-chen ('Strong Locks'). Having himself built a castle at a fastness called I-tung La, he gained power over all the lands and dominions of U-ra, Mol-ba-lung and so forth. His strength and dominion became great and his renown immeasurable. In order to see his<sup>98</sup> uncle's home at Phya-li he said that the ground of the mountain of sTong-phu should be cut down and spread out and so it was cut down. A lady possessing the nature of wisdom<sup>99</sup> declared: "It is easier to cut down a tall man than it is to cut down a tall mountain." Having grasped the meaning of these words the officers and subjects beguiled Ral-pa sTobs-chen by cunning means and said to him: "They are 39b) playing with a golden arrow on the pasture of sKar-sbi. You must go and see the show." After they had led him there he was shot with an arrow in the heart and killed. As his last will he said: "When the time comes that you remember me my incarnation will have come to Yar-lung Grong-mo-che at the centre of the country of Tibet. So you bring some cowrie shells and come there. Scatter the cowries into a large crowd of children assembled there. The one who gathers the cowries in handfulls and carries them off is my

incarnation." Then he expired. When one or two years elapsed, on account of there being no hierarchy of lord and subjects, acts of seizure were committed from above and acts of theft from below. The resulting quarrels and contentions caused all the districts to fall into a state of unhappiness. Then, remembering the last will of their former lord, five men took some cowries and went to Yar-lung Grong-mo-che, the centre of Tibet, and scattered the cowries in a place where there were many children assembled. Their escorting of the chosen boy and the theft of lHa-dbang Grags-pa by the five men of U-ra after scattering the stong fruit as described above are of the same sense but there (40a) is a varying enumeration of names. If it be asked how this could be, that is to say how can one reconcile the different ways in which the people of U-ra and those of Mol-ba-lung went to Yar-lung in search of the incarnation of their lord-chief and, having brought him forth, how he came to U-ra, he the source of the family lineages of the ancestral forebears, and how he later received the name of gDung lHa-dbang Grags-pa and so on, the answer would be that these differing versions are of the very same substance but the oral traditions regarding his various actions appear diverse. This is simply due to the fact that since he was the son of a non-human lha-klu he assumed different appearances in the sight of different persons. Apart from this the stories are of exactly the same essence.

This is the third section from The Lamp Which Illuminates the Origins of Royal Families in which is explained the ancestral origins of the gDung [families] of the four districts of Bum-thang.

#### SECTION IV

(40a5) Now I shall speak briefly about the ancestral  
(40b) origins of the so-called Zhal-ngo Kheng-po, chiefs of  
the eastern districts of the Southern Mon Country.

Now then, in continuation of what was explained above,  
at the time when King Glang Dar-ma was destroying the  
teachings of the Buddha and causing them to decline, the  
guardian deity of lHa-sa, Ma-gcig dPal-gyi lHa-mo, made a  
prophecy to lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje and roused his  
spirit. One day when King Glang Dar-ma had gone for his  
diversion to the outer circulating road of lHa-sa and was  
standing looking at the writing on the pillar, lHa-lung  
dPal-gyi rDo-rje, having placed a bow and arrow in the  
broad sleeves of a tantric costume, performed the steps  
of a dance before him. When everyone watching him was  
diverted he fixed the arrow in the bow having taken them  
out from within his two sleeves and, firing off at the  
king's forehead, killed him there. He fled and nobody  
knew who he was. Those who hastened after him in pursuit  
(41a) did not catch him. lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje then went to  
the rock of Yer-pa and stayed there as if performing  
meditation. His foot-prints were taken over by birds who  
churned them up and covered them with droppings. As he  
stayed there the pursuers came up. "It is not this man;  
a long time has elapsed without his moving around on  
foot", they said. As they were returning, however, one  
from among them who was intelligent and noble-minded  
came back and placed his hand on lHa-lung dPal-gyi  
rDo-rje's chest at a point over his heart and looked.  
Knowing that the pulse of his heart was beating rapidly

313

with fear on account of his guilt<sup>7</sup> he said: "For my own part I shall not break his skull for the sake of the common weal".<sup>100</sup> He went back without telling the others. Feeling great fear<sup>101</sup> in that place, lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje was compelled to flee to Khams.

(41b) After this his brothers, the Six Vajra Brothers, also scattered in different directions and fled. sTobs-ldan La-ba rDo-rje, mGar-ba Khye'u rDo-rje and g.Yang-rtsal sPre'u rDo-rje,<sup>102</sup> these three, arrived in Bum-thang in stages by way of sPa-gro from the direction of gTsang Pha-ri. They proceeded, roving through the villages of the few people who were there with their habitations and fields who descended from those that had come there in previous times with King Khyi-kha Ra-thod. In their minds the three brothers thought that since they were from the families and clans of Tibetan chiefs, a few people would come forward to do honour to their families and clans but no such people arose. As for their thinking that they should rule by means of some considerable force, due to the fact that from previous times in Bum-thang there had been no high and low grades between a lord and his subjects, the people would not hear of showing them respect. Thereupon the three brothers fell to wondering what would be best done and so they held a discussion and decided that by peaceful means each should convert in the manner best suited to him in accordance with the will of the communities. So when some compliance at least was shown, sTobs-ldan La-ba rDo-rje went to the district of sTang, established a district castle and took control of an estate. His descendants gradually increased and are the descendants who became chiefs (dpon-po). g.Yang-rtsal sPre'u rDo-rje established a district castle in Bum-thang and took control of an estate. His descendants gradually came forth, the sons exceeding the fathers, and the so-called Bum-thang Chos-'khor dPon-po,<sup>103</sup> this universally renowned name of those possessing

(42a)

great strength and dominion, arose. Although the Chos-'khor dPon-po are said to be from sPa-gro, it is said so because g.Yang-rtsal sPre'u rDo-rje came by way of sPa-gro from the direction of gTsang Pha-ri. mGar-ba Khye'u rDo-rje, in order to enjoy the mart where meat, butter and cheese, these three, and various kinds of grains abounded close to the country of Tibet on the border of Tibet and Mon, surrounded by pure land and lofty mountains, seized the pasture-land on the Tibet-Mon border. His descendants are at present the important pastoral families of mTshams-pa.

(42b)

Furthermore, the three brothers who came from the direction of lHo-brag, (i.e.) Kha-rtsing Las-kyi rDo-rje, Pho-mtshar Grags-pa rDo-rje and sMras-mkhas sPyang-rig rDo-rje, these three, having arrived in Ku-ri-lung, held a discussion. Kha-rtsing Las-kyi rDo-rje said: "We three residing together must gain power over the communities after taking control of an estate in the manner of our parents." Pho-mtshar Grags-pa rDo-rje said: "If we should act in that manner, since there are not more than a few people with their habitations and fields in this district, it is insufficient for the timely performance here of extensive activity by us three brothers. We must take control of district castles after going to different areas and individually searching for subjects with vigour and strength." The

(43a) three brothers agreed to this and so Kha-rtsing Las-kyi rDo-rje came to Tshi-rab sTong-phu Zhang-tshan in the lower part of 'Du-rang and gained power over the communities. This aroused King Yong-la-phan, the castellan of the royal castle of Mi-zim-pa; contending

with him, Yong-la-phan was unable to inflict any damage and so departed from his home. After this all the communities of that place were brought under the subjugation of Kha-rtsing Las-kyi rDo-rje. His descendants who spread in different directions, [i.e.] all the families of the so-called dPon-chen ('Great Chiefs') who are in Tshi-rab sTong-phu Zhang-tshan and in Mu-hung Shes-ro gSar-rnying are the descendants of Kha-rtsing Las-kyi rDo-rje.

Pho-mtshar Grags-pa rDo-rje gained power over all the upper and lower parts of Ku-ri-lung. His descendants, at present all the dPon-chen Zhal-ngo ('Chief Nobles') of Ku-ri-lung<sup>104</sup> are of the lineage of the descendants of Pho-mtshar Grags-pa rDo-rje who spread in different directions.

b) sMras-mkhas sPyang-rig rDo-rje went to gZhong-sgar Mol-ba-lung-pa and after imposing his rule through various clever means and cunning designs all the communities were made subject. Since he came forth strong and proud (khengs-pa), he was given the clan name of Kheng-po<sup>105</sup> and his descendants who came forth with great vigour, [i.e.] all the Kheng-po families who are in gZhong-sgar, Tog-ka-ri, The-mung, Phya-li, Nya-rtsis and so forth, are of the lineage of the descendants of sMras-mkhas sPyang-rig rDo-rje who spread in different directions.

This is the fourth section from The Lamp Which Illuminates the Origins of Royal Families [which explains how] the brothers of lHa-lung dPal-gyi rDo-rje, the Six Vajra Brothers, went to different districts and became chiefs.



## SECTION V

(43b4) Now I shall speak about the history of the ancestral origins of generations of subjects beneath the rulers and also about their family names.

Now then, the descendants of the old father Bodhisattva  
 (44a) who propagated the human race in former times in Tibet, the Land of Snow, gradually increased and were divided into four clan-stocks: <sup>106</sup> Se and rMu, lDong and sTong — these four. As for their separate classification: It is said that from the Se there were the 'Four Sons of Byu-legs'; from the rMu there were the 'Eight Ko-le-phra'; from the lDong there were the 'Eighteen Great Lineages'; and from the sTong there were the 'Eight rJe-bzhi-khol'. The four clan-stocks which issued from the Se were Se-gong rGyal-nang-rje, 'Gro-gang Nyer-ba-se', 'Og-gog bTsan-se' and Og-ma bDe-stong-se — these four. The clan names of the 'Eight rJe-bzhi-khol' who issued variously from the sTong were Cog-la Ram-pa-rje, rTsang-rje Thod-dkar-rje, Te-tsom sNyal-po-rje and sNyags-rje Thog-sgrom-rje — these four. Their subjects were the dMar and the dMar-ma, the sNyal and the sNyal-dben, the rNgog and the Khrog, the rTog and the sBas — these eight. The family and clan names of the 'Eight Ko-le-phra' who issued variously from the rMu were Ngam, sNubs, gZhung and sMon; 'Gar, dKar, sNyos and Ngan-lam — these eight. The clan names of the 'Eighteen Great Lineages' who issued variously from the lDong were Cog, Cog-rtse and Cog-ro; 'Brom, Khyung-po and Zla-ba; 'Bring, lHa-lung and lHa-rtse; Brang, dGos-pa and Khu-na; Nya, Tshe-spong and Lu-nag; sNying, Pho-gong and Thag-bzang — these are the so-called 'Eighteen Great

Lineages'.

these

Although no more than <sup>these</sup> roots of the family and clan names of Tibet, the Land of Snow, existed in previous times, later on after the human race had spread to different districts in the country, there appeared clan names conforming to the circumstances of their deeds, deriving from the corrupted speech of various local dialects and in accordance with the different natures of the families and clans. In particular, as it is not long since the people of this area of lHo Mon Kha bZhi came from the country of Tibet to lHo Mon, they are of the very same lineage as

5a) those Tibetan families and clans mentioned above. However, in this area of lHo Mon there are no high and low divisions among the families and clans as in the manner of India and Tibet and since they were not upheld with great honour they are not mentioned in the records and are unsubstantiated.

The clan names which differentiate the families of subjects in this Eastern Province of lHo Mon are: Dang-ri, or Ngang-ri ?, sKye-stong, Yu-sbi, Ri-bsangs, Ba-gi, Glang-la, Chur-nang, Shar-ro, Ra-ma, Nya-mi, gNam-sa, sKom-mo, Rlon-mo, Rog-mo, mKhar-mo, Khu-mo, Brag-mo, sKyid-mo, Seng-po, Rong-bu, mThong-re, Geng-ra, sNying-len, Zur, gTer-ci, Nga-rig and so on — there are numerous clan names.<sup>107</sup> Thus although they represent all the numerous clan names which accord with the various local dialects prevailing throughout the area of the Eastern Province of lHo Mon, since they cannot be substantiated

5b) here, no more than just this has been put in writing.

As for the version which most stories make universally renowned according to which some people, in recounting the various oral traditions say that the origins of their ancestors lay in a descent to the land of humans after

grasping the divine rmu-ladders and the gold and silver phya-cords<sup>108</sup> — is this a legend based on the treasure-texts of the Bon tradition ? Or is it said of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas whose manifested forms, emanated for the sake of beings, were born among the scions of these families and clans ? [According to this interpretation] having acted for the welfare of beings by means of the Ten Signs,<sup>109</sup> the Eight Qualities<sup>110</sup> and so forth their descendants were gradually exalted on high and turned the wheel of the Dharma unceasingly. Or else is it [based on] the famous legends which marvel at the true appearance of the manifested forms of divine emanations ? [According to these legends] the great gods of the world, Brahmā, Īśvara and so forth, whom successive forbears annually worshipped and supplicated as with the (46a) single voice of all districts, therefore emanated divine sons who were born in the clans mentioned above for the sake of protecting and assisting [these forbears].

Turning the 'wheel of strength', they established all the wide kingdoms in the glory of happiness and so successive members of their sons' lineages gained power over the whole earth and acted for periods as long as possible in the glorious state of divine plenty on account of their strength and dominion being exalted on high. It is difficult for the majority of people to understand [the truth of] these [various interpretations] and as it exceeds the scope of their minds, it is perceived [only] within the sphere of activity of those sacred beings whose discernment is perfect and who possess super-sensible cognition.

(46b) This is the fifth section from The Lamp which Illuminates  
the Origins of Royal Families /in which is explained/ .  
the origin of generations of subjects beneath /the  
rulers/ and which classifies their various families and  
clans.

CONCLUDING VERSES AND COLOPHON

(46bI) It is declared:

In this eastern region of the Mon country  
south of the Land of Snow

The beings who appeared successively in  
previous times

Did not examine or put in writing

The stories that recount the origins of  
the families of lords and subjects;

So oral traditions have been substantiated  
and a few documents collected.

This properly compiled Lamp Which Illuminates  
Darkness

Did not arise from boastful pride in aspiring  
to the rank of scholars

Or from desire for reputation and celebrity,

But rather that in the future, after the  
time of our successors,

When noblemen who are learned, honourable  
and good succeed each other by turn,

On seeing this unprecedented record of origins

Their smiles may open at the peak of laughter

(47a) And that this hero which defeats stupidity and  
pride

May be a lamp which removes the darkness of  
ignorance.

A discourse which young men of equal standing  
tell each other,

Since this work was compiled out of purest  
devotion

May excellent scholars who have understanding  
and broad outlooks show forgiveness for

The omissions, exaggerations and delusions in the  
words of this all-inclusive work.

On seeing those sections which contain slips,  
faults and errors

Erudite persons are requested to correct them.

lHa-btsun Ngag-dbang phun-tshogs<sup>111</sup> of the royal family  
 of Kha-gling, upholder of the Pitaka and the Three Precepts,  
 unimpaired as to knowledge; rGyal-po dBang-grags<sup>112</sup> of the  
 royal family of Phyi-tshang Mong-sgar, of great honour and  
 bravery and of noble ancestry; rGyal-po<sup>113</sup> of the royal family  
 of Phyi-tshang sKya-sa-mkhar, of extensive knowledge and  
 understanding, skilled in rhetoric;<sup>114</sup> Chos-mdzad Lug-dkar<sup>115</sup>  
 (47b) of the royal family of <sup>the</sup>Yas-sde [clan] of Phong-mi, skilled in  
 the dexterous use of magical means; Jo-bo A-bzang, King of  
 sDe-rang in the east,<sup>116</sup> who has gained the power of the Six  
 Virtues of Worldly Religion<sup>117</sup> and of the Four Methods,<sup>118</sup>  
 and who turns the Wheel of Magical Means;<sup>119</sup> -- having been  
 individually exhorted in speech by these persons out of purest  
 devotion, although possessing no confidence at all in learning  
 acquired by the diligent study of knowledge or in any pro-  
 ficiency born of the personal experience of things seen and  
 heard, but being unable to resist what was said to me, I  
 Wagindra [Ngag-dbang] by name, a monk of the Byar [clan],  
 collected together from different places the few royal  
 histories of former times and records of later times and also  
 carefully examined the grounds for the oral traditions of  
 elders; and so this work which combines all these accounts  
 was put into draft form during the auspicious second half  
 of the eighth Hor month of the Earth Male Monkey Year called  
 'The Dagger' [1728], a time of excellent planetary and astral  
 (48a) conjunction when the days were filled with the youthful sun,  
 in a side building of the palace of bKra-shis-sgang, the  
 meeting-place of India and Tibet.<sup>120</sup> The one who first dis-  
 tributed it in written form was Chos-mdzad Nor-bu Dar-rgyas  
 of the noble family of sNga-tshang bKra-shis-sding-mkhar, who

555  
wrote it out. May its virtuous qualities flourish and  
increase in all circumstances of place and time and may  
it enjoy a long duration.

Om swasti dharmarājanirma/na/kayanama

/I/ bow to the former Dharmarājas,  
grandfathers and grandsons,

Together with their father-son lineage,  
who spread

From height to height the teachings of the  
glorious Jina

In this Land of Snow by combining religious  
and secular spheres.

/This/ story /has recounted/ how their  
succeeding generations which had spread  
to the four limits

Came to take control of realms in India,  
Tibet and lHo Mon and how,

Having opened the doors to the trade-marts  
from where all wishes and wants came forth,

(48b) They fulfilled the hopes of many kinds of beings.

/This/ testamentary record which is sustained by  
the power of the Three Jewels was written

From devotion which rejects partiality and  
the force of personal desires

On the basis of the unblemished discourses  
of ancestral nobles and on

The just and tradition words of elders in person.

ADDENDUM: Brief Records of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma Clan <sup>121</sup>

I. The Ruling Families of Beng-mkhar and gCen-mkhar and their Lineages

- (48b2) Now, as for a brief additional explanation of the royal lineages: King Srong-btsan sGam-po; Khri lDe-gtsug-brtan; his descendant Khri Srong-lde-btsan; his sons were Mu-khri bTsan-po, Ma-rung <sup>= Mu-rum</sup> bTsan-po, bZhi-khri bTsan-po and Khri Ral-pa <sup>122</sup> can. The descendants of bZhi-khri bTsan-po went to La-'og Yul-gsum in Mon-yul. Then they came down to the royal castle of Mi-zim-pa. They stayed for five or six generations at Mi-zim-pa. Then the Kings of Shar sDi-rang, the Kings of sGam-ri Radhi, the Kings of sNga-tshang and <sup>123</sup> Phyi-tshang, the ancient Kings of Srin-mi and rGyun-mi and the Kings of Beng-mkhar, Kha-gling and
- (49a) gDung-bsam -- all these spread forth from Mi-zim-pa. There were two kings of Mi-zim-pa called Khun-dang and Thum-bi of whom Khun-dang's son was gSer-gdung and Thum-bi's son was lDan-bu. <sup>124</sup> During the lifetimes of both gSer-gdung and lDan-bu they came down from Mi-zim-pa and gSer-gdung took control of Beng-mkhar. For the site of a castle there was a great rock stronghold. The outer wall formed by the Graag-ma Chu river encircled it to the distance of two mi-thi. <sup>125</sup> As for his duars, he had those of sGam-ri Nya'u-chung gSer-mi (?). As to the top part of the Beng-mkhar district ?, he resided below Tsheng-phu.

Now, as regards the castle of gCen-mkhar, in previous times it was first controlled by King sTong-rab. <sup>126</sup> sTong-rab's son-in-law was sByar-pa Da-las-bu. When



"I am the descendant of the Dharmarājas.

Bu-ri is the tiger's head.

gCen-mkhar is the tiger's waist.

9b)

Lower gDung-bsam is the toe attached to the  
/tiger's/ foot.

gDung-bsam is the tiger's tail.

The mountain-land of Pha-sgam-'byung-mo is the  
'support-mountain' [of the tiger?].

sGom-la 'Brog-gsum is like a golden trough.

sGam-ri mDo-bzhi is like a wish-fulfilling gem.

Beng-mkhar is like the door-guard of a demon-land.

gGen-mkhar. is the ridge-way where the ka-ta run. 128

It is the waterway where the Kha-khra run.

It is the secret way where the path of humans run.

It is the check-post on the way to India /or/ Tibet:

There is no other way than this.

The top of the district, Yon-phu, is like a golden curtain spread out.

The lower end of the district, lDom-gzi, is like an elephant."

Thus he spoke.

In his time a market was established at 'Bum-pa-yer and the A-tsa-ra(s)<sup>129</sup> of India, the Tibetans, the Khams-pa(s) and all the people of Mon-yul gathered there.

129

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King lDan-bu had three sons of whom the eldest was mChog-kha rDo-rje, below him mGon-po rDo-rje and the youngest Seng-ge rDo-rje.<sup>130</sup> Simply by sending out their thumb-rings mChog-ka rDo-rje, father and sons, could ensure [that] heed /would be paid to their commands/.

130

est Seng-ge rDo-rje. <sup>150</sup> Simply by sending out their thumb-rings mChog-ka rDo-rje, father and sons, could ensure [that] heed /would be paid to their commands/.

## [II. The Yo-gdung Wang-ma Clan - Introduction]

Now, as for the royal lineage of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma [clan]: In accordance with the prophecy of [their] parents, [members of this clan] came down to the duar of Yo-gdung. Then the disciple of the Omniscient 'Brug-pa Padma dKar-po<sup>131</sup> called Bla-ma bKra-shis-dbang made a prophecy. Then Bla-ma bKra-shis-dbang and the [Chief of the] Yo-gdung Wang-ma, both priest and patron, opened up the way to the holy shrine of the Indian Kuśinagara<sup>132</sup> so that it is [at present] the meeting place of pilgrims from India and Tibet, Hor and Khams(-pa) and [from all those areas] below sTod mNga'-ris. Then when the Yo-gdung Wang-ma was acting as the owner of all the duar lands, the cousin-brothers [within the clan] fell into contention with each other and so

(50b) the Yo-gdung Wang-ma, the Dog-shing Wang-ma, the Ya-ran Wang-ma and the Wang-ma of rGyal-gdung sMan-mkhar -- all these [sub-clans] -- quarrelled over the question of the duars. As a result the Yo-gdung Wang-ma tried to win power from mChog-ka rDo-rje, King of gCen-mkhar and, drawing up his forces, battle was fought at rGyal-gdung sMan-mkhar. When all had been brought to destruction [on the side of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma], [mChog-ka rDo-rje] took over charge of the duars. This was the cause of [their] having to give the duars to the people of gCen-mkhar. In the times after mChog-ka rDo-rje they did not [re-]gain the duars. Then a girl [of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma] was sent [to marry into the ruling family of gCen-mkhar] and so they became kinsmen.<sup>133</sup>

### [/III. The Lineage of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma/

Now, as for a brief account of the lineage of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma [/III/], the manner in which they gradually acquired duars [/V/], the boundaries of their land-holdings [/IV/] and also the manner in which the way to the holy shrine of Kúsinagara was opened up [/IX/]: In previous times, at the beginning, during the period of the dKar-rgyud Bla-ma, the Omniscient Ngag-dbang Nor-bu<sup>134</sup> himself, the Wang-ma was Ge-gser rGyal-po and the gtso-rgan<sup>135</sup> was Dung-bu. [The list of the successive incumbents to the positions of (1) Bla-ma, (2) Wang-ma and (3) gtso-rgan may be set out in tabular form as follows:]

| BLA-MA   | WANG-MA   | GTISO-RGAN   |
|--|---|--|
| (1) Ngag-dbang Nor-bu  | Ge-gser rGyal-po  | Dung-bu  |
| (2) bKra-shis dBang-rgyal  | lNga-rigs rGyal-po  | gSang-gus [+ Kar-rdzi 136<br>Padma-rus-gnam-sa ?]              |
| (3) Om-bu Kun-bzang  | Phrong rGyal-po   | La-pas   |
| (4) <u>dGe-slong</u> dMags-'dus  | Rin-chen rGyal-po   | Ru-pa  |
| (5) 'Brug-pa Kun-legs <sup>137</sup>   | Kun rGyal-po  | sPen-da  |
| (6) <u>Bla-ma</u> sKu'i-skyes & Thugs-dam Pad-dkar <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> | bsTan-nyi rGyal-po  | rDo-las  |
| (7) <u>Bla-ma</u> sKu'i-skyes & <u>dPon-slob</u> Ngag-dbang bKra-shis            | Chos-rgyas  | Zo-gi  |
| (8) ? Skyes-pa & rNam-rgyal 'Phrin-las   | Nor-bu Dar-rgyas & his sons: 1) Ko-li rGyal-po, 2) sMin-drug dBang-rgyal 3) Ka-rma dBang-rgyal      | bKra-shis + Kar-rdzi <sup>140</sup><br>Shes-rab<br>'Brug-rgyas |
| (9) bsTan-'dzin rGyal-po   | Ko-li & his sons: 1) Nor-bu rGya-mtsho 2) bKra-shis Srid-thal, 3) Cu-pas                            | Ngag-dbang<br>Tshe-ring & his son:<br>sPrul-rgyal              |
| (10) sKu-drung Shar-phyogs 'Dra-o  | Nor-bu rGya-mtsho & his sons: 1) Tshe-dbang rGyal-po, 2) 'Brug dBang-rgyal 3) Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las | bsTan-'dzin<br>'Brug-rgyal                                     |

BLA-MA

WANG-MA

GTSO-RGAN

|                    |   |                  |
|--------------------|---|------------------|
| (11) bSam-grub & ? | Tshe-dbang rGyal-po<br>& his sons:<br>1) 'Brug rNam-rgyal,<br>2) rDo-rje<br>3) (?) 'Brug dBang-<br>rgyal and his sons:<br>1) Srid-thal Nor-bu<br>& 2) bKra-shis<br>Srid-thal. | bSam bsTan-'dzin |
| (12) ?             | ?   | ?                |

#### IV. The Boundaries of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma Principality

Now, as for the boundaries of the royal lands which I King Wang-ma, from my royal castle of Yo-gdung, acquired in such manner: All the land 1) below sKyī-shing-rung at the top; 2) below Mu-ris-sgam-phug: (3) below Jo-bo Sha-wang: 4) hitherward from rDo-mchod-rten: 5) above Tur-pa; 6) above Nye-ring-ngang-rgyu; 7) above the stone-cave of Ti-ki-ri; 8) below dNgul-gum-ba: 9) below the top of the pass of Phrang-phrang-ba; — all these districts are the land belonging to me, Wang-ma.

#### V. The boundaries of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma duars

Now, furthermore, in the inventory ('dzin-tho) specifying the boundaries of the duars that belong to me, Wang-ma: First of all, Go-ma-ri at the top of the sBo-ka-li district; to the east: Ki-pa-ra and Ke-sha-zu-li; the western duars: Khyir-zan, Hal-da-sba-ri, sBe-ta-na and Za-lugs-sba-ri; in the central region between sDi-ga and sDob-li; Gling-zan, Mo-long-dga',<sup>141</sup>

Bar-gtsong, sGam-ri-ka-ta, sDo-bkor-par, Khang-zu-li,  
 b) Wag-zam-sba-ri, No-sgor, Shing-ging-sba-ri and Shams-  
 nyi-ya; above Kho-kho-ra-sdob-li: Phan-tsho, Shab-kha and  
 sPu-la; furthermore, all the land below Nye'u-li<sup>142</sup> in the  
 east; hitherward from sBar-da; hitherward from Ga-ga-ri-  
 zan; westwards from the bZo-ya River; westwards from the  
 Brong-dgon River; westwards from Da-khu-ba; westwards from  
 Dho-kha-shing; eastwards from Bhu-la-zu-li; upwards from  
 the Nye-ri Stream; eastwards from Shu-ka-la; eastwards from  
 Gho-na-bar to (?) sDong-gos; eastwards from Bhu-li-sdob-li;  
 eastwards from Shu-ba-pur and (?) the Bhos-sprog River.  
 These duars are the land ruled over by me, Wang-ma. My  
 Indian lands, their names and boundaries are complete in  
 number herein.

#### VI. The Lineage of the Tha-khur

Now, from among the lineage of the Tha-khur:<sup>143</sup> At first  
 in previous times to begin with there was: 1) Tha-khur  
 Phur-gtum-pa; 2) his son Ur-ka; 3) his son La'u-zi; 4) his  
 son Mas-na; 5) his son Kong-ga; 6) his son Khong-thabs;  
 7) his son The-ka-ra; 8) his son Sham-lung; 9) his son  
 Sham-za; 10) his son Lo-khin-bar; 11) his sons Sho-na-ram,  
 Por-ya-pha'o-la and Tha-khur A-nas who are (?) three  
 brothers. These are all of the lineage of my Tha-khur  
subjects, and the list is complete.

∕VII. The Loss of the Nye-ba-li duar∕

Now, as for the reason for the loss in previous times of the duar of Nye-ba-li: The gDung-bsam-pa cousin Shag-ci Yang-rgyas and the Khre-phug cousins, ∕i.e.∕ the three La-na brothers — these two ∕parties∕ — were not in accord and as it was said to be unfit for two kings ∕to exist∕ where there was place for only one king, lots were cast with dice. The three La-na brothers lost and it became necessary to kill them. When they had been killed, ∕Shag-ci Yang-rgyas ?∕ was given a silver cup, the "life-wealth" ∕of the La-na brothers ?∕ and sent on his way. As for this silver cup, (53b) he left it hidden by the road and then returned and came to where the Yo-gdung Wang-ma was. He begged ∕him∕ saying: "I want a duar." Then Nye-ba-li was lost as a result of it.<sup>144</sup>

∕VIII. The Grant of the Mo-long-dga' duar to Zhabs-drung I (?)∕

<sup>145</sup>  
In previous times when the new embodiment of the 'Brug-pa Hierarchs came forth, at a time when he did not have any Indian duars, it was the duar called Mo-long-dga' which I, King Wang-ma, offered as a special donation from among my own duars at the time when the new embodiment of the 'Brug-pa Hierarchs came forth.

# [IX. The Discovery of Kuśinagara]

With Bla-ma bKra-shis dBang-rgyal at the head, the Wang-ma was lNga-rigs rGyal-po, the gtso-rgan was gSang-gus and the kar-rdzi was Padma-rus-gnam-sa (?). These persons went in search of the holy shrine of Kuśinagara and found it. When they had found the holy shrine of Kuśinagara, from that time onwards it has been [possible to] see it.

- 54a) Remember, you fortunate beings of Tibet,  
the Land of Snow,  
How the white light of the sun in the good  
deeds related above  
Conquered the whole of this chaotic forest-  
land of jessamines  
And so caused the anthers of the lotus of  
virtue to swell. 146

338

Notes to Text I

1. It is interesting to note that the author here seems quite content to regard the area of Bhutan as part of Tibet (see also f. 5a below). Elsewhere he makes a clear distinction between Bod (Tibet) and Mon (Bhutan).
2. This section is a summary of Tibetan history from its legendary origins in the pre-dynastic period down to the restoration of Buddhism in the middle years of the 11th century. It is a standard account derived apparently from a reading of the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long by bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan (c. 1373). As it covers well known ground that lies outside the scope of this study, no comments are offered.
3. Tōhoku No. III
4. Tōhoku No. II2 (?)
5. dGe-'dun Rin-chen claims this occurred in 'das-lo 1779 : lcags-bya, i.e. A.D. 841 (LCB II, f. 68a). This is the same date as that given by Bu-ston (f. 130b) for the assassination of Ral-pa-can which is now thought to have happened in c. 836. On the whole tradition of gTsang-ma's sojourn in Bhutan see Ch. 2 Section 4 above.
6. The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long is undoubtedly the same work as that referred to in note 2 above. - I cannot identify the dPag-bsam ljon-pa, nor the rGyal-rabs khug-pa. My informant Slob-dpon Padma-lags insists the latter means 'The Recurrent History' (as in bskal-pa bar-gyi khug-pa bco-brgyad, 'the eighteen recurring (lit. 'looped') kalpas of the middle'). However, another interpretation would



suggest that the phrase refers to all the other written sources used by Ngag-dbang, taking khug-pa as 'found' or 'obtained' (see Jäschke's dictionary).

7. No such statement is found in the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long. However, it is found in the bShad-mdzod (lho-phyogs mon-gyi rgyal-po rnams / mnga'-bdag rtsang-ma'i gdung-rgyud yin / f. 85b). The two works probably became confused in Ngag-dbang's memory.
8. This important place seems to be located just south of sKur-stod, but see p. 216 above.
9. LP: / me zhes-pa grangs gsum-gyi ming / gsum-gyi sgyur-bkod-kyis brtags-shing dpyad-par-bya'o // zhes-pa'i don yin-pa-'dra / ("Fire" [the third of five elements] is the [symbolic] word for number three. The meaning seems to be: 'Examine and enquire by means of a triple calculation (?).')  
This does little to bring out the sense of the quotation or its relevance for the argument. The bsTan-brtsis referred to is well known to Bhutanese scholars as one of the principal texts of their astrological tradition. Its author, lHa-dbang Blo-gros of the 'Brug-pa school, was the chief master of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. The Jesuits Cabral and Cacella met him at lCags-ri in 1627 (see p. 751 below), the place where he composed the gDan-dus mthun-mong (LCB I, f. 29b).
10. A village situated in the upper reaches of the sPa-gro valley.
11. On these two clans, perhaps tribes (also the Wang-gdung and Mi'i-rgyal-mtshan who similarly claimed descent from gTsang-ma) see pp. 196-7, 255-6 above.

12. More commonly known as the Pho-chu and Mo-chu ('Male River', 'Female River') which meet at the rDzong of sPu-na-kha.
13. This iron-chain suspension bridge was built by Thang-stong rGyal-po (see f. 85 of his <sup>'standard'</sup> rnam-thar where the place is <sup>spelt</sup> wrongly /Bag-grong). The bridge is no longer standing but a pile of the original chains is still to be found on the river-bank.
14. Kho-dwangs-kha and sNgan-lung are sub-districts of Shar. rTa-li, sBu-li and sTung-la-sbi are villages in the Kheng district. Zhong-dkar (or -sgar) lies due east of Kheng. Mol-ba-lung(-pa) must be a sub-district of gZhong-sgar. Up to this point in the story Ngag-dbang has been attempting to harmonise the tradition of gTsang-ma's arrival in Bhutan by way of sPa-gro with the other tradition that claimed he came by way of lHo-brag (see p.196 above). Having now arrived in eastern Bhutan, the story picks up the oral traditions relating to gTsang-ma peculiar to this area of the country. From here onwards the names of most of the villages and districts mentioned in the text remain unidentified. I never had occasion to visit this part of the country and my informants from this area were generally very vague about locations. It is hoped that this serious gap will be filled at some future date.
15. The God of Heaven is surely 'O-de Gung-rgyal (see ff. 32a, 33b, 36a below and pp.263-4 above). LCB II (f. 68b) provides a synopsis of the story; it has dmod-btsugs for dmod-bor.
16. lCang-bu (loc. cit.)

17. Ku-ri'i La (loc. cit.)
18. 'Jam-mkhar (loc. cit.) For the folk etymology of this name see bSod-nams bZang-po's oral account on p. 203 above.
19. Mu-tang-mkhar (loc. cit.)
20. Wang-seng (loc. cit.)
21. See Ch. 2 Section 3 above.
22. The three villages (yul gsum) of La-'og, in the vicinity of rTa-wang rDzong, are: Shar-tsho, bSe-ru and lHa'u (Vaidūrya Ser-po, p. 396). On the Jo-bo clan of La-'og Yul-gsum, see ff. 28b-31b below.
23. Glang Dar-ma.
24. A-mi Don-grub (LCB II, loc. cit.)
25. In the Gangtok recension of the Rlangs po-ti bse-ru which recounts the ancestral legends of the Rlangs clan, Byang-chub 'Dre-bkol is the principal hero of the story and is presented as the incarnation, not the disciple, of Padmasambhava (Stein 1962:79, 84). The tradition which claimed him as the forebear of Don-grub-rgyal may have arisen from the fact that they share the same, rather unusual title of A-mi (or A-mes) which appears to mean yogin (Stein 1959a : 404-5 note 33). Another member of the Rlangs clan who has legendary associations with Bhutan is dPal-gyi Seng-ge, considered one of the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava. dPal-gyi Seng-ge is said to have received the initiation of Vajrakīla from the Guru at the shrine of sTag-tshang in sPa-gro. His remains were

entombed in a large stupa inside a cave which can still be seen there today. The gnas-yig of sTag-tshang refers to the tomb as sku-gdung ril-por bzhugs-pa'i mchod-rten ("the stupa where his entire body remains"). Kong-sprul, however, claims in his gTer-rnam (f. 22b) that it was a quite different person of the same name and clan who is associated with sTag-tshang, namely Rlangs dPal-gyi Seng-ge 'the Later' (phyi-ma). This person was the son of Byang-chub 'Dre-bkol. No doubt the story appears also in the Rlangs po-ti bse-ru applied to one or other of the dPal-gyi Seng-ge. I do not have access to this work at present but according to Stein (1962: 98) its account of dPal-gyi Seng-ge 'the Earlier' is closely modelled on that of Byang-chub 'Dre-bkol himself (or vice versa).

26. Byar-po is a Tibetan district some miles to the north-east of Bhutan; it appears as Byar in Ferrari (1958:51, 127 note 261) and as Bya-yul in Wylie (1962:93, 174 note 552). The Bya clan associated with this district appear to have had a connection with the ancient seat of royal power in Yar-lung (Blue Annals, Vol. BA f. 11b), a fact which Haarh (1969:210-11) has made much of. The leaders of the clan were generally appointed governors not only of Bya-yul but of all the surrounding districts from the time of Sa-skya rule down to at least the time of Phag-mo-gru-pa rule in Tibet (Blue Annals, Vol. BA ff. 11b-14a). Don-grub-rgyal in our text, if he is an historical figure at all, may perhaps have come from this clan, not the Rlangs. His title of A-mi is also applied to one of the members of the clan, A-mi Bya-nag Chen-po (Wylie op. cit., 94 and Blue Annals, Vol. BA, f. 12a). One is also tempted to look for a connection between the Byar clan of eastern Bhutan (see

below) and the Bya clan of Bya-yul (or Byar, Byar-po). Unless, however, the link were derived merely from a borrowing of a name, it is difficult to imagine how a single clan structure could have cut across the distinct ethnic and linguistic identities of the two people.

27. The Phag-mo-gru-pa rulers had of course long disappeared by the time this work was written in 1728. The statement therefore derives from misapplied hindsight on the part of the author, or else it appears as a quotation from an earlier textual source written at the time of Phag-mo-gru-pa supremacy.
28. bSod-nams dPal-bskyed (LCB II, f. 68a)
29. It may be noted that Khri-mi ('the Enthroned') lHa'i-dbang-phyug, who appears to be the eldest son, goes off to seek his fortune while his younger brother, gCes-bu ('the Beloved Son') mThong-legs-btsun, remains with his father and succeeds him. In the next generation, however, it is the eldest of three sons who succeeds while the younger two fulfill their destinies elsewhere. As Allen (1976:267) has pointed out, the principle of primogeniture does not provide the norm for all periods and areas in the Bodic-speaking world.
30. See ff. 28b-31b below.
31. See pp. <sup>215</sup>-<sup>16</sup> above and f. 20a below.
32. This is quite a common theme in histories dealing with the dynastic period in Tibet.
33. This is the general name for western Tibet. It should be written sTod mNga'-ris. I can find no passage in any

Tibetan history to corroborate the tradition that the followers of 'Od-srung were dispersed to Bhutan.

34. Or perhaps Was-chur-thum Nang-mkhar, 'The Inner Castle of Was-chur-thum' (cf. Be-tsha Nang-mkhar, f. 17a below).
35. The pairing of these names may be compared to those below of Nyi-ma Che-rigs / Chung-rigs, Glang-khyim / Breng-khyim (and Zer-khyim ?), Be-mi / Sa-ri, Kha-gling Phyi-'khor / Nang-'khor, Las-pa / Los-pa and Srin-mi / rGyun-mi. (See also the Addendum [I] (f. 48b) for further mention of the kings of sNga-tshang and Phyi-tshang.)
36. I would identify this figure with King Dar-'jam of sNga-tshang, one of the first rulers of eastern Bhutan to submit to the 'Brug-pa authorities (Lo-rgyus, f. 10a). He was among the group of rulers that took the oath of allegiance at the conclusion of the campaign (op. cit., f. 21b). His sons may well have been alive at the time when the rGyal-rigs was composed.
37. This must be King sTong-ldan (or sTobs-ldan) of rTseng-mi, cousin to Dar-'jam, another supporter of the 'Brug-pa who took the oath of allegiance (Lo-rgyus, ff. 12a, 20a, 21b).
38. This is King Zla'u-la of Phyi-tshang of which Mong-sgar, his capital, must be a part (Lo-rgyus, ff. 10a, 21b and the next note). Zla'u is the common Bhutanese contraction of Zla-ba, 'moon'.
39. "King dBang-grags of the royal family of Phyi-tshang Mong-sgar, of great honour and bravery and of noble ancestry", according to the colophon (f. 47a) where he is listed among those who requested the composition of the rGyal-rigs.

40. "rGyal-po of the royal family of Phyi-tshang sKya-sa-mkhar, of extensive knowledge and understanding, skilled in rhetoric" (f. 47a below), another of those who requested Ngag-dbang to write the rGyal-rigs.
41. Cf. Lo-rgyus, f. 17b and f. 36b below ("the mountain of Wang-seng").
42. According to the Addendum I (f. 49a), Khun-dang (sic) and Thum-bi (sic) were the fathers, not the sons, of gSer-gdung and lDan-bu (sic) respectively.
43. bKra-shis-sgang is actually the name of the fort built much later at Beng-mkhar by sKu-drung Pad-dkar Chos-'phel (Lo-rgyus, ff. 17a, 19b, 22a).
44. Grong-stod and Grong-smad appear to be hamlets at Beng-mkhar. A king of Grong-stod appears in the Lo-rgyus, his name spelt Slang-sga (f. 12b), Glang-nga (f. 16a) and lHa-lnga (f. 22a).
45. The Addendum I (f. 49a) suggests that King lDan-bu (sic) gained power at gCen-mkhar by displacing the son-in-law (from the Byar clan) of King sTong-rab, the latter having apparently died without issue. sTong-rab is presented here as lDan-bu's cousin (see f. 20b below).
46. I translate bu-brgyud tentatively as 'descendants', but the meaning may be simply 'sons'. The Addendum I (ff. 49a-50a) claims that mChog-ka rDorje (sic), mGon-po rDo-rje and Seng-ge rDo-rje were the sons of lDan-bu.
47. The rDo-rong Rwa-dza here is without doubt the Rāja of Darrang, a tributary chief of the Ahom kings. It is not

clear in Devi's study (1968:197) whether the office existed prior to 1616 when a certain Bali Narayan was appointed, Darrang having just been reclaimed from Mogul expansion in this area. Basing her account on an earlier British study by Wade, she maintains that soon after 1616 an unsuccessful Bhutanese campaign was launched to try and regain control of lands lost to the Darrang Rāja. The Bhutanese rulers are oddly referred to as the "Deva-Dharma Rajas", surely an allusion to the Zhabs-drung and sDe-srid, institutions which had not yet been properly established. Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal himself arrived as a refugee only in 1616. On later relations between the Darrang Rāja and the Bhutanese see Bhuyan (1933:123, 181), Devi (1968:200-209) and Gait (1926:207).

48. On Cho-ka rDo-rje's annexation of certain duars belonging to the Yo-gdung Wang-ma clan, see the Addendum II (f. 50b).
49. One of these descendants, King Sangs-rgyal(-rgyas)-po of gCen-mkhar, was killed during the 'Brug-pa campaign (Lo-rgyus, ff. 15a, 16a).
50. One of the two (or in some records, three) duars that are situated in the Darrang district is that of Khaling, spelt Kulling in Pemberton (1839:15) and Killing in Devi (1968:205). The duar must have taken its name from that of the village of Kha-gling whose ruler, rGyas-mtsho, is claimed here to have annexed it.
51. This is presumably King bDe-ba of Kha-gling. The account of his dispute with a certain 'Brug-rgyal forms the



introduction to the story of the 'Brug-pa campaign  
(Lo-rgyus, ff. 2a-b, 11b, 16b).

52. "lHa-btsun Ngag-dbang Phun-tshogs of the royal family of Kha-gling, upholder of the Pitaka and the Three Precepts, unimpaired as to knowledge", one of those that requested the composition of the rGyal-rigs (f. 47a below).
53. Ba-man (lit. 'non-cow') is the name for the mithun, here used as somebody's personal name.
54. King Tshe-ring of 'Dom-mkhar (sic) was the enemy of his cousin, King Pho-brang of bTsan-mkhar (Lo-rgyus, f.15b).
55. Pho-brang A-chi, King of bTsan-mkhar (Lo-rgyus, ff. 15a-16b) is also described as king of rKang-lung (f. 12a). King Chang-lo-dpal of Kha-gling and he were "father and son" (pha-spad, f. 16b), apparently only in a figurative sense.
56. This person is not to be confused with Bla-ma Nag-seng of Me-rag (Lo-rgyus, ff. 12a, 17b-18a). He and King Pho-brang were allies of the dGa'-ldan-pa (= dGe-lugs-pa).
57. It is not possible to say whether rJe here is a clan name or a title (see p.215 above).
58. On the recalcitrant king of Gung-gdung see the Lo-rgyus, ff. 22b, 24a.
59. On the king of sTong-phu, one of the first rulers to be defeated by the 'Brug-pa campaign, see the Lo-rgyus, ff. 9b, 24a.

60. See f. 36a below.
61. Cf. the Addendum [I] (f. 49a) and note 45 above.
62. TD: mkhar-dung (sic) zer-bar rdzong-shul yod / de'i  
mi-rnams bros-zur rta-dbang phyogs-su sa bcags/="bcas/-pas  
ming-yang mkhar-dung zer-gyi-'dug / ("There is a ruined  
 fort at the place called mKhar-dung. The people of that  
 place fled secretly (?) and, settling in the area of  
 rTa-dbang, (their new home) is also called mKhar-dung.")
63. LP: / zlo-ni 'gran-pa'i don yin-pas / ("zlo has the sense  
 of 'gran-pa, 'to contend, vie'.")
64. See the Glossary under bran(-pa).
65. The words (g.)yas, stung and wang are Tsangla for zo-ba  
 ('trough, pail'), gzeb(-ma) (a box or pannier made of  
 split cane) and sa-dong ('earth pit') in the western  
 Bhutanese dialects (and Tibetan?). The syntax makes use  
 of the common construction whereby a noun may be  
 classified by a succeeding noun for the sake of clarity  
 or rhetoric (e.g. pho-brang gzhal-yas-khang). See also  
snod-yas and snod-stung below (f. 22b). The device is  
 used with effect here in order to establish the etymology  
 of the clan names Yas-sde, sTung-sde and Wang-ma. The  
 legend may be compared to that of 'Od-srungs in, for  
 instance, the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long, f. 95a.
66. The names of the three half-brothers carry obvious  
 allusions to those of the Tibetan kings Khri Srong-lde-  
 brtsan (b. 742) and Khri gTsug-lde-brtsan (b. 805).

67. For a quite different and more authentic picture of the origins of these rulers, see the passages quoted from the histories of 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag on pp.<sup>216-18</sup> above.
68. "Chos-mdzad Lug-dkar of the royal family of the Yas-sde [clan] of Phong-mi, skilled in the dexterous use of magical means" (f. 47a-b below), one of those who requested the composition of the rGyal-rigs.
69. See p.224 above.
70. The Kha-nag ('Black-Mouths') are the Aka tribals of the Kameng district of Arunachal. Kennedy 1914 (quoted in Elwin 1959: 438 note 1) derives the word Aka, meaning 'painted', from their custom of decorating their faces with a mixture of pine-resin and charcoal. The Kha-dkar ('White-Mouths') are still unidentified. Both are termed Glo-pa (or Klo-pa), a vague term applied to all the tribals of this region. The Kha-khra ('Striped-Mouths') are mentioned on f. 49b below in the Addendum [I] They also remain unidentified. Elsewhere the term Kha-khra is used to signify the early inhabitants of Bhutan itself (Aris 1976:628 note 66). All the terms carry a strong pejorative tone (LP: sems-can bsad-pa dge-bar rtsi-mkhan klo kha-dkar kha-nag yin-'dug / "The Klo Kha-dkar and [Klo] Kha-nag are people who consider it a virtue to kill sentient beings." Note also kla-klo = 'barbarian'.) The Klo-pa best known to the Tibetans are those living south of Kong-po where Thang-stong rGyal-po consecrated 'a stupa to suppress the Klo' (Klo Kha-gnon-gyi ... mchod-rten, f. 120a of his biography. See also ff. 72a-76b on his activities among the Klo-pa). These are

divided into the same three groups mentioned above  
(Wylie 1962: 178 note 583).

71. 'Tembang' of the maps, five miles east of Dirang Dzong.  
The Them-spang people can probably be identified with  
the 'Themongs' with whom the Sherdukpens traditionally  
intermarried. The legend recounting how this custom  
came to an end is given in Paul 1958:24-25.
72. For the records of the Yo-gdung Wang-ma clan see the  
Addendum [I - IX] (ff. 48b-53b below).
73. See f. 14a above.
74. Cf. lha'i kham-s-pa, f. 14a above.
75. This must surely have been a disappointment to Jo-bo  
A-bzang, King of sDe-rang (Dirang), who was among those  
who encouraged the composition of this work (see f. 47b  
below). On Padma Gling-pa's meeting with a King of  
Dirang see p.224 above.
76. This name does not look right. However, as a member of  
the sTung-sde clan of Bu-ri-gyang-phu (see f. 27a above),  
the lady's marriage to the hereditary chief of the Jo-bo  
clan is a clear example of how political affiliations  
could be determined, and indeed sought, through marriage  
alliances.
77. TD: ber-mkhar zer-ba-de be-mkhar zer-gyin-yod / rgyal-ba  
tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho'ang de-la 'khrungs / ("The  
place called Ber-mkhar is now called Be-mkhar. rGyal-ba  
Tshangs-dbyangs rGya-mtsho [6th Dalai Lama, 1683-? 1706]  
was even born there.") See pp. 316-17 above.

78. Evidence for the activity in this area of the great bridge-building saint Thang-stong rGyal-po (1385-1464) is found in his standard biography by 'Gyur-med bDe-chen. Although it does not contain an account of his visit, the area of Shar-mon is prophesied on f. 41a to be one of the districts where he would be active. Again at the end of the work (f. 170a) we read that sKyabs-pa bZang-po, his great-nephew (?), carried on the saint's work in Shar-mon. The legend recounted here is still current and has been recorded by Sarkar (1975:32) who adds the information that the household of Jo-bo Dar-rgyas in Ber-mkhar is known as Bu-bdun ('Seven Sons').
79. This is the 2nd Dalai Lama (1475-1542).
80. TD: shar stag-lung zer-ba-la deng-sang-gi bar-yang rdzong-dpon-re rta-dbang grwa-tshang-nas bskos-kyi-yod / ("Even at present a rdzong-dpon is appointed by the monastic college of rTa-dbang /to control the monastery/ fort/ called Shar sTag-lung.") This is the 'Talung Dzong' of the maps, a few miles north-east of Kalaktang in the Kameng Frontier Division. "From there /sTag-lung/ he went to Assam and met the king. The king received him cordially, promised him all help and donated him land in the plains in Odalguri and Amratola areas." (Sarkar 1975: 34)
81. bKra-shis rTse-gling dGon-pa in Sag-stengs and dGa'-ldan rTse-gling dGon-pa in Me-rag (loc. cit.). bsTan-pa'i sGron-me is said to have died in the latter place at the age of ninety-nine.

82. For the legend of this monastery's foundations, see Sarkar (op. cit., 33) where it is spelt 'Ariakdun' and is said to be located half a mile from lHa'u, eight miles east of rTa-dbang.
83. Sarkar (op. cit., 35-41) provides short sketches of the lives of nine incarnations of bsTan-pa'i sGron-me who have succeeded each other up to the present day. Most important of these, from the point of view of the present study, was the fourth in the line, 'Lote Gyatso', who can be identified with the Me-rag Bla-ma Nag-seng who played such an important role on the dGe-lugs-pa side during the war with the 'Brug-pa authorities of western Bhutan (Lo-rgyus, ff. 12a, 17b-18b).
84. TD: A'u-dung
85. TD: Byang-mkhar
86. TD: Sha-nu
87. Jo-bo Sangs-rgyas 'Od-zer of La-'og Yul-gsum, who is mentioned on f. 95b of Padma Gling-pa's autobiography, must have been a contemporary or near contemporary of these seven sons.
88. The content and significance of this section have been discussed at some length in Chapter 2 Section 5 above. Notes 89 to 99 below deal with a few points which remain untreated in that discussion.
89. Grong-mo-che may simply mean "the great settlement" (of Yar-lung). Cf. yul-sde che-ba, f. 33b below.

90. I cannot identify the fruit referred to here. Notice how the fruit become cowrie shells ('gron-bu) in the variant tradition of gZhong-sgar and gDung-bsam (f. 39b below) and dice (sho) in the modern version of bSod-nams bZang-po (p. 272 above).
91. The same patch of grass was pointed out to me by my porters when I crossed the Zhang-ma'i La pass between sTang and U-ra in 1970.
92. This does not accord with the rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long (ff. 98b-99a) where we read that the Yar-lung Jo-bo descended from 'O-lde (brother of dPal-lde) through his son Khri-chung who settled at Yar-lung.
93. Unidentified in the Tibetan records.
94. LP informs me that "the three divisions (?) of Kheng" (Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum) are those of Phyi-'khor, Nang-'khor and mTha'-ma-phyogs-'khor (sp ?).
95. This place, visited by Padma Gling-pa (f. 62a of his autobiography), is probably crucial to the gDung complex, discussed in Chapter 2 Section 5 above. According to Slob-dpon Padma-lags, just as the Klo-pa tribals in the vicinity of the holy shrine of Tsa-ri are considered by Tibetans to be the 'retinue' ('khor-ba) of the goddess Zhing-skyong dBang-mo, so also are the Dag-pa people of eastern Bhutan regarded as the retinue of Jo-mo Re-ma-ti who has her shrine at this place called gDung-mtsho ('Origin Lake'). The mithun (ba-man) is said to be the animal specially associated with this goddess and the Dag-pa observe a sacred trust to look after it on her behalf. They have to invoke her through various rituals

when they are engaged in working with mithuns. The sacred character of the mithun is celebrated by all the tribal peoples of Arunachal and Nagaland and no doubt the beliefs of the Dag-pa (and Mon-pa ?) in this respect derive from an early pre-Buddhist form of mithun-worship. 'Jigs-med Gling-pa provides a very interesting account of the mythological origins of the mithun and the hybrid rgya-tsha in Chapter 3 of his gTam-tshogs (f. 32b).

96. Unlike the last place, this is probably a mythical land (Stein 1959b:55). From rMu-yul the god returns again to the eastern marches of Bhutan. Gangs-ri dKar-po ('The White Snow Mountain') is not identifiable but the mountain of Wang-seng is surely related to Wang-ser-khum-pa/-khung-pa (f. 18a above and Lo-rgyus, f. 17b). One would like to see a connection too with 'Jumu Wang-sing' (= ? Jo-mo Wang-seng) who is the meat-eating, blood-drinking 'god of the forests' for the Sherdukpen people. Elwin (1958:243) records the myth which tells how this god had an argument with 'Konchosum' (the Triratna personified) over the sacrifices owed to him (her ?) by the Jiji, the ancient non-Buddhist priest of the Sherdukpen. A compromise was reached.
97. LP kindly provided the correct reading of this phrase from f. 5b line 2 of his copy of the MS.
98. This should perhaps be Phyang-khos, the 'uncle' being his adoptive father, the batchelor of Phyang-khos.
99. Cf. f. 22a above.



100. The rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long, which is the source for this story, has spyi'i tha-ba-la / dgos-su shol mi-bcog (f. 95a). The meaning of shol here is quite uncertain, and my emendation of thong-pa to thod-pa in the text is most tentative.
101. The phrase g.yang-grog za-nas tshug ma-thub-par is also problematic. LP suggests that dogs-pa za-nas sdod ma-tshugs-par ("being unable to stay, feeling fear") might be a better reading.
102. See pp.<sup>280-82</sup> above.
103. See pp.<sup>248-50</sup> above. The Chos-'khor dpon-po is almost the only one of the hereditary offices mentioned in this section known from other sources and still remembered today in local traditions.
104. The dPon-chen Zhal-ngo of Ku-ri-lung may perhaps have included lHa-bu-dar, the dPon-po of Rag-sa, and Dar-ma, the dPon-chen of sKyī-gling (Lo-rgyus, f. 8b).
105. There is probably a connection between the name of this clan and that of the Kheng district which adjoins gZhong-sgar.
106. The following classificatory schema of the Tibetan clans (or tribes) appears to be a summary of Chapter 4(2) of the bShad-mdzod (ff. 90b-92a), entitled 'Og-ma 'bangs-kyi mi-rabs bshad-pa'i le'u' ("The Chapter which Explains the Generations of Subjects Beneath [The Rulers]"), a title which Ngag-dbang seems to have borrowed for this section of the rGyal-rigs. Allowing for variants, the names which follow have therefore been

corrected in order to conform to those found in the bShad-mdzod. The structure and content of the schema in its basic form have been examined by Tucci (1949: 713-17), Stein (1959b:passim) and Haarh (1969:279-88). The schema of the bShad-mdzod itself has been studied by E. Gene Smith in his Appendix I to Lokesh Chandra's edition of that work ('The tribal structure of the world as outlined in the Bśad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu').

107. As in the case of the ruling clans in eastern Bhutan (the Jo-bo, rJe, Byar, Yas-sde, sTung-sde and Wang-ma), none of these names are remembered today.
108. See pp.259-64 above.
109. LP informs me that the 'Ten Signs' are the product of yogic attainment in the Mahāmudra system of meditation. They divide into the following groups: (A) 'Five external signs manifested after gaining control of the prāṇa of the five elements' (phyi-rol-du 'byung-ba lnga'i rlung zin-pas rtags lnga) consisting of (1) 'smoke, by controlling the earth-prāṇa' (sa-rlung zin-pas du-ba); (2) 'mirage, by controlling the water-prāṇa' (chu-rlung zin-pas smig-rgyu); (3) 'burning, by controlling the fire-prāṇa' (me-rlung zin-pas me-khyer); (4) 'a lamp, by controlling the wind-prāṇa' (rlung-gi rlung zin-pas mar-me); and (5) 'a clear, cloudless sky, by controlling the sky-prāṇa' (nam-mkha'i rlung zin-pas sprin-med nam-mkha' dwangs-pa). (B) 'Five special signs of fixedness' (brtan-pa khyad-par-gyi rtags lnga) consisting of: (1) 'sight of the earth's golden surface' (gser-gyi sa-gzhi mthong-ba); (2) 'silver-like clarity of body' (lus dngul-bzhin dwangs); (3) 'great strength and speed'

(stobs che-zhing 'gro-ba mgyogs); (4) 'non-perception of physical happiness' (lus bde-zhing yod-pa mi-tshor); and 'sight of the Tathāgatas' heaven and the realms of the six classes of beings' (de-bzhin-gshegs-pa'i zhing dang rigs-drug-gi gnas mthong-ba).

110. This is another numerical category relating to certain yogic attainments. LP, however, was unable to supply a complete list in this case.
111. See f. 19b above.
112. See f. 18a above.
113. See f. 18a above.
114. The odd phrase stong-sde'i ru-dar (lit. 'wing-banners of the thousand-districts') is found in the bShad-mdzod (ff. 253b, 261b). Gene Smith translates it as 'rhetoric', though it is not clear how the term has acquired this figurative sense. LP takes the whole phrase in which it appears quite literally and suggests either 'skilled in the means of spreading forth many military divisions' (dmag-gi sde mang-po 'phel-ba'i thabs-la mkhas-pa'i) or else 'skilled in the experience of causing many companies (?) of one's own side to flourish and prosper' (rang-phyogs-gi sde-tshan mang-po dar-zhing rgyas-pa'i byus-la mkhas-pa'i).
115. See f. 26b above.
116. See f. 29a above.

117. Unidentified, but perhaps related to the mi-chos gtsang-ma bcu-drug ('Sixteen Pure Rules of Human Conduct'). See/34 to Text 3 below.
118. 'Pacifying, enriching, overpowering and destroying' (zhi rgyas dbang drag).
119. The term 'phrul-thabs' seems to refer in this text to mechanical devices used in warfare, whose operation is linked to the activity of the guardian divinities.
120. The bShad-mdzod (f. 99b) describes the district of Gru-shul, situated just beyond the north-eastern corner of Bhutan, as "the meeting-place of India, Tibet and Mon, [these] three" (rgya bod mon gsum-gyi mdun [= 'dun]-sa). It seems practically certain that Ngag-dbang was familiar with the bShad-mdzod. (Cf. notes 7, 106 and 114 above.)
121. It is not known when the Addendum was composed, who its author really was or when it was appended to the manuscript of the rGyal-rigs from which the present copy was made. The author refers to himself as "I, Wang-ma" (f. 52a-b) or "I, King Wang-ma" (ff. 51b, 53b). It can be assumed that he was the hereditary ruler of the Wang-ma clan which was introduced above (ff. 22b, 23b, 27a-28b) in a manner that accords very little with the information provided here. Until the geographical picture becomes clearer the lines between the two texts will remain obscure and muddled. The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that the author of the Addendum seems to have been barely literate, the style is crude and several ambiguities remain unsolved. Moreover, since

the work was aimed at a local audience that was perfectly familiar with local institutions and customs, no explanation of these is given and we are left to guess their nature as best we can.

122. bzhi-khri bTsan-po is a fictitious name and the list of Tibetan kings in which it appears is muddled in the extreme. However, because the name precedes that of Khri Ral-pa-can in the list, we may conjecture that the person referred to is actually lHa-sras gTsang-ma, brother of Ral-pa-can, whom Ngag-dbang and all his informants claimed to be the true ancestor of the Bhutanese clans.
  
123. All these 'kings' have been introduced above in the rGyal-rigs proper, with the exception of those of Srin-mi/rGyun-mi. This is the only reference to the place I can find. The name is comparable to all the other 'paired' names in this area (see note 35 above) and particularly to 'Senjithongji', the local name of the 'Sherdukpen' people of Kameng.
  
124. See f. 18a-b above.
  
125. mi-thi should perhaps be corrected to mig-mthong (lit. 'eye-sight'), a vague measurement of distance used in Bhutan. See for instance the autobiography of Padma Gling-pa, ff. 62b-63a.
  
126. i.e. "of the Byar clan".
  
127. See ff. 20b-21a above.
  
128. Perhaps khwa-ta, 'crow' or 'raven'.
  
129. Sanskrit acarya ('teacher'), a term usually applied to the clown dressed as an Indian who performs during

festivals of sacred dance, but here applied to Indians in general.

130. See f. 18b above.
131. On Padma dKar-po (1527-92), the greatest scholar of the 'Brug-pa school, see pp.<sup>389-90</sup> above.
132. This is the temple of Hajo near Gauhati in Assam. See pp.<sup>235-37</sup> above.
133. As a result of this arrangement, the Yo-gdung Wang-ma seem to have regained control of their duars. See V below.
134. I.e. Padma dKar-po.
135. Village headmen are still called gtso-rgan in eastern Bhutan.
136. See IX below.
137. The only evidence that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-1529) was ever active in this part of the country is found in the passage from the rnam-thar of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan quoted in Note 9 to the rGyal-rigs.
138. The name means 'the re-incarnated lama'. He may have been sNyan-grags (or Rin-chen) dPal-bzang of sDing-po-che. See Note 10 to the rGyal-rigs.
139. This person is the same as the Thub-brtan Pad-dkar mentioned in the Lo-rgyus (f. 5a-b), a contemporary of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal who had control of certain 'Brug-pa monasteries in eastern Bhutan.
140. The kar-rdzi may have been the official who had charge of the ruler's herds of cattle (rdzi-bo = 'herdsman').

141. See [VIII] below.
142. See [VII] below.
143. Thakur ('Lord') is an honorific used in addressing certain people of the Brahmin caste in Bengal. It is not clear who the Thakur here referred to are. Their names should eventually help to identify them with one of the Indian border peoples of this area.
144. The sense of this whole passage is ambiguous and the translation remains tentative.
145. LP suggests this might be Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.
146. This elegant verse could not have been written by the same person who composed the Addendum.
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TEXT II



(1a) *dPal 'brug par lung lha'i gdung brgyud kyis\* bstan pa'i ring  
lugs\* / lho mon kha bzhi las nyi ma shar phyogs su byung  
zhing\* rgyas pa'i lo rgyus\*\* gsal ba'i me long bzhugs so //*<sup>1</sup>

\*kyl  
\*lugs  
\*omitted \*\*rgyud

(1b) na mo wa gindra An na dhā dza ya //

'dzam gling yangs pa'i sa chen la chos srid stobs kyis\* 'khor los\*\*  
bsgyur\* ba'i chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam par rgyal ba la /  
snying nas gus pa'i spyi bos\* phyag bgyi'o // de'i bstan pa'i ring  
lugs gangs can lho phyogs kyi nyi ma shar phyogs su byung ba'i  
tshul cung zad\* brjod par bya'o // de yang sngon shar phyogs kyi  
rgyal khams (2a) 'dir / sde srid chen po gtsang pas mnga' 'bangs  
btsugs nas dbang sgyur zhing yod pa'i skabs la / ri bo dga' ldan pa'i  
phyag\* mdzod sde pa nang so\*\* A bos g.yo 'phrul sgyu ma'i 'khrul  
'khor du ma shams nas / byang mtsho kha sngon mo nas (sog po)<sup>2</sup>  
rgyal po rda las bha dur gyi dmag bkug\* nas / sde srid chen po  
gtsang pa\* phab rgyal\*\* srid 'phrog te mnga' 'bangs thams cad la  
dbang sgyur nas yod pa'i skabs der / kha ling (2b) rgyal po bde ba  
dang / 'brug rgyal gnyis rgya'i las sgo'i sa cha dang mnga' 'bangs  
kyi rtsa ba las ma cham par / ri bo dga' ldan pa'i sde srid la zhu bar  
phyin pas / lha sa gzhung nas mi sna dpon chen gnyis gnang byung  
ba khrid nas kha ling du sleb pa dang / mi sna dpon chen gnyis kyi  
drung du kha ling rgyal po bde ba dang / 'brug rgyal gnyis kyi tshig  
bden rdzun sdur bas / de dus rgya bod dang lho mon rnam sphan\*  
tshun cher ma phrad cing brda ma mjal\* ba'i gshis\*\* kyis byung  
khungs kyi lo rgyus\* ji ltar bshad kyang / mi sna dpon po gnyis  
kyis\* mon pa'i\*\* skad ma go bar / bod skad shes pa'i lo tsa\*\*\*  
ba\* dgos zer ba bzhin / 'brug rgyal gyi ngos nas bod kyi 'brug pa'i  
bla ma thub bstan pad dkar gyi bu bla ma rnam\* sras rdo rje / bde  
ba'i phyogs nas la 'og yul gsum gyi lta\* wang bla ma\*\* chos dbyings  
rgya mtsho gnyis kyis lo tsa byas nas / bden rdzun khru sbyangs  
(3a) zhib par sdur bas / tshig bden rdzun 'dra ba yin 'dug kyang /  
bod pa dang mon pa khyad par gyi skad kyi sgyur stabs snyan 'jebs  
dang bstun / 'brug rgyal gyi ngos nas gsal dwangs\* ngos khungs  
chod pa'i tshig don bshad byung ba dang / mi sna dpon po gnyis  
kyang yid mgu ba lta bu sems la bsam pa'i rnam pa byung ba dang /  
rgyal po bde ba yid ma rangs pa'i phra dog gis kun blangs te / g.yo  
'khrul gyi phra ma sems kyis\* bshams nas / g.yo thabs kyi sgo nas  
mi sna dpon po gnyis la phra ma zhu ba la / khyed dga' ldan pho  
brang gnam dga' ldan sa dga' ldan gyi dpon po yin kyang / khyed la  
ni bsnyen bkur shabs tog dang tshogs chang drang mkhan mi gcig

\*kyl \*\*lo  
\*sgyur  
\*bo'i  
\*bzad  
\*phyags \*\*nag song  
\*bkun  
\*omitted \*\*sral  
\*phun  
\*jal \*\*zhis  
\*rgyud  
\*kyl \*\*po'i \*\*\*tsa'i  
\*omitted  
\*rnams  
\*lro \*\*omitted  
\*dangs  
\*kyl

1. The title has been reconstructed from that found in the colophon (f.24a-b). Only the final part, starting with *nyi ma shar phyogs*, is written on the title page. This does not make sufficient sense by itself.
2. *sog po* has been added below the line in a different hand.

kyang min 'dug / bla ma rnam sras la ni A ma bu mo mang po tshogs  
nas nyin re bzhin tshogs chang nyin mtshan khor\* mo ster gyi 'dug /  
khyed la ni (3b) min 'dug pas nga'i khyim du gdan drang\* so zer  
nas / rgyal po bde ba'i khyim la khrid nas / zas kyi sna rigs mi gcig  
pa mang pos bsnyen bkur dpag tu med pa dang / lhag par du 'bras  
chang gi\* yang snying dang A\*\* rag la sogs skoms kyi rigs / dpag  
tu med pa drangs\* zhing\*\* blud pas / dpon po gnyis kyang chang  
gyi gzi byin bskyed pa'i gtam sna tshogs smra ba dang / rgyal po  
bde ba'i bsam pa la da ni glags\* brnyed par 'dug snyam nas / yang  
phra ma zhus pa da len nged kyi khyim du gdan 'dren zhus nas  
bza' gtung gi bsnyen bkur phran bu tsam zhu ba ma gtogs / bla  
ma rnam sras la\* tshogs chang 'dren mi bu mo mtshar zhing mdzas  
pa lha'i bu mo 'dra ba tshogs chang 'dren mkhan ni mi 'dug zer bas /  
dpon po gnyis kyis\* de lta bu'i bu mo mdzas pa rang yod dam zer  
bas / yul stod dar ma dar phi la nges par rang yod zer bas / dpon po  
gnyis (4a) kyis\* nged kyang ji ltar yod lta bar 'gro dgos zer nas /  
dpon g.yog\* 'khor bcas chang gis ra ro nas gom pa 'khyor zhing  
phyin pas / na chung bu mo mdzas ma mang po yod pa'i nang na /  
bla ma rnam sras kyi brtse\* grogs bu mo lha mo 'dra ba gnyis  
khrid nas / ki ki ngar sgra sgrogs cing yongs bas bla ma rnam sras  
kyi bsam pa la / nyes med kyi bsam pa la / nyes med kyi bu mo la  
de ltar byed pa mi 'os bsam nas / ma bzod\* par ki ki'i 'khus\*\* lan  
btabs\* pa las / mi sna lding\*\* dpon bstan srung zer bas nged la mi  
ma rtsi bar 'khus\* lan de ltar btabs las thag chod dam zer nas yongs  
bas / bla ma rnam sras kyis grwa pa rtogs\* ldan gnyis khrid nas  
khyim nang las phyir thon yong bas / lding\* dpon bstan srung dpon  
g.yog 'khor bcas kyis\* grwa pa rtogs\*\* ldan gnyis der bsad\*\*\* do/  
bla ma rnam sras kyis\* kyang lding\*\* dpon bstan srung gi snying  
kha'i (4b) thad du gri shugs che ba btsug pas shi yod dam bsam nas  
sngangs skrag cing brogs pas / lding dpon la mtshon bsrung zab mo  
yod pa'i gshis\* kyis\*\* ma shi ba'i skad cha thos kyang / ri bo\*\*\*  
dga' ldan pas\* skos pa'i dpon po yin pa nas / phugs su rtsad gcod  
kyi nag gcod drag po yong\* bsam nas / la 'og yul gsum du phyin /  
ku ri lung pa las rgyud nas song bas / krong sar rdzong du sleb dpon  
slob mi 'gyur brtan\* pa mjal / skad cha gleng mo zhib par 'dri ba  
gnang ba bzhin / lan rim par zhu bas / dbu cog cog tsam yang yang  
mdzad nas / khyed bla\* ma rin po che'i sku gzhogs\*\* su mjal bar  
'gro dgos pa 'dug gsungs nas / dpon slob rin po che'i phyag phyir  
byas nas phyin pas / spung thang du sleb sde pa dbu mdzad chen\*  
mos sna khrid mdzad nas / bla ma rin po che (5a) ngag dbang rnam  
rgyal gyi zhabs drung du sleb nas phyag 'tshal zhing zhal mjal ba'i  
mod la / spyang ras gzigs dngos su yin no snyam pa'i snang ba byung  
zhing mi mched pa'i dad pa thob / zhabs drung rin po che zhal nas  
bla ma rnam sras la bka' stsal pa / khyod yul dang skye sa gang nas

\*kho  
\*drangs

\*gyi \*\*omitted  
\*dwangs \*\*zhings

\*zhings

\*sa

\*kyl

\*kyl

\*g.yogs

\*rtse

\*zod \*\*khus

\*btabs \*\*ding

\*khus

\*rtog

\*ding

\*kyl \*\*rtog \*\*\*gsad

\*kyl \*\*dir

\*shis \*\*kyl \*\*\*omitted

\*pa'i

\*yongs

\*bstan

\*blad \*\*gzhog

\*chon

yin / 'di ru don ci la yong gsungs pas / bla ma rnam sras kyis\* lan  
 zhu ba / bdag gi\* pha'i yul ni dbu gzhung rnam rgyal rab brtan\*\*  
 rtse nas yin / ming la thub bstan\* pad dkar zer ba yin / nga rang gi  
 skye sa ni shar phyogs tsha se zer ba nas yin / nga'i A pa grwa sding\* \*ding  
 po\* che nas 'brug pa sprul sku snyan grags\*\* dpal\*\*\* bzang \*\*grag \*\*\*dpa\* \*dpon  
 gis\* shar phyogs mon yul du grags pa'i dgon lag yod pa thams cad  
 kyi bdag 'dzin du bla ma skos\* nas btang ba yin / bdag kyang phas  
 'dzin pa'i dgon lag rnams kyi (5b) bdag 'dzin byas nas sdod pa las /  
 dga' ldan pho brang gi sku tshab dang / kha ling rgyal po rnams kyi  
 mig la babs po rang ma 'byung ba nas / bla ma rin po che'i sku  
 gzhogs su 'di phyi'i skyabs gnas zhu ba la yong ba yin\* zhus pas /  
 bla ma rin po che'i zhal nas / khyod kyi pha thub bstan\* pad dkar  
 de / nged gdan sa ra lung la yod dus / yar\* 'brog snang dkar rtse'i  
 pho brang nas / sde pa khri dpon zhu ru byung ba dang bstun / yar\*  
 'brog sgang gsum gyi gdul\* bya la\*\* nged dpon slob sgar chen  
 btegs nas phyin dus kyi ma ni'i dge bskul ba chen po thub bstan\*  
 pad\* dkar gyi bu yin 'dug gsungs\*\* nas thugs dgyes dgyes mdzad  
 de / dpon slob thugs yid gcig tu 'dres / gtsug phud kyi skra phud  
 phul bas / dpal ldan 'brug pa'i bstan pa spel zhing mi 'jigs pa'i ming  
 yang gnam sa'i rdo rje btag / de nas rim pas dbang lung man ngag  
 thams cad gnang nas rdo rje 'dzin pa'i go 'phangs la bkod bkra shis  
 mnga' (6a) gsol mdzad cing / sku gsung thugs kyi rten dang chos\*  
 chas la sogs pa dpag tu med pa gnang nas / nyi ma\* shar phyogs  
 su chos kyi bstan pa spel ba 'gro ba'i don kho na nyid yin kyang /  
 khyad par du shar phyogs kyi yul khams der / dpon po mang zhing  
 cig 'og tu cig mi 'dzul ba'i nga rgyal dregs pa dang ldan zhing / drag  
 po'i khrims kyi ma gcun\* pa'i ma rung mu rgod mtha' khob kyi yul  
 khams der / bka' khrims drag pos ma gcun\* par / zhi ba'i sgo nas  
 chos kyi bstan pa'i ring lugs spel ba la shog rgya cher mi yong ba  
 'dra lags zhus pas / zhabs drung rin po che'i zhal nas / phyis 'jug  
 nga'i bstan pa lugs gnyis kyis sgo nas / shar phyogs kyi rgyal khams  
 der dar zhing rgyas pa'i\* lung\*\* bstan yod pas / de dus khyed rang  
 snying khams ma chung bar\* de ltar bgyis shig\*\* gsungs pas / bla  
 (6b) ma rnam sras yang yid\* ches\*\* shing snying nas gus pa'i  
 phyag 'tshal zhing zhabs spyi bor blang nas krong gsar du log go /  
 de nas lo gsum song ba dang / sngar bum thang chos 'khor dpon po  
 sbyin bdag gi rtse ba yin pa la / rgyu rkyen gyis bskul nas dpon  
 slob mi 'gyur brtan\* pa'i\*\* bka' la mi rtsi bar ngo log pa dang /  
 dpung chen lan gnyis gsum bar du bcug\* kyang glag\*\* ma 'kheh\*\*\*  
 par log pas / dpon slob kyi thugs dgongs la bla ma'i lung bstan  
 yod pa bzhin bcas la mi 'dul ba dpe mi srid snyam nas / zhi ba'i  
 sgo nas g.yo thabs kyi 'phrul\* 'khor rnam\*\* pa mang po thugs la  
 bkram nas pho nya ba mngag\* gzhug\*\* nub chu stod nas chos

\*kyi

\*kyi \*\*bstan

\*brtan

\*ding

\*\*grag \*\*\*dpa\* \*dpon

\*gi

\*bkod

\*yomg yin

\*brtan

\*yam

\*yam

\*\*dul \*\*omitted

\*brtan

\*dpad \*\*gsung

\*mchos

\*omitted

\*bcun

\*bcun

\*khang \*\*omitted

\*par \*\*shis

\*yi \*\*che

\*bstan \*\*pa

\*bcugs \*\*glags

\*mkhas

\*sphrul \*\*rnams

\*mnga' \*\*zhu

mdzad rgyal mo\* bkug nas / thabs sna tshogs pa byed dgos pa'i bka' \*ma  
 bsgo bas / chos mdzad\* rgyal mos nga bas chos 'khor dpon po dang \*omitted  
 thag nye ba chu smad gdung bsod nams dbang po yod pas / bka'  
 bsgo (7a) ba bzhin gyi g.yo thabs ngas kho\* la\*\* slab po zer nas \*khol \*\*omitted  
 bka' bsgo ba bzhin slab pas bsod nams dbang pos kyang nga bas  
 gnyen sha khrag\* gis\*\* 'brel bas\*\*\* / sdom mkhar mi dpon \*khri \*\*omitted  
 dbang thob yin pas bka' bsgo ba bzhin g.yo thabs kho la byed du \*\*\*sas  
 bcug go zer nas / sdom mkhar dbang thob la dpon slob mi 'gyur  
 brtan pas bka' bsgo ba bzhin slab\* pas / 'grub pa'i nus nga las med \*aleb  
 kyang / bka' phobs gang gsung ba bzhin gyi thabs sna tshogs pa  
 rnams / nga'i zhang po lcags mkhar gnas po mar rgan la sogs pa'i  
 pha tshan rnams chos 'khor dpon po'i bka' blon nang ma yin pas /  
 bslu\* E tshug lta'o zer nas song ngo / de nas dbang thob kyis\*\* \*bslus \*\*kyl  
 kyang dpon slob mi 'gyur brtan pas thabs sna tshogs pa bka' bsgo  
 ba bzhin zhang po nang blon rnams la smras pa / khong rnams yid  
 ches nas bka' ji ltar gnang ba bzhin nged rnams kyis\* 'grub bo zer \*kyl  
 nas khas blangs so / de nas dbang thob\* kyis\*\* kyang rim (7b) par \*omitted \*\*kyl  
 'ded nas sngar gyi gtam rgyus rnams / dpon slob mi 'gyur brtan pa'i  
 snyan du zhus pas / dpon slob kyl\* zhal nas da ni dpung chen  
 bcug go gsungs nas / spung thang bde ba\* can\*\* nas dmag dpon  
 chen mo gnyer pa 'brug rnam rgyal gyis\* gtsos pa'i tsho\*\* chen  
 gyi dpung chen dang / wa can mnga' og shar rus dge gling nyi shor  
 dga' seng bcas pa'i dmag bkug nas / mang sde lung pa'i dmag dang  
 bcas dpon slob mi 'gyur brtan pas\* dmag dpon mdzad / bla ma  
 rnam sras kyis\* dmag rgyab sna po byas nas / bum thang chos  
 'khor yur ba zhing gi rdzong la dmag gis bskor nas / 'tshang kha  
 rgyab pa dang / sngar gi nang blon khas len pa rnams kyis\* sna  
 len byas nas yur ba zhing gi rdzong bcom pas / chos 'khor dpon  
 po rnams sngangs skrag cing mi kyang rta kyang re byas nas bod du  
 bros so / de nas mnga' 'bangs mi sde yul 'khor dang / bum thang  
 sde bzhi thams cad mnga' 'og tu bcug / padma gling pa'i sku gdung  
 la sogs pa'i rten khyad par 'phags pa dang / nor rdzas kyis rigs bye  
 brag (8a) dpag tu med pa brtsis blang nas / bya dkar rdzong la  
 rdzong gi shom ra sgrigs\* nas rdzong bdag la gnyer pa long ba  
 bskos\* pa gnang bas\*\* / der tshogs pa'i mi thams cad kyis  
 smras\* pa / E ma mi 'di ni mig long ba rkang pa zha bas dpon po  
 mi yong zer bas / dpon slob mi 'gyur pa'i\* zhal nas / sngon gyi  
 las 'phro lung bstan la yod pas / sngon bum thang lcags mkhar du  
 rgya gar gyi rgyal po sindhu ra dza zhes bya ba byung ba la / Orgyan  
 padma 'byung gnas kyis\* dus ma 'ong pa na khyod mig long ba  
 rkang pa zha ba gcig tu skyes nas / bum thang 'dir dbang bsgyur  
 ba'i dpon du 'gyur ro // zhes lung bstan la yod gsungs bas thams cad  
 yid ches so / der dmag dpung thams cad\* 'khrugs pa las rgyal zhing \*thams cad la

\*grigs  
 \*bskod \*\*ba'i  
 \*smas  
 \*pas

\*kyl

blo bde bar ngal so zhing yod pa'i skabs la / sngar nas zhab drung  
rin po che lung bstan pa bzhi / dus (8b) la babs pa dang shar ku  
ri lung du rag sa'i dpon po lha bu dar de nyes pa med par / skyi  
gling\* gi dpon chen dar ma dang / gzhung phag gi gdung gyi rgyal  
po dga' ba gnyis kha mthun nas bsad\* pa dang / de'i yug sa ma  
rengs\* mo dang / blon 'bangs rnam kyis len byed dgos bsam pa la  
ni stobs mnga' thang gi\* ma thub par ci drags la thug nas yod  
pa'i skabs 'dir / 'brug pa'i dpung chen bum thang la sleb nas chos  
'khor dpon po bcom pa'i skad cha thos pas / rag sa'i mo rengs\*  
mo dang / 'bangs rnam shintu dga' nas dpung chen gdan 'dren  
zhu ba la / pho nya brdzangs pas dkyil sgar du sleb byung bas  
dang / dpung\* (9a) chen gyi kha 'khyogs nas ku ri lung du phyin  
pas / rgyal po dga' ba dang / dpon chen dar ma gnyis kyis dmag  
dpung gi lam du bsu nas 'thab pas skad cig nyid la khong gnyis  
dmag pham nas skrag cing bros pas / dpon po gang yod rnam lag  
tu tshud nas btson\* du bzung khong gnyis mnga' 'bangs mi sde  
dang / ku ri lung stod smad thams cad mnga' 'og tu bcug nas /  
gleng gleng du rdzong btab nas ming yang lhun grub rtse btags /  
rdzong dpon bla ma 'brug phun tshogs bskos\* pa gnang nas /  
dpung chen shar kho long phyogs la kha 'khyogs pas / kho long pa  
rnam 'jigs shing skrag nas 'babs zhus kyis mnga' 'og tu 'dus shing /  
dong sti bkra shis yang rtse rdzong btab pas / 'jigs grags kyis  
'brong mdo gsum zangs lung pa phan tshun chad kyis 'bab zhus  
(9b) byas so / de nas dpung chen tshur log nas smin rgyal yul  
gsum sleb pa dang / stong phu rgyal po stobs mnga' thang che  
tsam byung bas / mol ba lung pa la shugs drag brtsong ba dang  
gzhong sgar kheng po rnam blo ma rangs par / rgyab rten zhu ba  
la gros bsdur byas nas chos mdzad dkar po gdung / dpung chen  
gdan drangs pa la smin rgyal yul gsum la song nas / dmag dpon  
gnyis la zhu ba la nged kyis yul du rdzong sa btsan\* zhing lung pa  
mang po'i / sa 'dus che ba yod pas der byon pa zhu zer bas / dmag  
dpon gnyis kyis\* kyang zhal gyis bzhes nas / dpung chen gyi kha  
'khyogs pa tsam la / sngon las chos 'khor dpon dang ku ri lung gi  
dpon stobs 'byor rgya che ba rnam skad cig nyid la bcom pa'i skad  
cha thos pa'i 'jigs grags la sngangs shing skrag nas / lam bar (10a)  
gyi rtsa bar mang po'i dpon khag mi sde thams cad 'jigs shing dpa'  
khum nas mnga' 'bangs su bzhas\* go / stong phu rgyal pos 'thab\*\*  
ra'i mtshon\* cha\*\* bzos\*\*\* nas rgol ba'i sham ra grigs pa la /  
dpung chen 'gro ba'i zhor gyi skad cig de nyid la ming med du  
briag par byas nas / gzhong sgar du sleb pas / snga tshang phyi  
tshang gi rgyal blon 'khor dang bcas pa phyogs ris gnyis su phye  
nas / 'thab cing brtsod nas 'khrugs pa'i skabs yod pa la / dpung  
chen gyi stobs la gnyis ka ha las 'das nas / sngon nas skyabs mgon

\*gi

\*gsad

\*reng

\*gi

\*reng

\*dpun

\*brtson

\*bskod

brtsan

\*kyl

\*zhag \*\*thab

\*bison \*\*cha chab  
\*\*\*zos

dpung gnyen sus zhu ba de / kha 'dzin\* zhing ngo che ba yong bsam  
 nas / gnyis ka hab\* thob kyi 'bab zhus byung ba la / snga tshang  
 nas rgyal po dar 'jam spun chas dang gtso las rnam / phyi tshang  
 nas rgyal po zla'u la spun chas dang gtso las / ba geng bre mi he  
 long nas (10b) rgyal po rdo re dang yong nas / de nas bzung chos  
 rje 'brug pa'i bka' ci gsung\* 'grub rgyu yin zer nas khas blangs so /  
 gnyis ka'i zhu tshig zhaps 'dzul la khyad par med kyang / sngar nas  
 bla ma rnam\* sras dang drin\*\* shuin tu che ba'i gshis\*\*\* kyis\*\*\*\* /  
 dmag dpon gnyis snga tshang pa la dag snang dkar tsam mdzad / de  
 nas dmag dpon gnyis gzhong sgar du rdzong gi bshams ra mdzad  
 nas bzhugs / bla ma rnam sras kyis\* dmag dpung kha 'thor shig  
 'khrid nas / U dza rong weng li zam pa la sgar bcas nas sdod / rtseng  
 mi tsho lnga / bkra shis sgang pa / skang lung pa / kha ling pa  
 rnams la mi sna bang chen btang / khyed rang rnam 'bab zhus  
 byed rgyu yin nam / dmag bcug rgyu\* yin gyi lan gsal gtong zer ba  
 dang / bla ma rnam sras dang kha ling pa sngar nas ma cham pa'i  
 zhe khon\* yod pa'i gzhis\*\* kyis / kha (IIa) ling pa'i dmag dpung  
 U dza rong la yong nas / kha ling pa rnams kyis\* U dza rong pa la  
 smras pa / khyed rang tsho sa rgyus\* dang ri rgyus legs par ston\*\*  
 pas\* chog\*\* / dmag dpung gi stobs dang 'khrugs rtsal gyi shed  
 nged tshos the tshom med par bya'o\* zer bas / ngar skad byas nas  
 'khrugs pa'i 'dzing\* ra bshams nas yod pa'i skabs la / bla ma rnam  
 sras kyi dmag dpung gi\* dkyil' nas / dmag mi khal gsum tsam gyis\*  
 chu la rkyal rgyab nas grang ma'i chu tshur la 'thon byung ba dang /  
 der yod pa'i kha ling pa'i mi thams cad kyi bsam pa la / dmag mi  
 de rnams chus mi thub mes mi thub yin pa 'dra bsam nas / rgol ba  
 la the tshom byas pa dang / lhag par du ba geng rgyal po rdo re U  
 dza rong pa dang nye ba drung po yin pa'i gshis\* kyis / phan sems  
 kyis bslab\* bya smras pa la / kha ling pa'i kha la (IIb) nyan nas  
 'brug pa'i dmag la rgol ba'i rtsis\* ma byed cig / bum thang chos  
 'khor dpon po dang / ku ri lung gi dpon chen stobs che ba rnams  
 kyi rgol bas\* ma thub par bcom pa yin / lhag par du kha ling pa  
 rnams dgun gyi dus su rgya'i las sgo la 'dzul 'gro bas khyed rang  
 tsho cig pos zam pa srung mi tshug / de bas da lta nas 'bab zhus  
 byed pa drag\* zer ba bzhin / U dza rong pas 'bab zhus byas nas  
 weng li'i zam sna btad pa dang / kha ling pa dang / rkang lung\*  
 pa rnams kyang bya thabs\* med par phyi ltar du kha las 'bab zhus  
 kyi tshul tsam byed pa ma gtogs / nang ltar du 'bab zhus byas pa  
 la / blos rangs\* pa med cing 'og tu 'dzul ba'i bsam pa cig kyang  
 med pas / de'i rgyu rkyen gang yin na sngar kha ling rgyal po bde  
 ba dang / bla ma rnam sras gnyis ma 'cham\* (12a) par yul thon  
 song ba dang / lhag par du shar phyogs lung pa 'dir / kha ling pa  
 rnams mi dpung rgya che ba dang stobs mnga' thang mgu nas ma

\*btsan

\*has

\*gsungs

\*rnams \*\*\*drin  
\*\*\*shis \*\*\*\*kyi sra

\*kyi

\*gyu

\*khyen \*\*shis

\*kyi

\*rgyud \*\*bton

\*pa'i \*\*mchog

\*byas so

\*jings

\*gyi

\*shis

\*slab

\*rtsi

\*ba'i

\*grags

\*omitted

\*theb

\*rang

\*cham

nyan pa dang / rkang lung pa'i rgyal po pho brang A chi pha spad  
 gnyis / me rag bla ma nag seng stobs mnga' thang che zhing / dga'  
 ldan pa'i kha lo bsgyur mi dang nye ba drung po yin pa'i gshis\*  
 kyis rgyab' rten dpung nyen la yid ches nas 'og tu 'dzul mi nyan  
 pa'i rtsa ba de yin 'dug / de nas rtseng mi'i rgyal po stobs ldan dpon  
 chen gtso rgan rnam yong nas / nged rnam ni pha\* spun snga  
 tshang rgyal blon rnam kyis\* ji ltar byed pa bzhin phyag phyir  
 zhu'o zer nas 'bab zhus byas so / de dus bkra shis sgang pa dang /  
 bus mkhar pa gnyis sa cha'i nang nas ma cham par 'khrug pa'i  
 skabs yod pa la gzhong sgar nas chos mdzad dkar po gdung\* gis  
 bkra shis sgang pa la (12b) smras pa / khyed rang rnam dang sbi  
 mkhar pa ma cham pa las / khyed rang gi rgyab rten zhu sa chos  
 rje 'brug pa la byas na\* kha drag dang dbang che ba yong zer ba  
 dang / bkra shis sgang rgyal blon spun cha rnam gros sdur nas /  
 tshe dbang rgyal po dang / slang nga gnyis weng li zam pa la bla  
 ma rnam sras kyi drung du yong nas / nged kyi skyabs mgon zhu  
 sa khyed rang byed pa yin / nged kyi yul sa 'dus\* che\*\* zhing  
 rdzong sa btsan po yod pas\* der byon pa zhu zer ba dang / de dus  
 rgyal po snga tshang phyi tshang dang / nyi ma che rigs chung rigs  
 thams cad 'dzoms nas / tshig chad rdo byed pa la / sngar phan chad  
 dga' ldan pho brang pa'i\* mnga' 'og yin kyang / dus da\*\* res nas  
 bzung chos rje 'brug pa'i zhabs la 'dzul ba yin no zer nas / rgyal  
 blon gtso las mi sna rnam rang rang so so'i yul du 'gyes so / de nas  
 bla ma rnam (13a) sras yang dmag dpung dang bcas gzhong sgar du  
 log nas / dmag dpon gnyis la 'bab zhus kyi nor gser dngul rnam  
 phul nas / gnas tshul rnam zhib par zhus pas / dmag dpon gnyis  
 kyi zhal nas / da lan re zhi la de ltar yin gsungs so / de nas yang  
 nub phyogs stung la 'bi nas gdung nor bu dbang phyug zer ba'i dpon  
 g.yog kha shas zhig gzhong sgar du yong nas / dmag dpon gnyis la  
 zhus pas / nged kyi lung pa kheng rigs rnam\* gsum gyi rgyal kham  
 thams cad la / nya mkhar gdung gis\* dbang sgyur nas gzhan gyi mi  
 sde 'phrog / mnga' 'bangs mi sde thams cad la mi 'os\* mi 'tshams  
 pa'i sdug po mang po gtang gis yod pas / de gdul ba la byon par  
 zhu / dmag gi sna 'dren dang lam rgyus\* ri rgyus ni ngas bya'o zer  
 nas khas blangs so\* / (13b) dmag dpon gnyis kyis zhal gyis\*\*  
 bzhes nas / dmag dpung bcas der\* phebs pas / gdung nor bu dbang  
 gi spun chas rnam dang / blon 'bangs rnam kyis\* lam du sha  
 chang gis\* bsu nas zas kyi bye brag mang po bsnen bskur zhab tog  
 dpag tu med pa drangs nas / yul du sleb pa dang che 'byor gyi  
 phyag mjal\* 'bul ba re phul / da\*\* nas bzung chos rje 'brug pa'i  
 zhabs la 'dzul ba yin pas / pha tshe bu rabs rim pa ltar la thugs rje  
 brtse ba mi 'dor ba zhu zer zhing dmag dpung gi sna khrid byas  
 nas rim par song bas / go zhing phang mkhar / su brang / go phu /

\*shis

\*phu

\*kyi

\*drung

\*nas

\*dus \*\*chen

\*yod pas (rdzong  
tu pa) der byon

\*pas \*\*de

\*rnam

\*gi

\*od

\*rgyud

\*so pas \*\*gyi

\*la

\*kyl

\*gi

\*mnga' \*\*de

ta li 'bu li bcas pa'i / kheng rigs rnam\* gsum gyi gdung\*\* dpon  
 thams cad rang dbang med par la la ni dag snang mos gus kyi sgo  
 nas zhabs la btud / la la ni 'jigs shing dngangs\* skrag nas btul / la  
 la ni gtam gyi ngar\* (14a) sgras btud / nya mkhar gdung gi mkhar  
 sa btsan po la sleb pa dang / nya mkhar gdung de sngar nas stobs  
 mnga' thang che zhing kheng rigs rnam\* gsum la dbang sgyur nas  
 gzhong sgar gyi mkhar sa btsan po la dmag rgyab nas bskor ba  
 dang / bu brag gi rdzong sa btsan\* po la gsang dmag rgyab nas  
 bcom pa'i nga rgyal gyis rgol ba'i 'jigs ra bshams shing 'thab pa'i  
 grab 'grigs nas yod pa la / dpung chen rnams kyis dus cig la dpa'i  
 ngar skad sgrog pas / gnam sa 'khol ba tsam byung ba dang / me  
 mda' thams cad dus cig la rgyab pa'i 'ur sgras stong gsum gang ba  
 byung bas / rgyal blon 'khor dang bcas pa thams cad dngangs\*  
 shing skrag nas ha las 'das par gyur te / 'dar zhing dpa' 'khum nas  
 rang dbang med par bros pa las (14b) slar yang zhabs la btud nas /  
 bu chen dang nor rdzas dpag tu med pa\* phul nas / mi sde yul  
 'khor thams cad mnga' 'bangs la bcug cing / de nas slar\* log nas  
 krong gsar du byon pa'i lam kar\* / re phes\*\* bla ma rgyal mtshan  
 gyis\* bka' la mi brtsi bar gnya' reng byed\*\* nas bros song ba yang  
 phyi nas rma bya gdang sa la 'khrug tu yong bas / de yang srog la  
 thug nas ming med du btang ngo / de nas dpung chen rnams krong  
 gsar du sleb / dpon slob mi 'gyur brtan pas dga' ston\* gyi gnang  
 sbyin nor rdzas dpag tu med pa gnang nas / tshim zhing rgyas pa  
 bde zhing skyid\* pa'i ngang las rang rang so so'i yul du log go /  
 de nas yang zla ba kha shas nas bla ma rnam\* sras\*\* kyis\*\*\* shar  
 phyogs lung pa la sngar gyi dam bca' ba'i tshig chad rdo bzhin yod  
 med dang mnga' (15a) zhabs yin pa nas / khral 'u lag gi rgyun re  
 btsug dgos bsam nas / tsha se A zhang tshos rtsar byon nas bzhugs  
 phyogs mtha' la mi sna btang nas / khral dang 'u lag dgos pa'i lung  
 gtong ba dang / de yang dga' ldan pho brang pa'i 'og la sdod dus /  
 khral dang 'u lag rgyug pa'i rgyun cher med pa dang / mi sde rnams  
 kyi sems 'tsher snang Ita bu'i khral rnams phral du rang yong ma  
 nyan pa dang / bla ma'i phyag g.yog sgar pa rnams so sor btang nas  
 dbang shugs che ba'i\* ngos nas khral 'dus yong bas / kha ling rgyal  
 po chang lo dpal rgyal blon 'khor bcas / btsan mkhar rgyal po pho  
 brang A chi pha spad / gcen mkhar rgyal po sangs rgyal po rnams  
 blos ma rangs\* par / khong gsum gros bsdur nas ngo log pa'i rtsis  
 (15b) byed pa dang / bla ma rnam sras\* kyis\*\* skad cha thos nas  
 gzhong sgar phan tshun gyi [...] <sup>1</sup> rtsa mang dang / snga tshang  
 dang phyi tshang dang / rtseng mi tsho lnga / bkra shis sgang pa  
 bcas pa'i dmag bkug pa dang / kha ling rgyal po chang lo dpal gyis\*  
 kha ling phyi 'khor\* nang 'khor\*\* las\*\*\* dmag mi\*\*\* bsam\*\*\*\*

\*rnams \*\*ddung

\*dangs

\*sngar

\*rnams

\*brtsan

\*ngangs

\*omitted

\*slar repeated

\*mkhar \*\*phas

\*gyi \*\*byad

\*rton

\*bskyid

\*rnams \*\*omitted  
 \*\*\*kyi

\*bas

\*rang

\*omitted \*\*kyi

\*gyi

\*bskor \*\*skor  
 \*\*\*omitted \*\*\*\*bsam

1. Approximately two words seem to have been omitted here.



gyis\* mi khyab pa khrid nas / gcen mkhar du yongs nas rgol ba'i  
 'thab ra 'grigs / rgyal po pho brang gis pha phyi mang las rgol ba'i  
 'thab ra btsan chas bzos nas / grab\* thogs\*\* med 'grigs nas yod  
 pa la / dbu mdzad dam chos rab rgyas kyis\* dmag dpon byas nas /  
 gong gi dmag rnams khrid nas song bas / sngar pho brang A chi yis /  
 'dom mkhar rgyal po tshe ring las sngar nas blon po 'phrog zhe  
 khon gyis\* / 'dom mkhar rgyal po tshe ring spun gnyis kyis\*\*  
 dmag gi sna len dang gdong bsu (16a) byas nas khong gi yul du  
 bzhang / de'i sang\* nyin gcen mkhar dang / pha chi mang gnyis la  
 'tshang kha rgyab pas / kha ling pa rnams kyis\* dmag dpung gi  
 stobs la ma ngu bar / gcen mkhar grong gi 'thab ra'i nang las phyi  
 la 'thon\* byung ba dang / grong stod rgyal po glang ngas lus la  
 khrab gon ral gri 'phyar zhing dbyugs\* nas / dmag mi rnams rjes  
 bsnyag la the tshom med par rgyugs cing song ba dang / gdong  
 bsu'i dmag rnams dngangs\* skrag nas grong gi 'thab ra'i nang la  
 'dzul ba dang / rgyal po glang ngas kyang de tsho dang mnyam po  
 nang du 'dzul song bas nang nas gcen\* mkhar rgyal po sangs  
 rgyas pos rgol du yong ba la / dbu mdzad dam chos rab rgyas kyis  
 me mda' rgyab nas der bsad pas / nang gi dmag mi rnams dngangs\*  
 skrag nas rgol\* (16b) ma nus par yod pa la / rgyal po chang lo  
 dpal gyis\* mkhar mthon\*\* mtho ral pa'i rtse la 'dzegs nas / mda'  
 rgyab pas phyi'i dmag mi rnams kyi reg tu ma nus par yod pa la /  
 tshe dbang rgyal po song nas / thabs kyis\* bslus\*\* nas slab bya  
 smras nas khrid yong ba dang / mkhar\* mthon\*\* mtho ral pa'i  
 rtse la btsan dar 'phyar ba dang / pha phyi mang nas rgyal po pho  
 brang dang dmag mi rnams kyis\* mthong bas / da ni rgyal po'i  
 dmag mi pham pa yin 'dug bsam nas / dmag mi rnams dngangs\*  
 skrag nas so sor bros song bas / rgyal po pho brang btson du  
 bzung / de'i sang\* nyin bla ma rnam sras tsha se nas byon / rgyal  
 po chang lo dpal / pho brang pha spad gnyis btson du bzung nas /  
 gzhung spung thang bde ba can\* la brdzangs / mkhar mthon\*\*  
 mtho ral pa rtse ba nas bshig / (17a) blon 'bangs mi sde thams  
 cad mnga' 'og tu bcug / rdzong sa btsan po zhig btsal bas\* / sngar  
 dpon slob mi 'gyur brtan pas bka' bsgos\* la yang / lung pa'i\*\* 'dus  
 che zhing sa btsan po beng mkhar la rdzong gtab\* na phug su bstan  
 pa la phan pa rgya chen\* po yong\*\* gsungs ba dang / beng mkhar  
 pa rnams kyis\* kyang rdzong nged kyi grong la rgyab pa drag zer  
 zhus kyang ma gsan par / beng mkhar du btsan sa bzung la dbu  
 mdzad dam chos rab rgyas bzhang / yul mkhar sa btsan po byi ri zor  
 la rdzong btab / shar phyogs lung pa'i rgyal po gtso las mi sna  
 drag\* tshad thams cad der 'dus shing khrims ra bcas\*\* nas / khral  
 'u lag yang der sdus so / bla ma rnam sras kyi bsam pa la / ra ti jo  
 bo khams pa ma 'das gong du nga la bu mo ster zhing mag\* 17b)  
 par bcug pa yin kyang / da ni 'das nas mi 'dug pas sgam ri lung pa'i

\*gyi

\*grab \*\*thog

\*kyi

\*gyi \*\*kyi

\*gsang

\*kyl

\*mthon

\*kyl

\*ngangs

\*gcon

\*ngangs

\*rgol repeated

\*gyi \*\*'thon

\*kyi \*\*slus

\*omitted \*\*'thon

\*kyl

\*ngangs

\*gsang

\*chen \*\*'thon

\*ba'i

\*sgo \*\*pas

\*btab

\*cher \*\*yongs

\*kyl

\*grags \*\*bca'

\*dmag

blon 'bangs rnams kyis\* nga la dag snang ji ltar yod dam / me rag  
 bla ma nag seng dga' ldan bla ma dbu mched yin pas ji ltar byed  
 lta'o snyam nas / dmag dum\* zhig dang bcas me rag phyogs la kha  
 gtad nas phyin pas bla ma nag seng grwa bu slob dang bcas yul  
 'thon nas la 'og yul gsum la song nas mi 'dug / me rag sag steng  
 dang sgam ri lung pa'i mi sde thams cad kyis\* 'bab zhus byas mnga'  
 'og tu bcug pas / sbis mkhar chos mdzad yang bros song 'dug / bar  
 tsho gsum wang ser kung pa nas rgyal po zu gi\* / ser kong / rdo rje  
 rgyal po / ram geng ra nas sangs rgyas rgya mtsho / khong rgyal po  
 bzhi yis sna drangs nas slebs\* byung ba dang / bzhan rnams kyis\*\*  
 blos ma rangs\* pa med kyang / rang bzhin (18a) gyis\*\* zhor\*\*\* la  
 bab\* nas mnga' 'og tu bcug\*\* go / de nas byi ri zor du log nas /  
 phyi mi ser gyi 'dzin skyong gyi sgrig rnam gzhas dang / nang du  
 rdzong rtsig pa dang / btsan chas byed pa la sogs pa'i gang la gang  
 'os kyis bkod pa bshams zhing byed nas zla ba brgyad tsam song ba  
 dang / me rag bla ma nag seng gis\* sna bo\*\* byas nas dmag dpon  
 phan yul drung 'tsho dang / sde pa 'dzam lha gnyis kyis khrid pa'i  
 bod kyis dmag dpung dang mon pa'i rigs kyis dmag thams cad yongs\*  
 nas / skyi ling shing la sgar bcas\* nas / beng mkhar grong stod la  
 'tshang\* kha rgyab byung ba dang / dbu mdzad dam chos rab  
 rgyas kyis\* me mda\*\*\* yis\*\*\* mi gsum btud mar bsad\*\*\*\* pa  
 dang / dmag rnams 'ur langs\* nas 'tshang kha rgyab ma nus par  
 skyi ling shing du log nas / dmag phal cher kha ling byi ri zor la  
 song nas rdzong (18b) bskor ba dang / kha ling pa rnams sngar las  
 blos rangs\* po med pa'i khar\*\* / bla ma nag seng dang bus mkhar  
 chos mdzad kyis g.yo rgyu byas nas / khyed kyis rgyal po chang lo  
 dpal de / 'brug pa'i gzhung phyogs las nged kyis lag tu thob yod zer  
 nas / lung pa 'di phyogs kyis gos zas cha lugs\* rnams bstan\*\* pas /  
 kha ling pa rnams yid ches nas ngo\* log\*\* pas bla ma rnam sras  
 kyis\* tshugs\*\* ma thub par tsha se la\*\*\*\* bros pas / lam du kha  
 ling pas sgug\* nas / bka' blon dbu mdzad nor bu der bsad\*\* do  
 bla ma rang tsha se la 'dzul ba dang / dmag thams cad der  
 spungs\* nas ra bas bskor nas mi thar ba dang / na rang thung pa'i  
 rgyal po nor bu A chi spun chas rnams dga' ldan pa'i blo gtad nang  
 ma yin pa nas / khong la ngo chen bcol nas srog la mi yong ba'i  
 srog nor ra ti khams pa'i g.yu chen 'bab g.yu skya dkar (19a) sbyin  
 nas nye skyon med par dmag mi bskor nas / skyi ling shing du dbu  
 mdzad nor bu'i mgo dang bcas dmag dpon gnyis kyis drung du slebs\*  
 byung ba mig gis\* mthong ba dang / sngar beng mkhar sa btsan pas  
 brlags\* ma 'khal\*\* kyang\*\*\* / dbu mdzad dam chos rab rgyas dang  
 beng mkhar rgyal blon rnams thams cad ci drag gi gros bsdur byas  
 pas / dbu mdzad kyis zhal nas da len bla ma dmag\* mi'i lag tu tshud  
 pa las / nged rang rnams kyis tshugs\*mi thub / da len re zhig la ngas

\*kyl  
 \*dum  
 \*kyl  
 \*/omitted  
 \*sleb \*\*kyl  
 \*rang \*\*gyl \*\*\*gzhor  
 \*\*bab \*\*\*jug  
 \*gi \*\*bon  
 \*yong  
 \*bca'  
 \*tshang  
 \*kyl \*\*mda'i  
 \*\*\*omitted  
 \*\*\*\*gsad  
 \*lang  
 \*rang \*\*kha la  
 \*lug \*\*bsten  
 \*ngog \*\*omitted  
 \*kyl \*\*tshug  
 \*\*\*omitted  
 \*bsgrug \*\*gsad  
 \*dpung  
 \*sleb  
 \*gi  
 \*glags \*\*khad  
 \*\*\*The passage  
 from dbu mdzad nor bu is repeated.  
 \*omitted  
 \*tshug

gzhung krong gsar du song nas dpung rgyab kyi dmag zhus nas  
 bsleb\* yong\*\* / de'i bar la khyed rang rnams 'bab zhus nas sdod  
 zer zhing / dbu mdzad rang gzhung la byon / beng mkhar (19b) pa  
 rnams kyis\* rdzong ni sprod ma nyan par 'bab zhus byas pas / ma  
 'gyur dang bu chen blongs\* nas da ni dga' ldan pho brang gi mnga'  
 zhabs yin no zer / bla ma rnam sras dang ma 'gyur dang bu chen  
 rnams khyer nas\* dmag dpung rnams so sor phye\*\* nas so so'i yul  
 du log go / bla ma rnam sras lha sa la khrid nas / btson khang du  
 bzhang\* pa las bros pas bdas mod\*\* / rjes bsnyags kyis\*\*\*zin nas  
 bkrongs\* 'dug / dbu mdzad kyis kyang / krong gsar dpon slob mi  
 'gyur brtan pa la dmag mi gnas tshul zhib par zhus pas / dpon slob  
 kyi zhal nas sngar ngas slab pa bzhin / rdzong sa beng mkhar du  
 bzung na yong rgyu yin pa la da res cung zad nor 'dug gsungs nas /  
 gang ltar bla ma'i lung bstan yod pa la da rung\* bstan pa 'tshugs\*\*  
 rgyu yong gsungs nas / gzhung tsho chen gyi dmag dum (20a) zhig  
 dang / dbang 'dus pho brang gi mnga' zhabs gang yod kyi dmag  
 dang / mang sde lung pa'i dmag gang yod bcas la / dmag dpon sku  
 drung pad dkar chos 'phel dang / gnyer pa long ba gnyis kyis byas /  
 dbu mdzad kyis\* sna khrid\*\* nas dpung chen btegs nas yong bas /  
 gnam sa 'khol ba tsam gyi 'jigs sgra byung ba dang / rtseng mi rgyal  
 po stong ldan gyis\* sna len dang gdong bsu\*\* byas nas / zla ba  
 gnyis pa'i nang\* la dmag dpung gi dkyil sgar chen mo gong thung\*  
 du bslebs\* dang / dag pa be mi'i\*\* dmag mi rnams sa bsrung kha  
 gnon byed pa la bar tsho gsum du bslebs\* byung ba dang / gong  
 thung nas dbu mdzad dam chos rab rgyas kyis dmag dum zhig  
 khrid nas song bas / dag pa'i dmag rnams mkhar sing pa'i rtse la  
 btsan sa bzung nas / 'brug pa'i dmag dang sna phrad nas 'dzing\*  
 (20b) grabs byed pa la / dbu mdzad kyis me mda' cig rgyab pas\*  
 chos skyong gi nus mthi yin nam / tshe snga ma'i las gang yin ma  
 shes par 'phrul 'khor lta bus / dag pa mi khal lnga tsam dngangs\*  
 skrag cing 'ur langs nas mkhar sing pa'i brag gi rtse las / g.yang la  
 lung nas shi\* bas\*\* dmag mi gzhan rnams 'jigs shing skrag\*\*\* nas  
 bros pas / shar phyogs kyi mi 'go mnga' 'og tu mi 'dzul ba'i\* bsam  
 pa\* nga rgyal dang ldan pa rnams kyang dpa' 'khum par 'gyur to /  
 beng mkhar du byon nas btsan sa bzung zhing / phyogs bzhi mtha'  
 dag la pho nya ba bang chen btang nas\* / khyed rang rnams 'bab  
 zhus byed pa yong rgyu yin nam / so so'i yul du dmag sgar gdeg\*  
 rgyu yin gyi lan gsal tong\* zer bas / kha ling phyi 'khor\*\* nang  
 'khor\* / U dza rong pa las pa\*\* los pa / sgam ri lung pa me (21a)  
 rag sag stengs / bar tsho gsum thams cad 'bab zhus byed pa la kha  
 'cham\* nas / rgyal po gtso las mi 'go thams cad dbu mdzad kyi  
 drung du\* slebs byung ba dang / dbu mdzad kyis mi ser rnams la  
 'bab sha 'bab nor phyag mjal 'bul ba dang bcas / gong thung du  
 dmag dpon gnyis kyi drung du khrid khyer bas / dmag dpon gnyis

\*slebs \*\*yonga

\*kyi

\*len

\*nas repeated  
\*\*'phyes\*bzhags \*\*mos  
\*\*\*kyl  
\*krong

\*ru \*\*gtsug

\*kyi \*\*khrin

\*gyi \*\*su

\*omitted

\*sleb \*\*ma'i

\*sleb

\*dzings

\*pa'i

\*ngangs

\*shis \*\*ba'i  
\*\*\*sgrag  
\*bas  
\*pa'i

\*na

\*btegs

\*gtong \*\*skor

\*skor \*\*omitted

\*cham

\*omitted

kyis zhal nas / khyed rang nmams dmag dmangs\* gis 'khrug\*\*  
 rtsod\* byed ma dgos\*\* par / gros khyab che ba'i sgo nas 'dir yong  
 ba shin tu legs gsungs so / de nas dam tshig gi dam bca' byed pa la  
 lha dpang du bka' srung\* dam can chos skyong thams cad gsol  
 mehod kyis\* mnyes par byas nas dpang du btsugs\*\* / mi dpang du  
 tsho chen gyi rgan 'go / dbang 'dus\* pho brang gi rgan 'go / mang  
 sde lung pa'i rgan 'go / chu stod kyi chos mdzad rgyal mo / (21b)  
 gzhang sgar chos mdzad dkar po gdung / snga tshang\* rgyal po dar  
 'jam / phyi tshang rgyal po zla'u la / ba geng rgyal po\* rdor re /  
 rtseng mi rgyal po stong ldan nmams / zas nor gnang sbyin gyis\*  
 tshim par byas nas mi dpang du btsugs\*\* / lha mi dpang\*\* du  
 btsugs\* pa'i drung du / shar phyogs lung pa'i rgyal po gtso las /  
 mi 'go thams cad mna' tshig dor\* ba la / dus de\*\* ring nas bzung /  
 dpon dga' ldan pho brang pa rgyab skyur zhing / chos rje 'brug pa  
 mdun du len nas / bka' gang gnang gsung ci grub byed rang mi  
 byed re\* zer nas mna' bkal zhing mna' bor / gang la gang 'os gnas  
 skabs dang bstun pa'i bu chen dang / bstun khrul\* nmams bsdus  
 nas gnyer pa long ba dmag dpung dang beas\* nas gzhung la\*\* log /  
 sku drung pad dkar chos 'phel 'khor dang bcas pa beng mkhar du  
 byon nas grong stod rgyal (22a) po\* lha lnga'i khyim du bzhugs  
 nas rdzong gi btsan cha bzos / grong stod la ltag rdzong brtsigs\* /  
 grong smad la rdzong gi dbu rtse lcags ri 'khor yug dang bcas pa  
 bzhengs nas der phebs cing bzhugs / rgyal khrims chos khrims gnyis  
 kyi khrims bca' / dbu mdzad kyis\* thabs kyi 'khor lo sgyur nas /  
 bka' blon mdzad / mtho ba khrims kyis gnan\* / dma' ba thabs\*\*  
 kyis skyong / bka' khrims drang po nor rdzas dang rang 'dod ngo  
 lta la ma 'khri bar / khrims dang nyi ma gzhung rgyugs kyis\* /  
 bzang po la bya dga' bster\* / ngan pa la khyad gsod\*\* byas pas /  
 steng nas 'phrog sa med / 'og nas bslu ba med par byas / ma nyan  
 par byung na nag gcod drag po lus srog gi\* steng du btang bas /  
 'jigs shing skrag pas grags pa'i\* steng du khyab pa'i stobs las / dus  
 ding sang gi bar du bstan (22b) pa'i ring\* lugs\*\* shar phyogs su  
 yod pa ni / sku drung dang dbu mdzad gnyis kyi phyag rjes yin  
 'dug / de'i dus su gung gdung rgyal po yang / sa ri rong dog cing sa  
 zur chod thag ring ba dang / 'og tu 'dzul ma\* nyan par gnya' rengs\*\*  
 byas nas yod pa la / phyis nas lo kha shas song ba dang / sku drung  
 pad dkar chos 'phel dang gsol dpon bstan pa don ldan gnyis kyis\*  
 dmag gung gdung la bcug / rgyal po btul nas mnga' 'bangs la bcug  
 pa yin / phyis nas sa skyong rdzong dpon rim par phebs cing / bstan  
 pa rin po che la 'dzin skyong spel gsum lugs\* gnyis kyi sgo nas /  
 gces spras\* rje cher mdzad pa las / bstan pa'i ring lugs kyi mdzad  
 khyon\* mnga' thang nam mkha'i gong du 'phags pa las / mnga'  
 'bangs\* mi sde yangs pa'i rgyal kham thams cad / zas nor longs  
 spyod kyi dpal (23a) 'byor dar zhing rgyas\* pa dang / phan tshun

\*dmang \*\*khrul

\*brtsod \*\*gos

\*bsrung

\*kyi \*\*btsug

\*dus

\*tsha

\*omitted

\*gyi

\*btsug \*\*dpang

\*btsug

\*dor \*\*di

\*ri

\*khras

\*chas \*\*lo

\*omitted

\*brtsig

\*kyi

\*gnon\*\*thams

\*kyi

\*stor \*\*sod

\*mi

\*pa

\*ringpung \*\*omitted

\*bu \*\*re

\*kyi

\*lug

\*spros

\*khyod

\*bang

\*rgyal

'thab cing brtsod pa med pa / phyogs bzhi mtha' dag nas las sgo'i  
 kha 'phye nas / bka' khirms drang po'i gdugs dkar dgung\* la\*\* btegs  
 cing skor bas mthu stobs chen po'i bsil grib las / rgya bod shar nub  
 phyogs bzhi mtha' dag\* gi gzhi lam 'bras\*\* gsum / sa yul gang du  
 phyin kyang 'phrog beom rkun jag med par / rang nyid stabs bde  
 ba'i ngang las gang la gang 'dod nor rdzas kyi longs spyod la / rang  
 rang so so'i ci la ci 'dod kyi dngos po dka' las med par 'bad med lhun  
 gyis\* grub\*\* pa'i bsam don yid bzhin gyi nor bu lta bur len nas / chu  
 me shing 'dzoms pa'i sa bde skyid\* ngal bso zhing nyes skyon med  
 par / rang rang so so'i gnas su log pa dang / yul du 'ang sngar med  
 kyi so\* nams kyi (23b) las la brtson 'grus che shing / gna\*\*\* dus  
 kyi snga phyi mig ltos kyang zhing 'debs la / mkhas pas lo thog  
 rnam kyang je cher 'phel zhing rgyas pa dang / rgyal\* khirms gser  
 gyi gnya' shing chos bzhin skyong ba / dbang chen mtho non nye\*  
 ring med par bde skyid\* phun sum\*\* tshogs pa dang ldan par  
 byung ba ni / dpal 'brug pa rin po che ngag dbang rnam\* rgyal gyi  
 thugs rje dang sku drin yin no / gzhan yang sangs rgyas la\* khro  
 ba yod kyang 'dzin pa med pa'i dpe bzhin / sngar gong stobs kyis\*  
 'khor los\* bsgyur\*\* ba'i rgyal po chen po rnam kyis dbang ma  
 sgyur ba'i gshis / rang rang so so'i lung pa la dbang sgyur ba'i  
 stobs mnga' thang la mgu nas / shar phyogs kyi yul khams 'dir nga  
 che nga drag snyam pa'i nga rgyal gyis mnga' 'og tu 'dzul mi nyan  
 pa / ku ri lung nas / rgyal po dga' ba / dpon (24a) chen dar ma /  
 kha ling rgyal po / stong phu rgyal po / gung gdung rgyal po / nya  
 mkhar gdung / bla ma rgyal mtshan gyi mi brgyud dang gzhan  
 yang bka' la mi 'khri ba rnam kyang / sngar byas spangs shing da  
 byas dang du len pa'i 'gyod snang gi zhabs phyi ci 'gyur zhu ba la /  
 thugs rje brtse\* bas gzigs nas / btson dang bu gter bzhag pa las  
 dgongs\* yangs\*\* sku drin\*\*\* bskyangs\*\*\*\* nas / rang rang so  
 so'i yul du gang yod kyi khang zhing nor rdzas blon 'bangs dang  
 bcas pa gang yod rnam gnang nas / mi brgyud rim\* par bded cing  
 ding sang gi bar du skyid\* par\*\* yun du longs spyod cing bde bar  
 sdod rgyu byung ba ni / dpal ldan 'brug pa'i thugs rje phyogs ris  
 mi\* mnga' bas [ngan\* pa\*] tshar gcad [bzang\* po\*] rjes su 'dzin  
 pa las dge legs kyi dpal du gyur pa yin no //  
 zhes kyang smras so / dpal (24b) 'brug par lung lha'i gdung rgyud  
 kyis bstan pa'i ring lugs\* / lho mon kha bzhi las nyi ma shar phyogs  
 su byung zhing\* rgyas pa'i lo rgyus\*\* gsal ba'i me long 'di ni / dbu  
 mdzad dam chos rab rgyas sku dngos kyi zhal nas ji ltar gsungs pa  
 dang / rgan pa mig mthong rgyus\* yod rnam kyis smras pa bzhin /  
 shākya'i btsun pa ban rgan wa gindra'i ming gis yi ger 'khrul med  
 bkod pa'o // //

\*mtha'i

\*dgongs \*\*omitted

\*omitted \*\*byed

\*gyi \*\*grub

\*skyi

\*bsod \*\*gnas

\*rgyas

\*nyer

\*bskyid \*\*gsum

\*rnam

\*omitted

\*kyi

\*lo \*\*sgyur

\*shis

\*btso

\*gong \*\*yang  
\*\*\*mgri \*\*\*\*skyangs

\*omitted

\*skyi \*\*phar pha

\*omitted

\*lug

\*omitted \*\*rgyud

\*rgyu

(1a) The Clear Mirror [containing] the Story of How the Order Prophesied to the [School of the] Glorious 'Brug-pa by Its Divine Lineage Came and Spread in the Eastern Province of the Sun Within the 'Southern Mon Country of Four Approaches'<sup>1</sup> is contained [herein].

(1b) Obeisance to Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal!<sup>2</sup>

I bow my head with heartfelt devotion to the Dharmarāja Ngag-dbang rNam(-par)-rgyal(-ba) who turns the wheel of power pertaining to religious and secular authority on the broad surface of the world. I shall speak briefly about the manner in which the order of his teachings came to the Eastern Province of the Sun south of the Land of Snow.

(2a) Now, at the time when the Great sDe-srid gTsang-pa had in previous times subjugated and gained power over this realm of the Eastern Province, the treasurer of the Ri-bo dGa'-ldan-pa, sDe-pa Nang-so A-bo, having prepared many deceitful and cunning plots, summoned the army of the [Qośot] Mongol king Dalai Batur from Kukunor and the Great sDe-srid gTsang-pa was overthrown, his rule

(2b) seized and all his subjects overpowered.<sup>3</sup> At that time King bDe-ba of Kha-ling<sup>4</sup> and 'Brug-rgyal, [these] two, were in total disaffection over the question of the land and subjects of the Indian duars and so they went to submit the case to the sDe-srid of the Ri-bo dGa'-ldan-pa. They were granted two envoy officials from the lHa-sa government [to try their case] and having brought them along with them, they arrived at Kha-ling where the substantiality of the words of both King bDe-ba of Kha-ling and of 'Brug-rgyal were judged

before the two envoy officials. At that time, due to the fact that the peoples of India, Tibet and lHo Mon had not had much intercourse and so did not understand each other's languages, despite whatever manner was used to explain the accounts of the origins [of the dispute], the two envoy officials said they required interpreters who knew the Tibetan language as they themselves did not understand the language of the Mon-pa.

Accordingly, on 'Brug-rgyal's side Bla-ma rNam-sras sDo-rje, the son of the bla-ma of the Tibetan 'Brug-pa, Thub-bstan Pad-dkar<sup>5</sup>, and, on bDe-ba's side, the lTa-wang Bla-ma Chos-dbyings rGa-mtsho of

- (3a) La-'og Yul-gsum, both acted as interpreters. On investigating and judging in detail the substantiality of their accounts, it appeared they were the same. However, in accordance with the euphony [that can be achieved] in translating between the Tibetan and Mon-pa languages, when, on 'Brug-rgyal's side, the purport of his argument in proof of his case was explained with clarity, it appeared that the two envoy officials, for their part, seemed contented in their minds. Whereupon King bDe-ba experienced resentful jealousy and having mentally prepared a deceitful imputation, he cunningly declared it to the two envoy officials, saying: "Although you are the officials of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang -- the sky dGa'-ldan, the earth dGa'-ldan -- there is not even a single person doing you honour and service or plying you with ale, whereas there are many ladies and girls gathered who are serving ale
- (3b) to Bla-ma rNam-sras every day, continuously night and day. Since there is nobody doing this for you, I shall invite you to my house." After being conducted to King bDe-ba's house they were accorded infinite honour with many different kinds

of food and, in particular, they were plied and served with limitless kinds of drink including the finest rice ale, spirits and so forth, so that when the two officials recited various drunken stories King bDe-ba thought to himself: "Now I have got my chance." Once again he spoke slanderously, saying: "Now then, having invited you to my house, apart from doing you slight honour with food and drink I haven't any ale-servers such as the fine and beautiful girls who are like the daughters of gods whom Bla-ma rNam-sras has for his ale-servers." The two officials said: "Does he really have such beautiful girls?" "He definitely has them at the top of the district at Dar-ma-dar-phyi", said [the King]. The two officials said:

- (4a) "We too must go and see what they are like," and so they set off, the lords and their servants together with a retinue, reeling along in a drunken stupor. From a home where there were many beautiful young girls they took off shrieking "Ki ki!" as they went, with them/two of Bla-ma rNam-sras' sweethearts who were like goddesses, so that Bla-ma rNam-sras thought to himself: "It is unlawful to do such a thing / to innocent girls." Unable to bear it, he returned the insult of the shouts of "Ki ki!" Whereupon the envoy called Captain bsTan-srung came forward saying: "Are you resolved to return the insult in that way, having no regard for me as a person?" Bla-ma rNam-sras came out from inside the house, taking with him two yogin monks, and Captain bsTan-srung, the lord with his servants together with the retinue, killed the two yogin monks there. For
- (4b) his part, Bla-ma rNam-sras stuck a knife with great force into / the region of Captain bsTan-srung's heart and thinking: "Is he dead?", took fright and fled. Although he heard



news that since the Captain had a powerful protective amulet against weapons he had not died, he thought that as he [the Captain] was an officer who had been appointed by the Ri-bo dGa'-ldan-pa he himself would eventually have to face severe punishment as the result of <sup>an</sup> enquiry and so he went to La-'og Yul-gsum. / <sup>Proceeding</sup> by way of Ku-ri-lung(-pa) he came to Krong-sar rDzong and saw dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa.<sup>6</sup> In accordance with the detailed questions he was asked on the news, he gave his answers turn by turn and [the dPon-slob] simply nodded his head again and again and then declared: "You must go and have an audience with the Precious Bla-ma." Acting as a servant of the Precious dPon-slob he departed and so arrived at sPung-thang.<sup>7</sup>

Guided by the sDe-pa Great Precentor<sup>8</sup> he came into the  
 (5a) presence of the Precious Bla-ma Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal and made his obeisance. At the instant he saw him, the notion came to him that he must be Avalokiteśvara in person and he gained steadfast faith. Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che said to Bla-ma rNam sras: "Where is your home and birth-place? For what purpose have you come here?" Bla-ma rNam-sras replied:<sup>9</sup>  
 "My father's home is in rNam-rgyal Rab-brtan-rtse in dBu-gzhung. His name is Thub-bstan Pad-dkar. My birth-place is Tsha-se in the Eastern Province. From Grwa sDing-po-che my father was appointed bla-ma and sent by the 'Brug-pa incarnation sNyan-grags dPal-bzang to take charge of all the branch monasteries<sup>10</sup> that existed in the so-called 'Eastern Province of Mon-yul'. After I had also  
 (5b) stayed in charge of the branch monasteries which my father had controlled, I did not find favour in the eyes of the representatives of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang and the King of Kha-ling and so on account of this I have come before the

Precious Bla-ma to seek refuge." The Precious Bla-ma said: "With regard to your father Thub-bstan Pad-dkar — while I was at my seat of Ra-lung the sDe-pa Khri-dpon ('Myriarch') made <sup>me a</sup> / request after coming from <sup>12</sup> / his palace of sNang-dkar-rtse in Yar-'brog; when we, lord and disciples, had in compliance [with this request] established a great camp among the devotees of Yar-'brog sGang-gsum and were going around, he, Thub-bstan Pad-dkar, was a great exhorter to the virtue of the ma-ni recitation — and you are his son!" He rejoiced and the minds of the lord and disciple intermingled. [Bla-ma rNam-sras] offered his tonsure and was given the name of gNam-sa'i rDo-rje ('Vajra of the Sky and Earth') [as a mark of] his being fearless in spreading the teachings of the Glorious 'Brug-pa. Then he was gradually given all the initiations, authorisations and instructions (6a) and installed in the dignity of a 'Vajra-holder'. An auspicious installation ceremony was performed and he was given an infinite number of body, speech and mind-supports, religious objects and so on. [Bla-ma rNam-sras] said: "To propagate the dharma's teachings to the Eastern Province of the Sun / <sup>would</sup> <sup>be</sup> certainly / for the welfare of beings. In particular, however, in that region of the Eastern Province there are many chiefs and they are possessed of the pride and arrogance whereby one will not subordinate himself to another. It does not seem that the propagation of the order of the dharma's teachings by peaceful measures will meet with a great deal of success in that atrocious and barbarous border region that has never been subdued by fierce laws unless it is [first] subdued by means of [such] fierce laws." Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che said: "Since there is a prophecy that in the future my teachings shall flourish

and increase in that realm of the Eastern Province by means of the dual system,<sup>13</sup> at that time you must act according [to the prophecy] without losing courage."

- (6b) Bla-ma rNam-sras believed him and having made obeisance with heartfelt devotion and placed [Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's] feet on his head, he returned to Krong-gsar.

Then when three years had elapsed, the Chos-'khor dPon-po<sup>14</sup> of Bum-thang who had previously been the most important patron [of the 'Brug-pa in eastern Bhutan] was compelled by [various] circumstances to rebel, paying no heed to the orders of dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa. Although a great host was despatched up to two or three times, being unable to destroy him it returned. The dPon-slob thought to himself: "According to the existing prophecy of the [Zhabs-drung] bla-ma, it is inconceivable that he should not be subdued." Having prepared in his mind many kinds of cunning plots that would employ peaceful measures, he despatched a messenger and summoned Chos-mdzad rGyal-mo from Nub Chu-stod.<sup>15</sup> On commanding her to employ various methods, Chos-mdzad rGyal-mo declared: "The Chu-smad gDung bSod-nams dBang-po<sup>16</sup> is closer to the Chos-'khor dPon-po

- (7a) than I am and so I shall tell him to use cunning means in accordance with your command." So she spoke to him in accordance with the command but bSod-nams dBang-po also declared:<sup>17</sup> "The sDom-mkhar Mi-dpon dBang-thob is closer related by flesh and blood [i.e. on his mother's side, to the Chos-'khor dPon-po] than I am and so I shall make him use cunning means in accordance with the command." / <sup>However</sup> on speaking to sDom-mkhar dBang-thob in accordance with the command given by dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa, he [dBang-thob] said: "Although there is nobody better able to

accomplish it than myself, as for the various measures that are to be employed in accordance with whatever orders are given, since my maternal uncle the Landlord

of lCags-mkhar<sup>18</sup> together with his paternal relatives including the elderly matrons are the household officials of the Chos-'khor dPon-po, I shall try and see if I can entice them." Having said this he departed.

Then dBang-thob also spoke to his maternal uncles who were the household officers about the various measures which dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa had commanded. Believing him they agreed, saying: "We shall fulfill the order just as it has been given." Then dBang-thob, having proceeded

(7b) to Krong-gsar by stages, reported to dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa the recent news and so the dPon-slob declared:

"Now a great force must invade." Having summoned the great force of the Tsho-chen<sup>19</sup> from sPung-thang headed by the

commander-in-chief gNyer-pa 'Brug rNam-rgyal<sup>20</sup> and the soldiers of the district under Wa-can,<sup>21</sup> namely those of

Shar Rus<sup>22</sup> -pa'i-sa dGe-gling, Nyi-shor and dGa'-seng,

dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa acted as commander of the troops of Mang-sde-lung and other places. With Bla-ma

rNam-sras acting as the battle guide, the soldiers surrounded the fortress of Yur-ba-zhing<sup>22</sup> in Bum-thang

Chos-'khor and when they stormed it the household officials who had previously given their consent took them in and

the fortress of Yur-ba-zhing was defeated. The Chos-'khor dPon-po's party took fright and with a horse apiece they fled to Tibet. Then the subjects, the communities and

villages — all of Bum-thang sDe-bzhi — were brought to subjugation. Having taken charge of the relics of Padma

Gling-pa<sup>23</sup> and other highly esteemed sacred objects and

(8a) also infinite kinds of articles of wealth, arrangements for building a fortress at Bya-dkar rdZong were prepared and the 'Blind Steward' was appointed rdzong-bdag.<sup>24</sup> So all the people assembled there said: "Alas, this person is blind and lame and so will not do as chief." dPon-slob Mi-'gyur said: "It is contained in a prophecy that there is a karmic bond with former times. An Indian king called the Sindhu Rāja came to Bum-thang lCags-mkhar in previous times and Padmasambhava of Q-rgyan declared to him: 'You will be reborn in the future as a blind and lame man and become a chief gaining power here in Bum-thang,' and this is contained in the prophecy."<sup>25</sup> On saying this, everyone believed him.

At a time when all the troops were happily resting

(8b) there after winning victory in battle, the time came for the fulfilment of the prophecy which had formerly been given by Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che. Without having committed any crime, lHa-bu-dar the chief of Rag-sa in Ku-ri-lung to the east, was killed by both Dar-ma the great chief<sup>26</sup> of sKyigling and King dGa'-ba of gZhung Phag-gi-gdung<sup>27</sup> who had agreed on this among themselves. Thereupon his widow and the officers and subjects thought they should retaliate but as their strength and power were not sufficient for this they fell to wondering what would be best done. At this point they heard the news that the great force of the 'Brug-pa had arrived in Bum-thang and had defeated the Chos-'khor dPon-po and so the widow of Rag-sa and the subjects were overjoyed and despatched messengers to invite

(9a) the great force. When they arrived at the central camp, the great force set off and went to Ku-ri-lung. Both King dGa'-ba and the great chief Dar-ma engaged the army on its path and

fought. Both their armies were instantly defeated and taking fright they fled. Their remaining officers fell into the hands [of the invaders] and were imprisoned.

The subjects and communities/<sup>of both of them</sup> and all of Upper and Lower Ku-ri-lung were subjugated. In time a fortress was built and given the name of lHun-grub-rtse. <sup>28</sup> Bla-ma 'Brug Phun-tshogs was appointed rdzong-dpon.

When the great force set off in the direction of Kho-long in the east, the people of Kho-long took fright and were brought together in subjection after they had made acts of submission, and the fortress of bKra-shis <sup>29</sup> Yang-rtse at Dong-sti was established. Frightening rumours caused the people of all parts of 'Brong-mdo-gsum and

(9b) Zang-lung to make acts of submission. Then the great force turned back and came to sMin-rgyal Yul-gsum. At that time the King of sTong-phu's <sup>30</sup> strength and dominion was quite considerable and he had been violently oppressing the people of Mol-ba-lung. Thereupon the Kheng-po <sup>31</sup> people of gZhong-sgar, being disaffected, held a discussion in order to request support and so Chos-mdzad dKar-po-gdung went to sMin-rgyal Yul-gsum in order to invite the great force. In his submission to the two commanders he said: "Since in our country there is strong ground for a fortress and the land of its many districts is rich please come there." For their part the two commanders agreed and so when the great force had just set off, taking fright at the fearful rumours they heard of the news of how the Chos-'khor dPon-po and the very powerful chiefs of Ku-ri-lung had previously

(10a) been instantly defeated, many parties of chiefs and all the communities along the way were terrified and lost their courage and so they were placed in subjection. The King of

sTong-phu had prepared arrangements for offering resistance after making weapons for a stockade but at the very instant the great force advanced he was destroyed so that not even his name was left. When it arrived at gZhong-sgar the rulers and officers of sNga-tshang [and] Phyi-tshang<sup>32</sup> together with their retinues were fighting and contending, having [previously] separated into two factions, and at this time of turmoil both were astonished by the strength of the great force. Thinking that whoever <sup>should be</sup> first to seek protection and assistance would be accorded special favour and preference, both factions scrambled to make acts of submission. Among them King Dar-'jam<sup>33</sup> together with his [cousin]brothers and chief councillors came from sNga-tshang, King Zla'u-la<sup>34</sup> together with his [cousin]brothers and chief followers came from Phyi-tshang and King rDo-re came from Ba-geng Bre-mi He-long and they made a promise saying:

"From this time on we shall fulfil any command given us by the Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa." Although there was no difference in the acquiescence expressed in the letters of each faction, the two commanders showed some favour to the people of sNga-tshang since they had been extremely kind to Bla-ma rNam-sras in the past. Then the two commanders made preparations for [building] a fortress at gZhong-sgar and resided there.

Bla-ma rNam-sras, taking with him a detachment of the army, established a camp at the bridge of Weng-li in U-dza-rong and stayed there. Envoy couriers were sent to the Five Hosts of rTseng-mi, to the people of bKra-shis-sgang, sKang-lung and Kha-ling to whom they declared: "Send clear replies as to whether you are going to make acts of submission or whether you are going to come forth to battle."

Thereupon, because of the feelings of resentment that existed between Bla-ma rNam-sras and the people of

(11a) Kha-ling due to their former discord, the army of the Kha-ling people came to U-dza-rong and the Kha-ling people said to the U-dza-rong people: "You can show us properly the lie of the valleys and mountains. We shall [together] use the strength of our army and the power of our battle skill." Saying this they let loose yells. At a time when they had prepared a stockade for battle, about three score soldiers from the centre of Bla-ma rNam-sras' army swam and reached the near side of the Grang-ma'i Chu river so that all the Kha-ling people who were there thought to themselves: "It seems that neither water nor fire can do any harm to those soldiers." They hesitated in offering resistance and, moreover, King rDo-re of Ba-geng, because he was a close mentor to the U-dza-rong

(11b) people, spoke words of counsel to them benevolently, saying: "Do not make schemes to offer resistance to the army of the 'Brug-pa having paid heed to the words of the Kha-ling people. The Chos-'khor dPon-po of Bum-thang and the powerful great chiefs of Ku-ri-lung were defeated as their resistance could not cope. What is more, since the Kha-ling people proceed to the Indian duars in winter you will not be able to guard the bridge alone. Instead of that it would be better to make acts of submission as from now." When, in accordance with these words, the U-dza-rong people had handed over the bridge of Weng-li after making acts of submission, the Kha-ling and rKang-lung people too had no course except simply to pretend to make verbal expressions of submission outwardly; apart from this, as for their internal acts of submission, they were discontented and had



no thought whatsoever of capitulating. If [it be wondered] what the cause of this was, [firstly] King bDe-ba of Kha-ling and Bla-ma rNam-sras, [these] two, had not been  
 (12a) in accord and so [the latter] had left his home.  
[Secondly], moreover, the Kha-ling people delighted in their large force of men and in their strength and dominion in this region of the Eastern Province and so they would not give ear [to commands]. And [thirdly], Pho-brang A-chi,<sup>35</sup> King of the rKang-lung people, both father and son, and Bla-ma Nag-seng of Me-rag<sup>36</sup> had great strength and dominion and due to the fact that they were close mentors to the rulers of the dGa'-ldan-pa they trusted them as allies in their support. Those were the basic reasons for their refusing to capitulate.

Then King sTobs-ldan of rTseng-mi together with great chiefs and headmen came forth and declared: "We, father and [cousin-]brothers, shall render service in accordance with whatever the king and officials of sNga-tshang do," and so they made acts of submission.

At that time the people of bKra-shis-sgang and the people of Bus-mkhar, [these] two, were not in accord over the question of land property and so they were contending.

When these circumstances were prevailing Chos-mdzad dKar-po-gdung from gZhong-sgar said to the bKra-shis-sgang people:  
 (12b) "Rather than quarrelling with the sBi-mkhar people, if you go to the Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa for support then great strength and power will come to you." Thereupon, after the king and officials of bKra-shis-sgang, [cousin-]brothers, had held a discussion, Tshe-dbang rGyal-po and Slang-nga, [these] two, came before Bla-ma rNam-sras at the bridge of Weng-li and said: "We look to you for our protection. The land of

our home is rich and there is a strong place for a fortress, so please come there." At that time the kings of sNga-tshang [and] Phyi-tshang and all the people of Nyi-ma Che-rigs [and Nyi-ma] Chung-rigs assembled and in the words of promise they made it was declared: "Although up till recently we have been subjects of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang-pa, from this time on we submit to the authority of the Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa." The kings and officials, the chief councillors and the envoys then departed each to their own homes.

(13a) Then, after Bla-ma rNam-sras too had returned to gZhong-sgar together with the army, he offered to the two commanders the tribute wealth, the gold and silver, and on reporting the news in detail the two commanders declared: "Now that's how it is for the time being."

Then a chief called gDung Nor-bu dBang-phyug came with a few servants to gZhong-sgar from sTūng-la-'bi in the west and said to the two commanders: "Having gained power throughout all the realms of our homeland in Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum, the gDung of Nya-mkhar is seizing the communities of others and causing much unlawful affliction to all the subjects and communities.<sup>38</sup> Please come to subdue him. I shall act as the army's guide, [using my] knowledge of the paths and mountains," he

(13b) promised. The two commanders agreed and went there with the army. On the way the [cousin-]brothers of gDung Nor-bu dBang[-phyug] and his officials and subjects welcomed them with meat and ale and served them many kinds of food with infinite respect. On arriving at their homes each made offerings of rich gifts. "Since from now on we submit to the authority of the Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa, we beg

you not to forsake showing loving mercy during the lifetime of [we] fathers and for successive generations of [our] sons," they said and, leading the army on its way, they proceeded by stages. Of all the gDung and chiefs of Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum, including those of Go-zhing, Phang-mkhar, Su-brang, Go-phu, Ta-li and 'Bu-li, who involuntarily [surrendered], some bowed down with devotion and reverence, some were subdued in terror and fright, while some bowed down at the fearful sound of rumours. When [the army] arrived at the strongpoint occupied by the gDung of Nya-mkhar's castle, that gDung of Nya-mkhar, having previously acquired great strength and dominion and gained power over Kheng-rigs rNam-gsum, was feeling proud at having then waged war and surrounded the strongpoint occupied by the castle of gZhong-sgar, and at having attacked with a secret force and conquered the strongpoint occupied by the fortress of Bu-brag. So he had layed out a stockade to offer resistance and had prepared arrangements for battle. Thereupon the soldiers of the great force simultaneously let loose such brave cries that the sky and earth boiled and the roar of all the muskets being fired simultaneously filled the three voids.<sup>39</sup> Terrified, the ruler and his officials together with their retinues, all of them, were astonished. Trembling and losing courage, they fled

(14b) involuntarily but then once again having bowed to authority they offered an infinite number of hostages and articles of wealth. Thereafter all the communities and village districts<sup>of Kheng</sup> were made subject.

Then [the army] returned and along the path it took to Krong-gsar, Bla-ma rGyal-mtshan of Re-phes behaved

obstinately, refusing to comply with orders, and although he took flight he later came to rMa-bya-gdang-sa in order to contend, so he too met with his end and was rendered nameless.<sup>40</sup>

Then the great forces arrived at Krong-gsar. }  
dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa gave them the boon of a celebration and an infinite number of articles of wealth. Satisfied and enriched, each then returned to his own home in a state of happiness and contentment.

(15a) Then after some months Bla-ma rNam-sras thought enquiries should be made to determine whether or not the words of the oath which had previously been taken in the region of the Eastern Province were being observed in accordance with the promise. Also since it was a subject area, a custom of taxation and corvée should be introduced. So he went to his maternal uncles' place at Tsha-se<sup>41</sup> and resided there. Despatching envoys in all directions, the proclamation that taxes and corvée would be required was sent around. However, when the area was subject to the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang-pa, the custom of implementing taxation and corvée did not exist in large measure, so now<sup>which</sup> the communities would not immediately deliver up taxes / seemed to their minds oppressive. When, therefore, the Bla-ma's servants and bodyguards had been sent out in various directions and were proceeding around collecting taxes by means of great force, King Chang-lo-dpal of Kha-ling, the ruler and his officials together with the retinue, King Pho-brang A-chi of bTsan-mkhar, father and children, and King Sangs-rgyal-po of gGen-mkhar were discontented; the three of  
 (15b) them held a discussion and devised a plan of rebellion.

On hearing reports of this, Bla-ma rNam-sras summoned an army from the districts around gZhong-sgar, [namely] from rTsa-mang, sNga-tshang and Phyi-tshang, [and also] from the Five Hosts of rT seng-mi and from the bKra-shis-sgang people. King Chang-lo-dpal of Kha-ling led forth an inconceivable number of soldiers from Phyi-'khor [and] Nang-'khor in Kha-ling and, having come to gCen-mkhar, prepared a stockade for offering resistance. King Pho-brang, having made a stockade and defences for offering resistance from Pha-phyi-mang, had prepared his arrangements without hindrance. Thereupon the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas, acting as commander, led forth the troops mentioned above and departed. Because of the hatred which King Tshe-ring of 'Dom-mkhar felt for Pho-brang A-chi for his having previously seized one of his officials, both King Tshe-ring<sup>42</sup> of 'Dom-mkhar and his [cousin-] brother (16a) guided and welcomed the army and kept it in their home.

On the following day an invasion was made on both gCen-mkhar and Pha-chi-mang and so the Kha-ling people, who were dispirited by the strength of the army, issued forth from within the village stockade of gCen-mkhar / King Glang-nga<sup>43</sup> in order to capitulate of Grong-stod, wearing armour and waving a sword, unhesitatingly ran off in pursuit of the soldiers so that the soldiers who had gone to welcome [the invaders] took fright and [re-]entered the village stockade. After King Glang-nga had also entered together with them, King Sangs-rgyas-po of gCen-mkhar came forth from within to offer resistance but the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas fired his musket at him and he was killed there. So the soldiers who were inside took fright and were unable to (16b) resist. Thereupon King Chang-lo-dpal climbed to the top

of the mTho-ral-pa watch tower and fired arrows but he could not hit the soldiers who were outside. Tshe-ābang rGyal-po then went and having enticed him skilfully and spoken words of good counsel to him, he led him away and when a banner was hoisted at the top of the mTho-ral-pa watch tower King Pho-brang and his soldiers saw it from Pha-phyi-mang and thought: "Now the king's soldiers have been defeated." The soldiers took fright and fled in different directions and King Pho-brang was imprisoned. On the following day Bla-ma rNam-sras came from Tsha-se. Having imprisoned King Chang-lo-dpal and Pho-brang, both father and son,<sup>44</sup> he sent them off to the capital at sPung-thang bDe-ba-can.<sup>45</sup> The mTho-ral-pa watch tower was

- (17a) demolished from its foundations. The officials and subjects and all the communities were brought into subjection. As for his searching for a strongpoint for a fortress, dPon-slob Mi-'gyur brTan-pa had previously declared: "If a fortress is established at Beng-mkhar, a place which is rich and strong, it will eventually cause great benefit to the Teachings." Even though the Beng-mkhar people had also made a request saying: "It would be better to build a fortress in our village", he /Bla-ma rNam-sras/ would not listen but /merely/ took control of the strongpoint in Beng-mkhar and left the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas there. /Instead/ he established a fortress at the strongpoint /occupied by/ the district castle of Byi-ri-zor. All the nobility of the Eastern Province, /including/ the kings, their chief councillors and envoys assembled there and after a court of justice had been established, taxes and corvée were also collected there.

Bla-ma rNam-sras thought to himself: "Before he passed

- (17b) away Jo-bo Khams-pa<sup>46</sup> of Ra-ti gave me his daughter and made me his son-in-law. But now since he is dead and no longer, what sort of regard do the officials and subjects of the sGam-ri district feel for me? Bla-ma Nag-seng of Me-rag is the clerical brother of the dGa'ldan Bla-ma<sup>47</sup> so I shall see what he is up to." Together with a detachment of soldiers he set off, proceeding directly towards Me-rag but Bla-ma Nag-seng was not there, having left his home<sup>48</sup> together with his monk disciples and gone to La-'og Yul-gsum. All the communities of Me-rag [and] Sag-steng and of the sGam-ri district made acts of submission and were brought into subjection, but the Chos-mdzad of sBis-mkhar took off in flight. The Kings Zu-gi, Ser-kong and rDo-rje rGyal-po from Bar-tsho-gsum and<sup>from</sup> Wang-ser-kung-pa<sup>49</sup> and Sangs-rgyas rGya-mtsho from Ram-gang-ra -- those four kings -- guided [Bla-ma rNam-sras to their homes] and so he arrived there. The other [rulers], although not discontented, submitted
- (18a) in the natural course of things and were brought into subjection.

Having returned to Byi-ri-zor,<sup>50</sup> about eight months passed during which he prepared and carried out as he saw fit plans for the 'external' regulation of [public] order and for the 'internal' building of the fortress, the construction of defences and so forth.

Then, with Bla-ma Nag-seng of Me-rag acting as guide, a Tibetan army and all the forces of the Mon-pa tribes led by the two commanders, the 'Phan-yul Doctor' and sDe-pa 'Dzam-lha,<sup>51</sup> came and established a camp at sKyil-ling-shing. When they made an invasion of Grong-stod in Beng-mkhar the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas killed three men in quick succession with his musket. Thereupon the forces became

being  
 agitated and / unable to attack, they retreated to sKyiling-shing. Most of the forces then went to Byi-ri-zor  
 (18b) in Kha-ling and surrounded the fortress. In addition to the fact that the Kha-ling people had since previous times been disaffected, Bla-ma Nag-seng and the Chos-mdzad of Bus-mkhar deceived them, saying: "Your King Chang-lo-dpal has come into our hands out of the 'Brug-pa's capital," and on showing them local articles of dress, food and apparel, the Kha-ling people believed them and rebelled. Being unable to do them any harm, Bla-ma rNam-sras fled <sup>to his home in</sup> Tsha-se. The Kha-ling people ambushed his party and the Minister, Precentor Nor-bu, was killed there. The Bla-ma himself entered Tsha-se, whereupon all the forces gathered there and surrounded it with a fence so that he could not escape. Since Nor-bu A-chi, King of Na-rang-thung-pa, and his cousin brothers were the trusted confidants of the dGa-ldan-pa, he Bla-ma rNam-sras used them as negotiators and  
 (19a) having given them Khams-pa of Ra-ti's large pale-coloured turquoise as a ransom lest he should lose his life, he was surrounded by the soldiers without injury. At sKyiling-shing he saw the head and other limbs of the Precentor Nor-bu which had been brought before the two Tibetan commanders.

Although Beng-mkhar had not previously been brought to destruction due to the strength of its position, the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas and all the rulers and officials of Beng-mkhar held a discussion as to what would be best done, during which the Precentor said: "Now that the Bla-ma rNam-sras has fallen into the hands of the soldiers, there is nothing we can do about it. I shall now for the time being go to the provincial capital at Krong-gsar and after requesting the forces of a supporting army I shall arrive



back. Until then you make acts of submission to the  
Tibetans and remain here." The Precentor himself went  
 (19b) to Krong-gsar. The Beng-mkhar people made acts of  
 submission but, as for the fortress, they refused to  
 hand it over. After their pledges and hostages had  
 been received, they declared: "Now we are under the  
 authority of the dGa'-ldan Pho-brang."

Taking with them Bla-ma rNam-sras, the pledges and  
 hostages, the armies separated in different directions  
 and returned to their various homes. Bla-ma rNam-sras  
 was taken to lHa-sa and put in prison, from where he fled  
 and was chased. His pursuers caught and killed him.

As for the Precentor, after he had reported in detail  
 all the news about the soldiers to Krong-gsar dPon-slob  
 Mi-'gyur brTan-pa, the dPon-slob said: "You have committed  
 a small mistake as it would have gone well if you had  
 taken control of a site for a fortress at Beng-mkhar as I  
 had said previously. In any case," he said, "since we have  
 the prophecy of the Bla-ma Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, we shall  
 establish the Teachings once more." sKu-drung Pad-dkar  
 Chos-'phel and the 'Blind Steward',<sup>52</sup> these two, acted as  
 (20a) commanders of a detachment of the Great Hosts<sup>53</sup> of the capital, of  
 all the available forces under the authority of dBang-'dus  
 Pho-brang<sup>54</sup> and<sup>of</sup> all the available forces of the Mang-sde-lung  
 people. With the Precentor guiding it, the great force set  
 off and proceeded on its way, so that fearful sounds as if  
 the sky and earth were boiling came forth. After King sTong-  
 ldan of rTseng-mi had guided and welcomed it, the army  
 arrived in the second month of the lunar calendar at its  
 great central camp at Gong-thung. When the Dag-pa<sup>55</sup> soldiers  
 of Be-mi came to Bar-tsho-gsum in order to harass the

defenders, the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas led a detachment from Gong-thung and went there. The forces of the Dag-pa took control of a strongpoint at the top of mKar-sing-pa and, on first coming into contact with  
 (20b) the forces of the 'Brug-pa, made preparations for battle. When the Precentor fired a shot of his musket, about five score men of the Dag-pa took fright at what they saw as a sorcerous device, not knowing whether it was caused by the magical power of the 'Protectors of Religion' or by the karma of their previous lives; raising a commotion, they all fell from the top of the mKhar-sing-pa rock into a ravine and died.

The other soldiers were terrified and fled, with the result that the leaders of the Eastern Province who had been arrogant in their unwillingness to subordinate themselves to authority lost their courage too. After the army of the 'Brug-pa had gone to Beng-mkhar and taken control of the strongpoint, envoy-couriers were despatched in all four directions, declaring: "Send clear replies as to whether you are going to come to make acts of submission or whether you are going to maintain military camps in your various homes." All the people of the Phyi-'khor and Nang-'khor of Kha-ling, of Las-pa and Los-pa  
 (21a) in U-dza-rong(-pa) and of Me-rag and Sa-stengs in sGam-ri-lung(-pa) agreed and so all their kings, chief councillors and leaders came before the Precentor. Thereupon the Precentor brought these subjects, together with their 'tribute-meat', 'tribute-wealth', gifts and offerings, before the two commanders at Gong-thung. The two commanders said: "There being no need for you to contend with your popular forces, it is very good that, through broad counsels,

you should have come here." Then in order to swear oaths they called as their divine witnesses upon all the 'Guardians of Commandments', the 'Oath-bound' deities and the 'Protectors of Religion' after pleasing them with supplications and offerings. For their human witnesses, after satisfying them with gifts of food and articles of wealth, they called upon the elders of the 'Great Hosts', the elders of dBang-'dus Pho-brang, the elders of Mang-sde-lung(-pa),<sup>56</sup> Chos-mdzad rGyal-mo of Chu-stod,<sup>57</sup> Chos-mdzad dKar-po-gdung<sup>58</sup> of gZhong-sgar, King Dar-'jam<sup>59</sup> of sNga-tshang, King Zla'u-la<sup>60</sup> of Phyi-tshang, King rDo-re<sup>61</sup> of Ba-geng and King sTong-ldan<sup>62</sup> of rTseng-mi. In front of the gods and men they had called upon to witness, all the kings, chief councillors and leaders of the Eastern Province pronounced the words of the oath, each declaring: "As from today onwards we cast behind us the dGa!-ldan Pho-brang-pa as our lords and receive before us the Hierarchs of the  
We shall fulfil  
'Brug-pa, / whatever commands are given and whatever we are told to do." Thus they took the oath and pronounced it. Having collected hostages and 'monk levies' in accordance with circumstances as was seen fit, the 'Blind Steward' together with the army returned to the capital.<sup>63</sup>

(22a) sKu-drung Pad-dkar Chos-'phel with his retinue went to Beng-mkhar and having taken up residence in the house of King lHa-lnga of Grong-stod, the defences of a fortress<sup>64</sup> were constructed. At Grong-stod an upper citadel was built. At Grong-smad the fortress' central tower together with its encircling rampart walls was built, after which he [Pad-dkar Chos-'phel] went there and took up residence. He instituted the laws of both secular law and spiritual law. The Precentor [Dam-chos Rab-rgyas] acted as minister, turning the

wheel of method. He pressed down on the upper orders with laws and protected the lower orders with skilful measures. Without regard to wealth, personal desires or status [in issuing] fair edicts, the laws and the discharge of government affairs showed favour to the good and contempt for the evil, thus eliminating the possibility of acts of plunder committed from above or acts of cunning committed from below. If there were disobedient persons, severe punishments were meted upon their bodies and lives, so that people were terrified; reports of this were not only noised abroad but spread everywhere and because of their force, the order of the Teachings<sup>65</sup> exists up to present times in the Eastern Province, a token to the achievements of both the sKu-drung and the Precentor.

(22b)

During their time the King of Gung-gdung, whose land and hills were made up of narrow ravines, cragged and remote, acted obstinately, refusing to subordinate. Later, after some years had gone by, sKu-drung Pad-dkar Chos-'phel and gSol-dpon bsTan-pa Don-ldan both invaded Gung-gdung with a force. The King was subdued and brought into subjugation.

Later, as the ruling rdzong-dpon(s) [of bKra-shis-sgang] succeeded each other by turn, they acted with increasing love, upholding, guarding and diffusing the Precious Teachings by means of the dual system so that the sphere and dominion of the Teachings' order was raised up to the heavens. Thereafter, in all the broad realms of the subjects and their communities the abundant enjoyment of food and wealth increased and among them there was an absence of strife and contention. Trade routes having been opened up

(23a)

in all four directions, each person is now able to obtain spontaneously as if by means of a wish-fulfilling gem, without difficulty or exertion, his heart's desire of whatever goods he wants after having searched easily for the rich abundance of whatever articles he should desire, without theft or banditry wherever he goes, to India or Tibet, to the east or west — at the starting point, on the way and at the destination, these three, throughout the four directions — under the powerful cool shade of the white parasol of fair edicts that is hoisted and revolved in the heavens. Then, having rested contentedly at places where water, fire and wood abound, each person returns without harm to his own place.<sup>66</sup> In their homes too, because they

(23b) work with great diligence in agriculture as never before and due to their skill in cultivating by being attentive to the timing of ploughing, transplanting etc. observed in former ages, harvests are also caused to increase and multiply. And the golden yoke of secular law administered according to religious principles is devoid of partiality in pressing down on the powerful higher orders. That all of this has come forth with abundant happiness is due to the mercy and kindness of the Precious One of the Glorious 'Brug-pa, Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.

Furthermore — in accordance with the example of the Buddha who, although having a wrathful aspect, has no 'clinging' — because the great bāla-cakravarti-rājas of former times did not gain power over the whole area, each delighting in the strength and dominion they acquired from gaining power in their own lands, the petty rulers in this region of the Eastern Province/ <sup>used to</sup> refuse to subordinate themselves to authority on account of their pride in thinking:

"I am great, I am better." But on seeing with loving compassion that King dGa'-ba<sup>67</sup> and the Great Chief Dar-ma<sup>68</sup> of Ku-ri-lung, the King of Kha-ling,<sup>69</sup> the King of sTong-phu,<sup>70</sup> the King of Gung-gdang,<sup>71</sup> the gDung of Nya-mkhar,<sup>72</sup> the descendants of Bla-na rGyal-mtshan<sup>73</sup> and, moreover, all those who had not abided to commands were [now] performing whatever works of service that came their way in a state of repentance that forsook their previous actions and purified their present deeds, those that had been imprisoned and those <sup>sons who</sup> / had been kept as hostages were favoured with remissions and [re-]granted whatever houses, fields, articles of wealth, officers and subjects they each had in their various homes. So their descendants follow in succession and that they should up to the present be enjoying contentment for long periods and living happily is due to the impartial mercy of the Glorious 'Brug-pa(s), [a mercy] which, having eradicated the evil and assisted the good, has become a glory of virtue.

Thus it has been said.

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(24b) This Clear Mirror [containing] the Story of How the Order Prophesied to the [School of the] Glorious 'Brug-pa by its Divine Lineage Came and Spread in the Eastern Province of the Sun Within the 'Southern Mon Country of Four Approaches' was set down in writing unerringly by the reverend one of the Śākya, the old monk named Wa-gindra (Ngag-dbang)<sup>74</sup> in accordance with whatever the Precentor Dam-chos Rab-rgyas<sup>75</sup> recounted in person and with what was related by elderly persons who had themselves witnessed and experienced [the events recorded herein].

Notes to Text II

1. nyi-ma ('sun') here and in the text below has a purely rhetorical function. The area referred to as the Eastern Province is the region between Krong-sar and the eastern border of the country.  
lHo Mon Kha bZhi is the old name for Bhutan (Aris 1976: 43 note 63).
2. The first Zhabs-drung (1594-?1651), founder of the Bhutanese state.
3. This relates to the defeat in 1642 of the gTsang ruler, bsTan-skyong dBang-po, by Guŕi Khan, chief of the Qoŕot Mongol tribe who is referred to here by a Mongolian title, Dalai Batur. The phyag-mdzod of the dGa'-ldan-pa (= dGe-lugs-pa) school, who is here given the name of sDe-pa Nang-so A-bo, can be identified with bSod-nams Chos-'phel, 'regent' of the 5th Dalai Lama, who played a vital part in inviting Guŕi to attack the gTsang forces and place his master on the throne. On the events leading up to and following this crucial event in Tibetan history, see Shakabpa 1976: 397-462.

This opening passage of the Lo-rgyus is important for its assertion that the gTsang-pa rule had extended south into this region of Bhutan. No doubt, however, the connection was as tenuous as that which existed later under dGe-lugs-pa rule, as we see on f. 15a below.

4. See rGyal-rigs, f. 19b.
5. See f. 5a-b below and the notes thereto.

6. Mi-'gyur brTan-pa was the first governor (or dpon-slob) of Krong-sar. The date of his appointment is not certain but must have taken place some years before 1651 when the Zhabs-drung went into retreat. Mi-'gyur brTan-pa later succeeded as the third 'Brug sDe-srid in 1667 and reigned for fourteen years down to 1680. Accounts of his rule are found in LCB I, ff. 94b-96a, and ff. 68b-70a of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas. The annexation of eastern Bhutan is always regarded as his personal achievement, though it is clear from this text that he never took to the field himself, but instead directed the whole operation from his stronghold in Krong-sar. The exact date of the annexation cannot be determined from this account but it seems likely to have been in the 1650's during the Zhabs-drung's 'retreat'; there is no mention of the Zhabs-drung's direct involvement in the campaign and he only appears here (ff. 4b-6b) at its prelude, some three years before it began in earnest. The whole campaign is briefly alluded to in PBP (ff. 144b) in a passage describing the areas taken over by the 'Brug-pa authorities during the 'retreat' of Zhabs-drung. More specifically, the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (f. 59a) maintains that the Eastern Province was ceded to the new realm in the year 1655. That seems to be the interpretation warranted by: shing-mo-lug lor shar-phyogs Kha-ling tshun 'brug-lung dkar-mor bsgyur-ba'i bar-du. This appears in a passage on the first sde-srid and derives from the bstan-rtsis quoted in PBP, f. 145b.

During Mi-'gyur brTan-pa's tenure of the office of 'Brug sDe-srid (1667-1680), the western border of the



country was extended westward towards the area around Kalimpong in West Bengal. (This used to be referred to as British Bhutan, following the annexation of 1865-6). The westward movement brought the government of Bhutan into conflict with the authorities of Both Sikkim and Tibet. Shakabpa (1976:447-8) has used some interesting Tibetan documents which deal with this period (1668-78), particularly with the role played by the Lepcha chieftain Mon-pa A-lcog, the main opponent of the Bhutanese.

7. sPung-thang is the literary name for sPu-na-kha, the winter capital of Bhutan. The rdzong there was built in 1637 (LCB I, f. 35b and PBP, f. 97b).
8. bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas, the 1st 'Brug sDe-srid (ruled 1651-56). For accounts of his rule see LCB I, ff. 92a-93b and ff. 58a-59b of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas.
9. It is worth introducing at this point a long passage (ff. 20b-22a) from the undated biography of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (1689-1713) by the 9th Head Abbot of Bhutan, Shākya Rin-chen (regn. 1744-55). It provides a quite different, and very likely apocryphal, account of the parentage of Bla-ma rNam-sras. According to this version his father is said to have been the 'illegitimate' son of bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma (1567-1619), father of the great Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma is said to have had a large number of tantric consorts; the 2nd 'Brug sDe-srid bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-grags (regn. 1656-67) is claimed to have been the product of one such union. However, <sup>similar</sup> the claim here was doubtless made to aggrandize the pedigree of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, the first in a line of incarnations who re-embodied the Zhabs-drung's own son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje (1631-? 1681); according to this tradition, our Bla-ma rNam-sras was the step-brother of Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan's grand-father. It provides a good example of the strong temptation to reinforce the slender threads of incarnational succession by backing it with family ties. The passage is also important for providing independent corroboration to the story of the eastward expansion of the Bhutanese state as told here in the Lo-rgyus. It is interesting to note that when the passage was written a treaty between Tibet and Bhutan was in force, in contrast to the period when these events took place. The treaty in question was no doubt the one drawn up by the Bhutanese

and Pho-lha-nas, the Tibetan ruler, in about 1730.

Perceiving that there was a special need to bring benefit to the Teachings in the future, he [bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma, 1567-1619] attended on various wise ladies who possessed the signs of dākinīs of gnosis as his 'companions on the path' (lam-gyi grogs). Consequently a son was born in the region of Yam-'brog and by stages he came to the residence [of the 'Brug-pa at Ra-lung]. He was given the name Thugs-dam Pad-dkar and was bestowed with the precepts of maturation and release. Having resided in meditation at various hermitages, he then went to Grwa sDing-po-che (see Ferrari 1959:55 and map), the seat of the great Omniscient One Padma dKar-po [1527-92]. He surrendered himself to the great scholar-sage Rin-chen dPal-bzang [cf. sNyan-grags dPal-bzang in the Lo-rgyus]. By command of that lord he was commissioned to tame the beings of the Eastern Realm of the southern region (lho-rgyud shar-phyogs-kyi rgyal-khams), and so he brought great benefit to beings by means of the six-syllable mantra, the essence of Arya Mahākaraṇā. He became known as the King of Tsha-sa and so received honour. This lord also took to himself a girl possessing the signs [of a dākinī] and Bla-ma rNam-sras was born to them. Then on his return [to Tibet] he built a monastery at the restful abode called Brag-dkar in La-'og Yul-gsum [in Kameng] and stayed there in meditation. There too a son was born to him and he gave him the name of Chos-skyong.

At that time the Precious One of the 'Brug-pa, the Mighty Dharmarāja Ngag-dbang rNam(-par)-rgyal(-ba) [1594-? 1651], had himself come to these Southern Lands and was gradually establishing the teachings of religion and the state. It was then that Bla-ma rNam-sras came to be on bad terms with King bDe-ba of Kha-gling and consequently he hastened to the presence of Chos-rgyal Mi-'gyur bsTan-pa [3rd 'Brug sDe-srid, 1667-80] who was then residing as the spyi-bla [see glossary] of Chos-'khor Rab-rtse [Krong-sar]. Out of broad and loving regard, the latter gave him great assistance and said to him: "It is at present a time when

Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che [Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal] is continuously giving the precepts of maturation and release at the residence of sPungs-thang [sPu-na-kha rDzong in western Bhutan]. It would be proper for you to go and receive them too." When accordingly he [Bla-ma rNam-sras] was on his way there, the Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che saw him clairvoyantly and declared: "A son of our Yam-'brog-pa Thugs-dam Pad-dkar is coming here. He will be a help to Mi-'gyur bsTan-pa in subjugating the eastern districts." He [the Zhabs-drung] is also said to have given further prophecies from his clear view of the distant future. Before long [Bla-ma rNam-sras] came before him and he treated him with love. Having given him properly the precepts of maturation and release, he then sent him back to Chos-'khor Rab-rtse.

For the duration of seven years he [Bla-ma rNam-sras] stayed as the servant of Chos-rgyal Mi-'gyur bsTan-pa, at which time he assisted in the work of taming the arrogant rulers and officers [of the districts] as far as bKra-shis-sgang in the east, who included among them the Chos-'khor dPon-po of Bum-thang [see the Lo-rgyus, ff. 6b-8a]. He thus took upon himself the great burden of the Teachings with such courage that he did not shy from far-ranging endeavours which included the work of bringing [the districts and their rulers] under the broad white parasol of the religion and state of the 'Brug-pa hierarchs. Then together with the person called dBu-mdzad Dam-chos Rab-rgyas, he went to protect the subjects of 'Brug bKra-shis-sgang. Before long he fell into the hands of a large Tibetan force which had invaded, and so he died [see the Lo-rgyus, ff. 14b-19b].

Then his incarnation was born at the monastery of Brag-dkar as the son of Bla-ma Chos-skyong [his step-brother]. He received the name of 'Brug Phun-tshogs. The younger brother of this incarnation was the great being dBon-po rDo-rje, the father of the rGyal-sras bDag-nyid Chen-po [Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan 1689-1713, incarnation of the Zhabs-drung's son 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje, 1631-?1681], a natural yogin who untied all the artificial fetters. Due to the fact that during those times there was no treaty (chings-'jags) between Tibet and the South [Bhutan], great hostility was being shown by the [dGe-lugs-pa] monastery of rTa-wang [in Kameng]. dBu-mdzad Dam-chos Rab-rgyas therefore warned him [dBon-po rDo-rje] to come in this direction. Accordingly he came towards bKra-shis-sgang with his retinue. [The 'Brug-pa

authorities gave him the monastery of Tsham-'brog which is said to have been associated with the figure of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-1529). He settled there and married Karma lHa-mo who gave birth to their son Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan, the 1st rGyal-sras sPrul-sku of Bhutan.]

- IO. I have not been able to identify sNyan-grags dPal-bzang (Rin-chen dPal-bzang in the above passage). He is perhaps the person referred to as Bla-ma sKu'i-skyes in the Addendum [III] of the rGyal-rigs (f. 51a); Thugs-dam Pad-dkar (the same as Thub-bstan Pad-dkar here) and he jointly occupied the position of bla-ma in the tripartite system of clan rule (bla-ma, wang-ma and gtso-rgyan). It is not clear which branch of the 'Brug-pa school the monastery of Grwa sDing-po-che belonged to. It can be assumed from the above passage that it was from this monastery that the incumbents to the office were appointed before the annexation of eastern Bhutan.
- II. The foundation of these 'Brug-pa monasteries in eastern Bhutan must have paved the way to full 'Brug-pa rule in that area in the same way that the 'Brug-pa monasteries did in the west of the country. However, none of the eastern ones are at present identifiable.
- I2. More correctly sNa-dkar-rtse, on which see Wylie 1962:74, I45 Note 277.

(contd. on the next page)

13. The dual system of 'religious law' (chos-khrims) and 'royal law' (rgyal-khrims). See the Khrims-yig below, passim.
14. See pp.248-50, 257.
15. This place lies at the top of the sTang valley in Bum-thang.
16. On the role played by bSod-nams dBang-po in recognising the second sGang-steng sPrul-sku, bsTan-'dzin Legs-pa'i Don-grub (1645-1726), see f. 28a of the latter's biography. On the hereditary office of the Chu-smad gDung, see p.246 above.
17. On the office of mi-dpon, see p250 above. sDom-mkhar is a village at the western end of the Chu-smad valley, close to the palace of bKra-shis Chos-gling.
18. This is the same lCags-mkhar that appears in the story of the 'Sindhu Rāja' (Chapter 2 Section 2 above and f. 8a below). The title gnas-po (pronounced 'nep' in the vernacular) is rarely used now except with the meaning of 'host'. It also signifies the guardian spirit of a particular locality.
19. On the militia still drawn today for ceremonial purposes from the 'Eight Great Hosts of the Wang People' (Wang Tsho-chen brgyad) see Aris 1976: 615-617, 625 note 61.
20. 'Brug rNam-rgyal was the 'steward' (gnyer-pa) of Ra-lung, the chief 'Brug-pa monastery in Tibet. He seems to have been appointed to this position by Zhabs-drung when the latter entered retreat at lCags-si in 1623. In about 1645 Ra-lung was formally taken over by the dGe-lugs-pa in reprisal for their military defeat in Bhutan. 'Brug rNam-rgyal fled south to his master in Bhutan and soon rose to the position of gZhung mGron-gnyer, the fourth incumbent to that office. As commander-in-chief of the forces of western Bhutan, he not only

played a vital part in the annexation of Eastern Bhutan, but was also responsible for subjugating the area of Dar-dkar-nang (LCB. ff. 30a, 42a, 47b). He is not to be confused with the person of the same name who ruled as the 21st 'Brug sDe-srid from 1799 to 1803.

21. Wa-can rDzong in the Shar district of western Bhutan was built by descendents of Gar-ston, son of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po (1208-76), who had been appointed by his father to control the three districts of gDung, Had and sDong (f. 31a of Pha-jo's biography). Of these, only Had ('Ha' of the map) can now be located. The family of the Wa-can Zhal-ngo had control of the Wa-can rDzong and seems to have been the most powerful of all those in Shar claiming descent from Gar-ston, among whom stood the Zhal-ngo families of Khyen, Wa, Shar-ngos and sTod-lu (Hun-ral gdung-rabs, f. 3b). The Wa-can Zhal-ngo became the ally of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, and the traditional powers of the family must have been absorbed quite soon into the new 'Brug-pa regime established in the west (LCB I, ff. 26a-b, 32b). It is clear from this passage of the Lo-rgyus that at the start of the eastern campaign the Shar district was still being administered by the 'Brug-pa authorities from Wa-can, and not from the new rdzong at dBang-'dus Pho-brang (built in 1638) which later took over control of the entire district (see f. 20a below).
22. This is the gDan-sa Yu-ba-shing visited by Padma Gling-pa (f. 186b of his rnam-thar). The present inhabitants of Bumthang were unable to give me its location.

23. There is some confusion about what really happened to the remains of Padma Gling-pa. According to a local tradition in Bum-thang, the gTsam-zhing Chos-rje who had charge of the portable stūpas containing the remains of both Padma Gling-pa and his son Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan, employed a ruse to deceive the 'Brug-pa commanders into taking away to sPu-na-kha the wrong stūpa, i.e. that of Grags-pa rGyal-mtshan. This is denied by the 'Brug-pa government which <sup>maintains</sup> / that the stūpa still kept today in the rdzong at sPu-na-kha is the right one. A further sku-gdung mchod-rten of Padma Gling-pa is housed in the palace of g.Yung-drung Chos-gling in Mang-sde-lung and is said to have been moved there this century from its original location in Kheng mTha'-ma.
24. The 'Blind gNyer-pa' is unlikely to have been gNyer-pa 'Brug rNam-rgyal, the commander-in-chief (see f. 7b above). The designation of rdzong-bdag for a fort-governor has recently been revived in Bhutan.
25. See rGyal-po sindha ra-dza'i rnam-thar, f. 19a.
26. On the legendary origins of these chiefs see rGyal-rigs, f. 43a.
27. 'Phakidung' of the maps. gZhung ('capital') suggests the place had some precedence over other communities in Ku-ri-lung, but the kings of Phag-gi-gdung are not mentioned in the rGyal-rigs.

28. This is usually contracted to lHun-rtse.
29. This is similarly contracted to Yang-rtse.
30. See rGyal-rigs, f. 20b.
31. See rGyal-rigs, f. 43b.
32. See rGyal-rigs, f. 16b.
33. See rGyal-rigs, f. 17a and f. 21b below.
34. See rGyal-rigs, f. 17b.
35. See rGyal-rigs, f. 20a.
36. See ff. 17b-18a below. Bla-ma Nag-seng of Me-rag may be identified with Blo-gros rGya-mtsho, the fourth incarnation of bsTan-pa'i sGron-me of the Jo-bo clan (rGyal-rigs, f. 30b). Sarkar (1975: 35-39) has provided an interesting account of the life of 'Lote Gyatso' (sic), also known as 'Mera Lama', apparently based on an oral tradition that survives in the rTa-wang area. Born in the same household as bsTan-pa'i sGron-me, he is particularly remembered today for the part he played in constructing the great rTa-wang monastery (or rdzong) under the directions of the 5th Dalai Lama. This occurred sometime after "the Nyingmapa and the Dukpa and Karmapa sub-sects of the Kargyupa had combined against the Gelugpa and directed



their attack against his religious establishments" (op. cit., 36).

37. Cf. f. 15a below. The dGe-lugs-pa rule in this area of eastern Bhutan must have been the natural successor to the gTsang-pa rule which collapsed in 1642.
38. See pp. 247 above.
39. Perhaps 'outer, inner and middling' (phyi nang bar gsum).
40. I.e., he was killed.
41. Cf. f. 5a above. Bla-ma rNam-sras' father had married a lady of Tsha-se.
42. See rGyal-rigs, f. 20a.
43. The name is spelt Slang-nga on f. 12b above and lHa-lnga on f. 22a below.
44. See note 55 to the rGyal-rigs.
45. sPung-thang bDe-ba-can (or -chen) is the name of the rdzong at sPu-na-kha. See note 7 above.
46. Presumably a descendant of Kra'u who established this branch of the Jo-bo clan (rGyal-rigs, f. 29b).

47. The 5th Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rGya-mtsho (1617-82).  
On the relationship between the Me-rag Bla-ma and the 5th Dalai Lama,  
see Sarkar 1975:36-39.
48. His birthplace was in fact Ber-mkhar in La-'og Yul-gsum. Me-rag was  
the site of one of the monasteries founded by the first of his  
line, bsTan-pa'i sGron-me; see rGyal-rigs, f. 30b.
49. See rGyal-rigs, ff. 18a, 36b.
50. See f. 17a above.
51. It is just possible that this invasion formed part of the large  
scale attack on Bhutan in 1657. See LCB I, ff. 51b-52a, and f. 64b  
of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas by Ngag-dbang lHun-grub;  
also Shakabpa 1976:443-5.
52. The rdzong-dpon of Bya-dkar in Bum-thang. See f. 8a above.
53. See Note I9 above.

[continued on next page]

54. See note 21 above.
55. This is the tribe, closely allied to the Mon-pa of Kameng, which inhabits the easternmost confines of Bhutan. The 'Dakta' (sic) have been briefly described by Cooper (1933b). See also note 95 above.
56. All these 'elders' must have been the officers of the regional detachments of the 'Brug-pa army from Western Bhutan.
57. See f. 6b above.
58. See ff. 9b, 12a above.
59. See f. 9b above and rGyal-rigs, f..17a.
60. See f. 10a above and rGyal-rigs, f. 17b.
61. See f. 10b above.
62. See ff. 12a (sTobs-ldan), 20a above and rGyal-rigs, f. 17a.
63. This is Krong-sar, capital of eastern Bhutan.
64. The rdzong of bKra-shis-sgang, which stands to this day.
65. I.e. the teachings of the 'Brug-pa school.

66. This passage emphasises the importance of trade in the traditional life of the eastern Bhutanese.
67. See ff. 8b-9a above.
68. See loc. cit.
69. See ff. 2a-5b above on King bDe-ba of Kha-ling, and ff. 15a-b. 16b, 18b on King Chang-lo-dpal of Kha-ling (who is probably the king referred to here).
70. See f. 9b above.
71. See f. 22b above.
72. See ff. 13a-14b above.
73. See f. 14b above. Bla-ma rGyal-mtshan seems to have been the only one of the rebel leaders listed here who lost his life in the campaign.
74. Cf. rGyal-rigs, f. 47b.
75. See ff. 16a-22b passim.
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61. See f. 10b above.
62. See ff. 12a (sTobs-ldan), 20a above and rGyal-rigs, f. 17a.
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64. The rdzong of bKra-shis-sgang, which stands to this day.
65. I.e. the teachings of the 'Brug-pa school.

TEXT III

// (100b 1.4) gnyis pa 'brug mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po'i bka'i  
 khrims yig bshad pa la / de yang sprul pa'i sku gong sa mi pham  
 dbang po gser khrir 'dzeg pa nas / kha bzhi'i rgyal khams 'di gong  
 ma'i bka' khrims ltar lugs gnyis kyis bde bar skyong ba'i dgongs pa  
 gtad de / bka' gnang la khyed kyis rgyal rabs dang chos rgyal mes  
 dbon nas zhabs drung rin po cher brgyud pa'i khrims yig sde pa dbu  
 mdzad sogs kyis ma nyams par bskyangs pa'i khrims lugs kyi yig  
 cha zhig cis kyang gyis shig ces gsung pa las / nged kyis kyang rgyal  
 rabs chos 'byung / srong btsan sgam po / khri srong lde btsan / khri  
 ral pa can / zhabs drung rin po che / sde pa dbu mdzad sogs kyi  
 bka' khrims ji ltar rnyed pa rnams (101a) zin bris su bgyis te phul  
 ba yin te / de ni sde srid phyag mdzod rim byon gyi lo rgyus rjes su  
 bka'i khrims yig 'di nyid kyang bshad pa skabs su babs shing / lhag  
 par dpal 'brug pa'i bstan 'dzin rim par 'byon pa tsho'i nges rgyu  
 dmigs rkyen mchog la phan phyir 'dir yang bkod pa las de yang  
 'di ltar /

*dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i*  
*bka' khrims phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i gtam /*

# PART I

chos srid phan bde'i lung bzang pos //  
 sman ljongs legs lam gyis 'tsho ba'i //  
 dkar rgyud zhing khams rgya mtsho'i dkyil //  
 mthu chen 'jigs med grags des skyongs //  
 dge legs rab 'byams chos kyi 'khor lo'i dbyangs //  
 sku gsum rgya cher bshad pa'i nges legs klung //  
 zhing khams rgya mtshor spyod mkhas zas gtsang sras //  
 mchog gsum snyan pa'i 'phreng bcas gtsug na rgyal //  
 rlabs chen tshogs gsum smon 'jug ye shes kun bzang  
                                 spyod pa'i klu dbang gis //  
 sgyu 'phrul nor bu'i bang mdzod yongs 'gengs phyogs  
                                 bcu'i nam mkha'i mthar thug par //  
 legs lam zab rgyas rin chen mchog de char du snyil la  
                                 'gran bral khyu //  
 dkyil 'khor kun gyi rnam rol gcig 'chang dkar brgyud  
                                 pa zhes grags la 'dud //  
 mkhyen rtogs brtse ba'i nus ldan rigs gsum gyis //  
 bsil ba'i ljongs der mi nub phan bde'i lung //  
 gzhal med bka' drin gter gyis sa skyong ba //  
 chos rgyal mes dbon rim byon rnams la 'dud //

khyad (101b) par nges gsang snying po'i bstan pa yis //  
 'dab chags rgod kyis nyin mor snyed brtol ba //  
 snyan pa'i ba dan cher bskyod sprin gyi dbyangs //  
 brgyud par bcas pa'i zhabs la phyag bgyi'o //  
 bstan la gnod byed ma rungs g.yul //  
 mthar byed ye shes ngon leam dral //  
 mngon spyod ral gri'i 'khor lo'i mtshon //  
 dgra srog bcod la dam bzhes dgongs //  
 rgyal khams kun tu phan bde 'byung mi 'byung //  
 rgyal khrims chos bzhin bca' la rag las phyir //  
 rgyal srid chos kyis 'khor los bsgyur ba'i lung //  
 rgyal bstan tshad mar 'dzin las gzhan du ci //  
 de phyir thub gzhung gser gyi mngal //  
 tshangs pa'i 'khor lo sde bzhi'i 'phrin //  
 rnam dpyod mang bskur sgyur rgyal gyis //  
 bsod nams chen por longs su spyod //

ces pa ltar / spyir nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i sems can mtha' dag  
 gi bde skyid rgyal ba'i bstan pa gang du dar ba de nyid la rag las /  
 bye brag tu bdag cag lnga brgya pa rnams la bcom ldan 'das shākya'i  
 rgyal po'i bstan pa 'am / ston pa de nyid kyis bcas pa'i khrims yin  
 cing / de yang / nyan thos kyis khrims / byang chub sems dpa'i  
 khrims / bde bar gshegs pa'i khrims lugs zhes bsgrags pa'i bstan pa  
 rin po che 'di nyid 'dzin skyong spel zhing bsrung ba las / phyi ltar  
 lugs bzhin spyod pa'i rgyal khrims / nang du bshad sgrub gtan la  
 phab pa'i dge 'dun / gsang bar dam can rgya mtsho'i tshogs kyis .  
 dngos dang rdzu 'phrul gyi mthus rim par skyong zhing bsrung ba  
 las / deng sang gi bar du ma (102a) nyams pa mtho ris dal 'gro'i  
 rgyun bzhin yod pa 'di'o // de la dgongs te bcom ldan 'das kyis  
 kyang gser 'od dam pa'i mdor / |

bdag dang gzhan la phan gdags phyir //  
 yang dag chos kyis yul bskyang bya //  
 g.yo rgyu byed pa mthong gyur na //  
 chos bzhin chad pas bcad par bya //

zhes gsungs pa ltar / sangs rgyas kyis bstan pa'i dar rgud rgyal |  
 khrims lei yang gi khyad par gtso che zhing / rgyal khrims rgyal  
 brgyud rim pa'i lugs srol ma nyams par byed dgos pas / de'i phyir  
 rgyal brgyud rin po che'i rgyal rabs kyis khungs kyang / snod bcud  
 ma chags pa'i ngon 'od gsal lha'i gzhai yas kyis khang par las snang  
 rang byung gi tshangs pa chen po gser mngal can du bskrun / de las  
 khams gsum pa'i 'od gsal gzugs khams kyis gnas rigs bcu bdun / 'dod



lha rigs drug gi chos nyid rim par gdal ba'i mthar 'dzam bu'i gling du  
 babs pa las / bdag rkyen gyis thog mar snga ba mang bkur rgyal po //  
 de nyid kyi rigs su sngon gyi rgyal po lngar grags pa dang / 'khor los  
 bsgyur rgyal sde lnga / de'i rgyal brgyud kyi rabs su rgyu mtshan gyi  
 sgo nas bu ram shing pa'i brgyud dang shākya'i brgyud du'ang 'dogs  
 shing / de la mang bkur rgyal po nas sras sgra gcan 'dzin gyi bar  
 rgyal rabs sa ya gcig dang 'bum khri lnga brgya yod pa 'dul ba las  
 gsungs / de las du mar gyas pa'i chos rgyal mya ngan med nas rim  
 par bod yul gyi rgyal por snga ba gnya' khri btsan po // de'i rgyal  
 rabs su gnam (102b) la khri bdun / stod kyi lteng gnyis / bar gyi legs  
 drug / sa la lde brgyad / 'od gi btsan gsum / zhes grags pa'i rgyal rabs  
 nyi shu rtsa bdun na / 'phags pa kun bzang gi rnam sprul lha tho tho  
 ri snyan btsan byon pas dam pa chos kyi dbu brnyes / de'i rgyal rabs  
 lnga par 'jig rten dbang phyug srong btsan sgam po byon nas / de  
 bzhin gshegs pa'i 'khor lo bcu dang / chos kyi rgyal po'i 'khor lo  
 bcu zung du 'brel bas skyong bzhin par / 'jam dpal dbyangs khri  
 srong lde'u btsan yab sras na rim nas / gsang ba pa'i tshogs kyi gtso  
 bo mnga' bdag khri ral pa can la sogs pas / bod yul lha ldan gyi  
 rgyal khams thams cad dam pa chos kyis dbang bsgyur bar byas shing /  
 der ma zad / rgya gar / rgya nag / kha che / li bal nor 'dzin gyi char  
 yang / rgyal khrims 'khor lo'i rtsibs su rgyal bstan nor bu'i gdugs  
 dkar bkod pas dge zhing yun ring gnas pa ni / lung las /

mi yi chos lugs bzang po de //  
 dam pa chos kyi gzhi ma yin //  
 gzhi ldan chos la spyod pa de //  
 bde nas bde ba thob par 'gyur //

zhes 'byung ba ltar / rgyal kun snying rje'i rang gzugs 'phags mchog  
 spyan ras gzigs dbang de nyid chos kyi rgyal po srong btsan sgam  
 por sprul zhing / khrims lugs ji snyed pa'i sgo nas spang blang gsal  
 bar 'god cing bod khams dag pa'i zhing du bsgyur ba dang / de  
 mtshungs de yi rnam sprul ye shes rdo rje grags shing / lha mi'i  
 (103a): 'gro ba'i mchod gnas gdung dang na bza'i mtshan can chos  
 kyi rje gtsang pa rgya ras pa de nyid kyi rigs su kha bzhi'i rgyal  
 khams gdul bya'i zhing du yod ces / ma 'ongs pa na rang nyid 'byon  
 pa'i brdar pha jo 'brug sgom zhig por lung gi gnang ba stsal te /  
 nyid kyi gdung brgyud dri ma med par sprul pa'i sku nyid du bsam  
 bzhin skye ba bzhes pa dpal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi  
 dbang po phyogs las rnam rgyal 'jigs med grags pa'i sde'i mtshan du  
 byon pa de la / khrag 'thung gi rgyal po ye shes mgon po leam dral  
 dregs pa'i dpung dang bcas pas / kha bzhi lho'i rgyal khams chen  
 po 'di nyid chos gzhis kyi tshul du phul nas 'phrin las bsgrub pa'i  
 bka' nod cing / rig 'dzin chen po padma 'byung gnas kyis kyang /

lho bha ga'i sbugs su yul btab nas //  
sgo btags su chu bo phyogs bzhir 'gyed //

ces lung bstan pa la dgongs / dpal ldan 'brug pa rin po che rgyal  
sras bdud 'joms rdo rje'i gdul bya 'phrin las bzhi'i chibs kyi kha lo  
sman ljongs kyi grong khyer chen por bsgyur te / ma rungs bdud  
bzhi'i g.yul ngo rmeg med dang bcas pa bcom zhing / lugs gnyis  
chos kyi rgyal srid dri ma med pa'i 'dzin skyong spel gsum la  
mnga' dbang bsgyur nas / rten gsum gtsug lag khang gi bkod pa  
rgya mtshor 'jug cing / lho phyogs nor 'dzin gyi yul gru mtha' dag  
nyid kyi bka' 'bangs su bsdu te / lho khirms med la khirms dang /  
rdza lung med la lung btags nas / chos khirms (103b) dar mdud  
bzhin du bsams / rgyal khirms gser gyi gnya' shing lta bu'i ljid  
kyis gnon te / lugs gnyis kyi bka' khirms chen mo bca' ba nas  
brtsam / mi bdag rim byon gyis kyang / chos bzhin rgyal khirms  
kyi srol ma nyams par skyong bas / kha bzhi'i rgyal 'bangs thams  
cad bde zhing skyid pa'i dpal yon du longs spyod chog pa 'di  
byung ba yin cing / yin pa de bzhin rgyal brgyud snga ma'i phyag  
len ma nyam pa zhi byed dgos rgyu yin / de yang sngon chos  
rgyal chen po'i khirms yig gi thog mar / srog mi gcod pa'i khirms  
gshin stong dang gson stong / ma byin par mi len pa'i khirms dkon  
mchog gi nor brkus na brgya 'jal / rgyal po'i nor la brgyad cu 'jal /  
'bangs kyi nor la brgyad 'jal du bcas / bdag po can gyi chung mar  
log g.yem mi byed pa'i khirms rmad 'jal dang byi chad bcas / brdzun  
spong ba'i khirms lha srungs chos skyong dpang du bzhag nas mna'  
bsgag pa sogs kyi khirms dang / spyir mi dge bcu spong ba'i steng  
du pha la phar 'dzin pa / ma la mar 'dzin pa / dge sbyong dang  
bram ze la dge sbyong dang bram zer 'dzin pa / rigs kyi rgan rabs la  
phud du bkur ba / rang la gzhan gyis phan btags pa'i byas pa drin  
du gzo ba / bre dang srang la sogs pa'i ngan pa'i g.yo spong ba ste  
mi chos gtsang ma bcu drug khirms su bca' ba 'di mdzad 'dug cing /  
de bzhin lho phyogs kun bzod kyi khyon 'dir yang snga thog tu  
zhabs drung rin po che'i sgrigs rnam gzhag ces lugs gnyis (104a) bka'  
khirms shin tu dam pa'i dper byed 'dug kyang / bar skabs sgrigs  
mam gzhag phal cher snyoms las rang gar spyod 'dug par / 'di rigs  
de lam du bzhag tshe / bya ba dang bya ba ma yin pa'i khirms mi  
'ongs / khirms med na sems can la bde skyid mi 'byung / sems can  
la bde skyid med na chos rje 'brug pas lugs gnyis kyi bstan pa  
'dzin pa'i don med cing / des na bstan pa rin po che snying la bcang  
zhing nye 'gyangs phyogs lhung med pa'i drang thig sor bzhag gi  
khirms lugs chos rgyal gong ma srong btsan sgam po lta bu byed  
dgos / de yang /

'gro ba'i bde skyid rgyal ba'i bstan pa dang //  
 bstan pa de yang bstan 'dzin skyes bur rag //

ces 'byung ba ltar / bstan 'dzin gyi skyes bu ni sems can yongs la  
 bu gcig ltar bsam pa'i lugs gnyis kyi rnam gzhas gang yang gtan la  
 dbab pas bstan 'gro'i bde skyid tshugs pa zhig dgos rgyu yin kyang /  
 da skabs so so nas log pa'i dran 'khrul tshod 'dzin med pa'i ngan pa  
 gnya' renga kho nas bka' khrims gnyan po ras su bor / dge sdig rgyu  
 'bras kyi spang blang skad cig kyang mi bsam par / nor phyir snyad  
 med snyad btags kyis brdung thag bkyigs thag 'og khang la bcug pa  
 sogs chad pa 'phral bkog byas nas / sbyin bdag kun mi yul gyi yi  
 dags dngos su bsgyur ba dang / gros mi spyi dpon sogs nor yod ngo  
 can 'gas kyang / g.yon can snyan par smra te dpon la gus tshul gyis  
 nor sug sogs mgo bskor (104b) 'ba' zhig dang / la las bden brdzun  
 sna tshogs gzhang sar 'phen pa'i 'bangs gyen log sogs / bstan la mi  
 'tsham pa'i spyod ngan byed pa mang pos rgyal khrims phan bde'i  
 rol mtsho rnyog par 'dug pas / gtso bo khrims kyi bdag pos / 'di  
 yin 'di min gyi rtsad gcod zhib mor btang nas / chos dang chos min  
 'byed pa'i khrims kyi srol bzang po gtod dgos pa / ji skad du /

rgyal ba kun la mkhas pa yis //  
 bran g.yog legs par brtag par bya //  
 bden dang chos la gzhol ba yis //  
 rtag tu yul 'khor bskyang bya zhing //

zhes pa ltar / rgyal khrims chos bzhin bskyang dgos pas chos 'gal  
 gyi las nag byed pa bkag cing / rang 'dod khong 'tshang bag med  
 smyo spyod dam tshig gnyan po khyad gsod nyams pa bdun dang  
 zhing bcu tshang ba'i rigs tshar bcad rjes su 'dzin pa mdo rgyud kyi  
 dgongs pa yin cing / rgyal ba nyid kyi lung las /

'di dag bsgral bar byas nas ni //  
 dmyal ba'i gnas su yun thung 'gyur //  
 rnal 'byor bsgrub la bar chad med //  
 theg pa chen po'i mthu dar zhing //  
 sangs rgyas bstan pa rgyas par 'gyur //

zhes gsungs shing / byang phyogs sā la'i sman ljongs su sngon nas  
 byon pa'i chos kyi rgyal po rnams ni byang sems sha stag bka' drin  
 gyi gnas yin mod / phyis kyi sde srid kha cig kun slong zhe gnag gi  
 phyogs 'dzin dam pos / kar 'brug gnyis kyi mgo gnon gang thub  
 dang 'di pa 'tsho'i ring lugs ngan pa yin phyir bsnuv par byed sogs  
 pa'i khrims yig 'dod sbyar byas pa'ang 'dug cing / de 'dra (105a) ni /

ci sbyang dregs pa'i skad 'byin yang //  
 ri dags rgyal po snying rje skyes //

ces sam / ;

skyes mchog rang gi skyon la blta //  
 skye ba ngan pa gzhan skyon 'tshol //

zhes gsungs pa ltar ro // de bzhin lho phyogs kyi rgyal khab 'dir  
 yang 'ga' zhig rang 'dod du lhung bas / chos srid bstan pa'i 'dab  
 brgya dkar po zum dus su nye zhing / de'i phyir bstan pa rang mdun  
 ras su bor bar mi bzod pa'i bsam khur snying khong rus pa'i dkyil  
 nas gzhen btab ste / chos srid 'phrin las kyi gdugs dkar 'di nyid 'dzin  
 skyong spel zhing bsrung ba la / rgyal sras zur phud lnga pa khri  
 srong lde btsan gyi mkhyen rab dang snying stobs kyi rjes su 'jug  
 dgos / zhes dpal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i  
 chos kyi rgyal srid spyi'i rnam par gzhas pa'i gleng gzhi thog mar  
 dge ba'i bkra shis dang po 'jig rten kun la khyab gyur cig /

## PART II

// bde dang phun tshogs 'jig rten la //  
 rgyal thabs spyod pa'i lung 'chang ba //  
 skyes chen ma la ya rlung gi //  
 mdzad pa'i dri bzang 'di nas spel //

da ni lugs zung bstan pa'i sgron me khrims lugs 'phrin las kyi  
 bdag po sde srid phyag mdzod pa'i bgyi 'os kyi gtso bo / bcom ldan  
 'das kyis mdor / ;

rgyal po chos la dga' bar gyur na ni //  
 tshe rabs gnyis kar bde ba'i lam 'di yin //  
 rgyal pos spyod bzhin du ni 'bangs kyang spyod //  
 de bas chos bzhin sa la gnas par slob //

ces dang / (105b) rgyal ba gnyis pa chen pos / ;

pha ma'i brgyud dag 'bangs kyis 'khur mkhan mang //  
 spyod pa ya rabs mna' tho chad la 'dzem //  
 mnga' thang skyong shes dgra 'joms dpung pa can //  
 mi chen rgyal po mchog la dgos pa yin //

ces pa ltar / lho phyogs kyi rgyud 'di nyid mnyam med dpal 'brug /  
 pa rin po che'i 'dul zhing yin pas / rgyal ba'i khyab bdag mthu chen  
 ngag gi dbang po'i zhabs kyi padmo gtsug tu mchod pa'i sgo nas bstan  
 pa dang skye 'gro'i bde skyid la thugs bskyed mi dman pa dgos nges /  
 sangs rgyas kyi bstan rtsa dge 'dun yin phyir gar bzhugs bkur sti'i  
 bzos sgo ci 'gyur byed pa'i / chos spyod bcu dang gar thig dbyangs  
 sogs bskyed rdzogs kyi nyams len la zhabs bskul yang dag byed /  
 sgra snyan pa dang mtshan nyid grwa sde'i slob sbyang gi dpe rgyugs  
 'phral 'phral du len nas deb dang bstun pa'i gnam sbyin stsal / gdan  
 sa mtha' dag gi dngos po'i phyag rdzas ci yod rgyal ba'i sku gsung  
 thugs rten sogs dkon mchog gi mchod rdzas dang dge 'dun gso ba  
 las gzhan du chud zos mi gtong ba'i bka' khyab lo ltar bzhin phebs /  
 bzo rigs grwa sde dang / sgar nang gzan gyi rigs la'ang / yi ge 'bri  
 mchod sbyin pa dang sogs spyod bcu gtso bor 'don pa'i so so'i las  
 ka dang bstun pa'i rgyugs len cing bstan pa'i zhabs 'degas gang 'gyur  
 du 'jog / nyin re bzhin mnga' 'bangs spyi'i skyid sdug dri rtsad byas  
 pa'i 'thus ma 'thus kyi skabs 'phral du bde ba'i thabs kho nar bkod /  
 yul gru (106a) so sor srog geod rku 'phrog spangs pa'i ri rgya lhungs  
 rgya bsdam pa sogs / chab 'bangs dge bcu'i khrims su sbyor ba'i  
 blo gros kyi shes rgya 'das ma 'ongs dpyad tshugs pa dgos / 'jig rten  
 skyid sdug rgyal 'pham kha mchu'i geod sdom dang khral 'ul dos  
 skyal de rang gtso bas / drag zhen su thad nas kyang zas nor ngor  
 bltas pa'i nye ring phyogs lung yod med rgyun du rtsad geod drag  
 por btang / rdzong mgron spyi bla sogs nor yod ngo can 'ba' zhig  
 dang nye 'khor zhabs 'bring ba'i rang 'dod zhus dbang du mi btang  
 bar rgyal khrims dpang thub gtso bor bton ngos / mtha' bzhi'i sa  
 mtshams kyi las 'dzin rnams kyang / dbus kyi bde skyid mtha' la  
 rag las pa bzhin / rang sdes gzhan phyogs su Ar jag dgra rkun shor  
 nas rang khrims mi btsan par byas shing / chings dan gyi khra 'gal  
 du 'gyur na / de'i lan rtsa rang la thug par ma zad bstan 'gro spyi'i  
 'gal tshabs\* tu 'gyur bas / de bzhin mi 'gyur bar bde 'jam byed dgos •tshab  
 pa'i bka' khyab yang yang gnam / lhag par rdzong kha gar yang  
 rtsa khral shing khral des sbyin bdag sdug po rang zhig 'dug pa /  
 'di rigs la rta'i rtsis bdag dang rtsa khral 'di thob kyi rim pa sgar  
 khyun bzhin byed du bcug dgos / mdor na phyi mnga' 'bangs kyi  
 bde thabs / nang las tshan spyi'i dpang 'jog / don skyabs 'gsum 'dus  
 tshogs spel ba'i mdzad bzang 'phrin las bzhi'i rnam par rol ba dus  
 gcig tu dbang bsgyur ba'i blo gros kyi nyin mor byed pa'i 'phrul  
 'khor shes dgos pa / mthu chen seng ge'i (106b) nga ro las /

dbus zlum zhi ba phyi gru bzhi //  
 dung bzhi 'phrin las rgyas pa dang //  
 kham gsum dbang sdud nga ro'i sgra //  
 mngon spyod ral gri'i 'khor lo bskor //

zhes dang / bstan dgra 'joms pa'i spu gri las //

gang zhig skye bo mi bsrung pa //  
 mthu mi bu lon ltar snyeg pa //  
 de la mngon spyod las kyi mthu //  
 gnam lcags 'dra ba 'di phob cig //

ces bka' stsal pa ltar / bzang po bzang thog tu srol gtod / nyes pa i  
 nyes thog tu tshar ma bcad na / rgyal khrims chos bzhin du spel mi  
 nus pas / rgyal khrims drang por bcad pa rgyal po'i dgos don gyi  
 gtso bo yin cing / de yang rgyal po la gces pa khrims zer ba bzhin /  
 rgyal po gcig gis rgyal khrims drang por skyong bar byed na de'i  
 'bangs rnams nyin gcig la bde bar bkod nus shing / de ni sngon dus  
 chos rgyal mes dbon rim pas bsil ldan gyi 'gro ba rnams cig car chos  
 srid lung gis 'tsho bas dang / zhabs drung rin po ches rmug rgod lho  
 phyogs kyi rgyud 'di 'dul sbyong nus pa'ang rgyal khrims chos bzhin  
 bskyang ba'i mthu las yin no // spyir rgyal khrims bca' ba'i rgyu  
 mtshan / yul gru so so'i rgyal 'bangs bde ba'i ched nyid dang / sgos  
 su rgyal dbang thub pa'i 'dul khrims bstan rtsa dge 'dun gyi 'dzin  
 skyong spel phyir bcas pa yin 'dug kyang / bar skabs su rnam par  
 dbye bas 'phongs te / dge slong sdom nyams srog gcod ma byin len  
 sogs bstan pa'i phung gzhi byed kyang rtsad gcod mi gtong / des ni  
 mig ltos ngan par ma zad bstan 'gro'i legs lam nub par (107a) lung  
 bstan las /

'dul khrims nyams pas dam nyams lung pa gang //  
 de yi rgyu las skye 'gro'i bde skyid nub //

ces dang /

chos khrims zher pas ma mgon dbyings su gshegs //  
 dam sri spun gyi kha rlangs dum bur 'phro //  
 mi yi chos lugs zher bas lha rnams nyams //  
 nag po bdud kyi rigs rnams ha har rgod //

ces sogs dang / lhag par de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyis nyi ma'i  
 snying po'i mdor / lnga brgya tha ma'i dus rab tu byung ba'i khrims  
 kyang / rgyal khrims dang bstun par gsungs ba bzhin / rang phyogs  
 blos ma bzod par 'dug pa'i da cha nas gzung / dge slong bslab par  
 skyon tshad 'dul lugs dang mthun pa'i chad pa gcod cing / rtags  
 dang cha lugs bskyur dgos thag chod yin zhing / gzhan yang bdud  
 kyis yo lang bshams pa'i zas ngan tha ma kha zer ba 'di da ltar sgar

lto gzan sogs mi nag skye bo kun gyi nyin mtshan du spyod par  
 'dug mod / 'dis ni sku gsung thugs rten grib kyis non par ma zad /  
 steng lha nyams / bar btsan 'khrugs / 'og klu la gnod cing / rgyu des  
 'jig rten khams su nad mtshon mu ge'i bskal pa rgyun du 'byung  
 bar / slob dpon chen po padmas lung bstan mang po gsungs 'dug pa  
 ltar / rdzong mgron sku tshab las tshan gros mi spyi dpon tshos /  
 yul phyogs gar yang phung zas tha ma kha'i nyo 'tshong dang  
 'thung mi byung tshe / rtsad gcod drag por ma btang na rang rang  
 so so'i steng khar yong rgyu thag chod dang / rgya drung tshos  
 kyang las sgo rang nas bkag pa sogs de lugs (107b) kyis rtsis bdag  
 byed pa gal che / de bzhin snyigs ma'i yid can gyi las dbang lta bus /  
 da lta'i skabs 'dir chab 'bangs skyid sdug mi snyoms pa'i mtho  
 dman sna tshogs kyis lo rgyus thos tshe / bde thabs yod bzhin snyoms  
 las su bskyur na / bdud kyis rgyal po dang khyad par ci yod / rang  
 gzhan su thad nas kyang / drang gsum 'khar ba mdun btsugs dkon  
 mchog dpang gsol ma gtogs / kha mchu'i bslab don khral 'ul sogs  
 la nye ring rgyab mdun byas 'dug na drag po'i khrims la sbyar rgyu  
 thag chod yin zhing / de bzhin byed dgos pa lung las kyang /

ji ltar rgyal srid bskyang ba dang //  
 sdang ba'i dgra rnams 'dul ba dag //  
 'bangs la re ba ma 'jog par //  
 zhal bzhugs tshe na myur du mdzod //

ces dang / ;

rtsub pas rtsub pa thul 'gyur gyis //  
 zhi bas 'dul ba ga la nus //

zhes gsungs pa bzhin / rtag tu dkar po dge ba'i las la brtson zhing ;  
 las 'bras kyis rtsa ba chod pa dgos na'ang / ma yin ma 'thus pa'i nag  
 can la snying rje ma bzhag par srog lus la tsa ra phyis lam khegs pa  
 dgos / de yang ngo tsha dang snying rje'i dbang du bzhag tshe blo  
 bsam mi bsrin gyis rigs rnams je 'phel du song na rgyal por gces pa  
 khrims dang / de 'og nas 'tshang rgya zer ba bzhin yin pas / rdzong  
 sdod sku tshab rim pas rang 'bangs rnams la / rgyal khrims chos  
 bzhin skyong mi skyong snyan lam du gsan spyang gyis gzigs pa'i /  
 byung ma byung gi skabs 'phral 'phral du tshar bead rjes su 'dzin  
 pa (108a) ni sde srid phyag mdzod rim byon gyi mdzad par shes  
 dgos so // de yang /

dam pa dpon du bkod gyur na //  
 don grub pa dang bde skyid thob //

ces gsungs pa ltar rgyal po khri thog tu 'tshang rgya ba de byung 'g  
 ba yin no // bstan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal po de nyid kyi zhal lung  
 'chang ba mgron gnyer / gdan sa'i rdzong dpon / spyi bla rnam  
 gsum / de'i bya bzahag gi rim pa / rgyal dbang kun mkhyen 'brug  
 pas /

yas kyi rjer gus mas kyi 'bangs la byams //  
 spyod pa mdzangs thon kha 'jam zhe mi gnag //  
 'khrugs na dpa' la gzhan zhig chog shes ldan //  
 rgyal po'i gnang chen byed na dgos pa yin //

zhes pa ltar / lnga brgya pa rnams kyi gtsug rgyan dpal 'brug pa  
 rin po che rgyal sras ngag gi dbang po'i chos srid kyi zhabs 'deg  
 spyi dang / khyad par sa dbang chen po'i bka' lung spyi bor nod  
 pa'i gus btud mdzes khyad sngon du song ba'i / rgyal srid phyi nang  
 bar gsum du dge skyon spo bzahag gi babs yul byung dus rgyu mtshan  
 zhu / sngar rgyun bstan 'gro'i sku rim dang lung pa'i bde thabs kyi  
 rtsis sdoms / mtha' mtshams kyi zhu sna 'gangs chen rigs snyan 'bul  
 zhib par zhu dgos / kha mchu'i skor phag tu nor sug dang kha drag  
 shed yod kyi dbang du mi btang bar / bden brdzun gsal por phye  
 ba'i drang gtam lugs mthun snyan du 'bul / rgya bal bod sogs grub  
 mtha' mi gcig pa'i rigs kyis zhu yig dang ngo ma mjal dgos byung  
 tshe / de rang du zhib rtsad dris pa'i de bstun gyi bdag rkyen spro  
 bstan la byas pa can gyi rigs blo pham du ma bcug par gong sar  
 snyan gsan phab nas (108b) las tshan gang 'os su bton / gnyer las  
 'dzin / bzo rig chibs bzhon / sgar lto gzan gyi nang khrims rgyun du  
 rtsad gcod gtong zhing sngar lugs kyi thun khar btsud / che phra  
 gang la yang bzang kha rang nyid kyis byas pa'i ngan kha gzhung  
 srid skyong dang bcas par mi bcod / gzhung don bya ba'i rigs su  
 gyur par rang don dang khyad med kyi ru nga grub rtsol gang cher  
 byed dgos shing / gal chen don yod kyi rigs rnams bslab ston ma  
 zhus par rang nyid kyis blos bcad mi byed / nag po sdig las dang gal  
 chung don med kyi rigs zhu zhu mang ba thugs dam gyi sad rgyur  
 'dug pas blo thag gcod pa las 'os med / mnga' 'bangs spyi'i skyid  
 sdug blta zhing dge bcu'i khrims la sbyor ba'i snyan bskul sogs /  
 rlabs chen spyod pa'i bgyi ba dus gcig la 'phrin las bzhi bsgrub nus  
 pa'i bka' nod cing / lhag par mtha' zad sbugs ral du mi 'gyur ba'i  
 phyi rdzong gi gad bdar / nang mdzod kyi gsog 'jog / bar khrab  
 mtshon gyi bsgrub lugs / dgra nam 'ong med / grab thung med kyi  
 dpe bzhin / gang la yang ring thung med pa'i sa mtshams su mig  
 gis bltas / rna bas nyan pa'i dgra zon la g.yel ba med pa gcig dgos  
 rgyu yin / yang / drag po g.yul gyi las la zhugs dgos tshe / skyabs  
 gnas kyi ngo bo bla ma rin po che dang bstan don kho nar bsam



pa'i snying stobs / dpa' mdzangs des gsum cang rig khyug gsum brtan  
 brling bkyel che'i thabs tshul gyi sgo nas / gcan gzan gyi khongs na  
 seng ge ltar (109a) brjid pa'i dpa' gdengs chen pos / 'khor gsum mdo  
 drug tshang ba'i dmag mi dmag gral du 'khod par / longs spyod gya  
 noms pa bstab pa'i mthar / skabs dang bstun pa'i bkod bshams rang  
 sde dpa' nus bskyed cing dgra dpung klad\* 'gems nus pa'i kha lo \*Kled  
 bsgyur te / dgra sde thal bar rlog kyang rgyal ba'i sku gsung thugs  
 rten la me brgyag pa / bshig cing brdungs pa la sogs mtshams med  
 kyi las yin pas dang thog nas bkag / dmag gral thob rigs thob mkhan  
 gyis khyer chog / mtshon kha sprod dus stobs ldan brgya thub la  
 g.yu dang khang gzhis stsal ba'i bka' khyab / mi gsad re gnyis mar  
 dpa' dar rgyab bkab sogs gang 'os byed pa'i / dmag dpon / mda'  
 dpon / lding dpon / sgar gnyer / go mtshon / dmag mi sogs drag po  
 g.yul gyi las la 'jug pa'i bkod pa bshams lugs mang yang skabs thog  
 dang sbyar ba gnad che'o // gtso chen rgyal srid kyi bya ba la rje  
 dang 'bangs kyi bar du legs lam gyi mtshams sbyor sgrigs shes dgos  
 pa / ji skad du /

blon po blo ldan drang po yis //  
 rje dang 'bangs kyi don kun 'grub //

ces dang /

blo chung gros nyes 'khrugs pa'i tshe //  
 blo ldan thabs kyis bde bar gso //

zhes pa ltar / rdzong mgron bka' bgros pa'i rigs dang zhabs 'khril l  
 sku gshogs pa sus kyang / phyi'i bya bzhas nang du ma dgongs pa'i  
 rigs sba gsang med par snyan du zhu zhing / nang gi skad cha phyir  
 skyel med pa'i blo ngag shin tu dam por byed /

blo (109b) gsäl ngag nyung nye gnas te //  
 phra ma 'jug na stor shing yin //

zhes dang /

gsang gros thub pa grogs yin te //  
 gzhan la 'chad na zangs thal yin //

gsungs pa bzhin gsol gzims sogs thugs nang dag dgos de bzhin ma  
 byas na /

chen po mams la dgra bas kyang //  
 rang gis 'khor gyis gnod pa mang //

de bzhin gzims 'gag pas nyin mo bag med dang snga phyi gu yang  
 sogs mi byed cing lus ngag yid kyi kun spyod chos dang rjes su  
 mthun pa dgos / des na rgyal srid phyi nang bar gsum gyi sgrigs  
 mnam gzhag mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i bka' khrims spang blang  
 'dzol med byed dgos tshe / chu 'go nas rnyog na mi dangs pa bzhin /

rgyal po nyid kyis ma rtsis na //  
 thams cad mkhyen pa'ang bkur mi'gyur //

zhes pa ltar / gtso bo khrims kyi bdag po sde srid phyag mdzod  
 gong du mtshungs pa las / gzhung phan tshun gyi rdzong dpon spyi  
 bla / gangs ri'i rdor 'dzin sogs la bdag rkyen mthong srol khyad  
 med / rdzong dpon mgron gnyer gsol ba thab tshang du lhan cig  
 bzhes dgos rgyu / gnyer las 'dzin gang gi thad la'ang sngar rgyun las  
 bdag rkyen gsar bcos mi byed / gsol ba dkar mo'i rigs dang 'brel  
 tshad snga phyi rim par phye ba'i gsol bskor byas mi chog / phyogs  
 mtshams kyi rdzong dpon mtha' dang / rgya drung shar nub / gzhan  
 yang phyi mgron gyi rigs sku tshab che chung gang yin rung / gzhi  
 len gyi rnam pa'i mthong srol ma gtogs gzhan gsol ba dkar mo'i gral  
 du yin / gzhung don kha mchu bead pa dang 'gro dgos kyi rigs la  
 bod (110a) gsum bzhi las lhag pa mi 'khrid / rdzong kha che phra  
 so sor lto gzan gsar rnying 'jug bton gyi skor dang chos gzhis nas  
 'bru 'di thon dang / sbyin bdag nas khral dang dbang yon 'di yong  
 lto gzan grangs dang bstun pa'i mgron 'thud kyi steng nas / lo star  
 gyi 'bru dang zong nor bka' rgya re bcug pa'i gsal cha gong sar dgos  
 rgyu / phyogs mtshams gar yang lde mig gnyer pa ngo bo rang ma  
 gtogs / rang gi zla bor mi bcol / bzo rig gi sdeb ma gtogs drags zhen  
 su la'ang phogs byin mi chog / rdzong kha so so'i 'bru mdzod dang  
 gnyer tshang gi skor yun ring bzhag kyang chud zos su 'gro bas /  
 gong sar snyan sgron zhus pa'i lo star bzhin mnga' 'bangs su sbyin  
 gtong sogs bde ba'i thabs kho na 'ba' zhig byed pa la / gangs can  
 skye bo'i skyid sdug lan gsum snyoms pa'i chos rgyal mu ne btsan  
 po dang khri ral pa can gyi rjes su 'jug dgos / zhes dpal 'brug pa rin  
 po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i chos kyi rgyal srid skyong  
 ba'i bka' blon spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa'i gzhung don bar du dge ba'i  
 bkra shis gnyis pa 'jig rten kun la khyab gyur cig /

### PART III

// rgyal phran bye bas mngon btud ral pa'i khrir //  
 longs su spyod pa gang gi bka'i tham ka //  
 bsrel 'os las 'dzin du ma'i blang dor gyi //  
 rnam dbye sngon gyi rabs bzhin 'dir brjod bya //

gang yang bkod pa'i mi dang 'dzugs pa'i shing du gleng ba ltar / lung  
 pa re la khrims bdag re bkod pa'i rgyu mtshan des / (110b) ding sang  
 sems can gyi skyid sdug sku tshab las tshan gyi rigs gtso che ba 'dug  
 par / de dag gi spang blang sgrigs rnam gzhas rim par phye ba'i nges  
 rgyu 'di ltar / sku tshab tsho gnyis ma dang / bla gnyer sbrel ma rnam  
 la bod gnyis dang A drung re / sku tshab yongs la bod re dang A  
 drung re / de las lhag pa'i zur gsos gzhis kar 'dug tshe / bkyigs thag  
 dang / sku tshab phogs bcad / las tshan gyi rigs 'gro 'grul mang po  
 des sbyin bdag kun la gzan sgo cher 'dug pas / da nas spo 'jog byung  
 na ma gtogs gom kyang snyad btags byas 'gro mi chog / chur mo  
 brdung chag sprod dgos rigs sdeb bsags kyis sprod pa las / rgyun par  
 mi sprod / de yang rgyus gang ldang las lhag pa'i mi len / sngon dus  
 kyi mchod gzhis 'gang can ming du thogs pa yod na ma gtogs /  
 gzhan ma sbyin bdag yul babs dang bstun pa'i bsdu thun la gtong /  
 mi ser la gser g.yu khro zangs rta nor rten mchod chas sogs dngos  
 po'i rigs tshong la snyad pa'i spus btsug mi 'phrog / phyag mdud  
 rgyab bkab byin nas nor mi slong / lung pa'i sde thang gis bcad pa'i  
 nyo tshong ma gtogs / dbang tshong byas mi chog / tshwa mar mi  
 sprod / bal 'thag mi sprod / lug rgyab mi slong / rdzong kha sku  
 tshab dgon sde'i bla mas sbyin bdag las bsod snyoms rgyugs rigs  
 grong bshal sogs da nas rbad gcod / chug khol nyo tshong byas mi  
 chog / ma nges pa'i nyo 'tshong byed mi byung kyang lung dpon  
 la brda sprad pa'i / des kyang gong ma (IIIa) gtso bor snyan sgron  
 dgos rgyu / tshwa chu sman chu'i skor / yas phyin mchog phebs  
 zhor dang / 'phags pa'i dge 'dun gong bkur / grub mtha' mi gcig rigs  
 gang 'os / gzhung phan tshun dang spyi bla sogs kyis mtshon las  
 'dzin che phra lto gzan sogs na tsha dos drags mig zin rigs rnam pa  
 lta rgyu tsam las / gzhan tshwa sman skor la rang rdzas dang mthun  
 'tshol ma gtogs gnyer tshang dang dos 'ul zhag babs kyi lto chang  
 sogs rbad gcod yin / tshwa sman 'gro 'dug la brten gzan rtsa nas  
 bkal mi chog / rang don du song phyin phar phyir shar rgyag 'gro  
 ba las rdzong du 'thon mi chog / gzhan yang dos 'ded kyi rigs  
 rdzong kha sku tshab gang yin nas / dos 'di song gi zhu yig gong sar  
 dgos rgyu dang / sa rims tshigs so so nas kyang / zla tshes 'di la mi  
 'di'i dos 'di song gi 'dzin tho gong sar dgos rgyu / de ltar med pa'i  
 dos 'ded byung tshe / tsa ra nag chad so sor yongs rgyu / sku tshab  
 pas rtsis rta gcig dang rdzong nas gso rta re sprod 'dug na dang /  
 de steng 'bul ba tam ka brgya skor thud las / rta re 'go dpon gtso  
 bor zhus nas gso ba ma gtogs / zur rdzas kyis rta nor gsos mi chog /  
 gso mkhan byung na rdzong khar 'phrog / de bzhin rta gsum tshun  
 gso ba las / sku tshab pas sbyin (IIIb) bdag nas rtsa khral shing  
 khral dos skyal 'u lag gi rigs bkod mi chog / 'bul thus kyi rta'ang  
 nyo tshong byed par las sgor mi ser btang mi chog / sku tshab pas

khral pa'i kha mchu gcod pa'i chang skyel la / ming don mthun pa'i  
 chang zo re ma gtogs / che ba ma tam dang chung ba sman kha tsam  
 yang len mi chog / de bzhin thug gsher gyi rigs rdzong khar rang la  
 skyel ba ma gtogs / che chung gang yang sku tshab pas thag bcad  
 mi chog / sku tshab pas lo thog bsdu btab zhing rtsig\* bskor ba sogs \*tshigs  
 la snyad btegs kyis grong bshal gyi rigs byed mi chog / sku tshab  
 pas zhing rtsig\* rtswa phran thog phran bza' shing sogs las / nges \*tshig  
 med mi ser gyi rta phyugs phran bu'i kha thal cung zad la'ang / za  
 'dod snyad gtser gyi chad las 'os med mi byed / sku tshab las tshan  
 'gan yod rigs kyis smyo zas kyis chang 'thung ba / bud med brten pa /  
 khyad par bdag can gyi bud med la log par g.yem pa sogs / bstan  
 pa'i ru drar 'dug pas sku tshab las tshan nas 'phral 'don byed / sha  
 khral mar khral bsdu khral la\* sogs pa khral rgyug gi 'dzom 'dzom \*omitted  
 byed dgos rigs / sku tshab rang gi gzhis kar rgad po spyi dpon  
 rnams 'dzom te / dpya 'di phog gi zhib rtsis bsdur nas 'go dpon  
 gtso bor snyan sgron phul nas rgyug pa ma gtogs / sbyin bdag nas  
 spyi sger gyi khral rigs rgyugs mi chog / sa mtshams zhag babs  
 rnams su mgron 'thud bzhag kyang / mgron babs sbyin bdag la  
 bkod 'dug pa thus rgyu min / gzhan yang sbyin bdag la ma nges  
 pa'i lto (112a) 'babs rigs / bdag yod mgron la sbyar ba las ja chang  
 sha la sogs pa'i spros pa mi byed / lto 'thud gzhi kha\* len mi chog / \*khad  
 sku tshab pas zhu rten phyag mjal sogs len nas / dpa' gzas chad  
 'thud 'u lag khral rkang sogs yang mi chog / sku tshab pas shi gson  
 gyi ston mo'i phud mi len / gnyen dga' bral dga' sdom byed pa la  
 phyag mjal len mi chog / mar khral lta bu las tshan phyin dgos rigs  
 la / bod dang spyi dpon gsum 'dzom gyis go bcad / der brten gyi  
 khral rigs med / nor dang rdzi bo'i phyag mjal mi len / ru pa pho  
 mo gcig las med na she ma gcig dang rdzi bo gcig gzhan bza' tshang  
 las pher bcas yod na she ma rdzi bo rbad gcod / 'u lag chad 'thud  
 'u lag rang bkod pa ma gtogs rgyu dngos mi len / gros\* mi spyi \*grol  
 dpon bla ma zhal ngos las sner slebs pa rnams kyis gzhung sogs  
 byes 'gro'i rigs la / mi ser nas zla bo mi 'khril / phyag mjal la snyad  
 pa'i khral bsdu byed mi chog / gzhi nas las tshan 'gan yod che  
 phra rnams na rgas dbang pos ma lcog pa dang nad cong gis zin pa  
 mig mthong rigs gang 'os / gzhan dgongs pa grol rigs rdzong du  
 zhag gsum las lhag pa sdod mi chog / lung par mi rigs mi gcig pa  
 byung tshe / lung dpon gang yin la brda\* ma sprod par mi \*omitted  
 btang / de dag gi sna len gdong bsu mi byed / Ar jag gi gnas  
 tshang byung na rkun mo dang khyad med pa'i nag chad / khol  
 bros nyams mi dga' ba'i rigs / babs yul nges can rnams kyis 'dzin  
 (112b) 'chang ma byas par gtong tshe khol tshab sgrigs / 'dzin  
 'chang byas pa'i khol jor 'byor 'phrod byung tshe / sa thag ring  
 thung zhag yun sogs dang dpags pa'i lto rnan lung pa'i sde thang

byin / gzhan yang sbyin bdag bu yod pa bu dang / bu mo yod pa  
 bu mos za / de yang khral rkang gnyis sbam byed mi chog / sbyin  
 bdag bud med dang g.yog rigs med pa'i rgan rgon sogs yod tshe /  
 ngo bo ma yol bar du skam khral gang 'byor re byed bcug / ngo bo  
 yol tshe sha rus gang nye'i mi phros yod pa nas khral rkang rtsa  
 lhongs byed / pha ma mi dga' ba'i gnyen mi bya / gzhan ma khral  
 zhing khral khyim dngos po yod bzhin du / khral pa gnyis gsum  
 sbam zhing / de yang skam khral la thab thus kyis bsgyur nas /  
 yongs la gnod pa'i dpe ngan gcig 'dug pa / de rigs kyang de rang la  
 bu dang bu mo'i phros yod na khral rkang so sor btsugs / mi phros  
 med na rang gis blos 'phos pa'i mi phros yod pa la / khral 'ul dmag  
 tsho res 'phel nges bcug / gzhis khang gzung nas grong khar khral  
 med yod tshe / gzhis dang dpag pa'i khral 'ul gang pher re bcug /  
 mi shi'i skor srog gcod mang du byed pa / shi gson gnyis kar ma  
 bzang 'dug pa / da nas me btang bla ma'i gdong len dkar dro byed  
 na 'gab 'dug pa'i dkar dro byed tshe / gzhung gi sku bkal mgo zug  
 tshab la phyed tam gi 'gong / bla ma'i sku bkal ras yug gi 'gong /  
 yang / gshin po'i zas (113a) bsgos tsam las dkar dro ma 'byor tshe /  
 gzhung dang bla ma'i sku bkal gong bzhin / gsung chog pa'i sha bkal  
 tshab la chur mo phul bzhi re zong byin kyang de rtsis byed / yang  
 / srog gcod ma byed ka med rang byung tshe / srog gcig bcad nas  
 gzhung dang cho ga pa sogs nye ba 'dzom rigs kyi gdong len des  
 khyab par byed / de las lhag pa'i srog gcod byed mi chog / nye ba'i  
 lto byin dang ras bkal kyi sha de bcad / dge ba yul tshan de rang  
 las gzhan du mi spros / stong rtsi zhabs tog gi rgyu'ang skam rlon  
 gang 'byor sbyin bdag rang gi 'dod sbyar byed / dgon sde'i bla mas  
 sger dbang gi mi shi'i phung po dbyar ka zhag gcig dang dgun ka  
 zhag gnyis ma 'gyangs par / me btang dgos pa'i cho ga pa'i grangs  
 dang yo byad sogs gzhung dang cha 'dra yang / bla ma ngo bo byon  
 ma tshugs pa dang dus 'gyangs pa sogs byung tshe / bla ma gzhung  
 nas dge rtsa'i cho ga btsugs skor sbyin bdag rang gi yo byad gang  
 'byor mtshan ma re dgon par skyel ba las yul du btsugs mi chog /  
 chos pa'i lto bkal sa zhing bcad nas btsong mi chog / 'jig rten pas  
 chos pa'i rgyags mi bcad / chos pa rang rkang can grong bshul sbyin  
 bdag nye gnas sha tshas dge bar gang 'gro byed / lto gzan zur bzhugs  
 chos pa'i rigs grong rjes su rten mchod chas rnams gong sar dgongs  
 rdzogs su phul / de lhag dge bar gang 'gro byed / chos pa'i mtshams  
 khang 'brdung dgos rigs / chos sde'i khongs su ma gtogs grong ltag  
 ri bsul gang byung (113b) brdung mi chog / dgon sder pho mo  
 sdom pa'i bu tsha beas byung tshe / 'jig rten byed pa grong khar  
 yin pas / yul sde'i khral tshab dgos par bcug / grwa rigs bsod  
 snyoms don spyod bla ma'i brel ba gong du phud pa'i / bag med gu  
 yang la zla phyed brgal tshe / khyim pa so nam gyi brel bas / yul

babs sku tshab pas dos skyal 'u lag bkol / de bzhin dgon sde'i bla  
 ma tsho'ang / lo dus kyi dbang chos tshes bcu ma ni'i brel ba gong  
 du phud pa'i bcad rgya kho nar bzhugs dgos rgyu / yul sde rnams  
 su bslab shes kyi rig gnas khung thub yin na ma gtogs / gang dran  
 glur blangs kyis gzhan mgo bskor ba'i mo rtsis sngags ban sman pa  
 sogs bkag / gzhung pa rdzong kha'i ma ni bas mtshon / ma ni ba'i  
 rigs la / dad 'bul ma gtogs / khral rigs bkod mi chog / mi ngan 'khrul  
 lag can gzhung nas bskrad par che phra sus kyang brten brdzi rgyab  
 skyor byed pa med / khyad par rkun ma nges can rku thog tu bsad  
 pa la / nag chad dge stong med / gri 'bal la gri chad / 'thab na 'thab  
 chad / gsod res byung na shi gson mnyam sbrags / ma thub tshe nam  
 zin la dmar gsod gtong ba'i / bu gzhis rnams tshe rabs su rang yul  
 las gting 'don mtha' la bskrad / yang / lam brdung jag chom rkun  
 ma g.yo khram nges can gsod pa dang / yul grur gnod pa'i gcan  
 gzan gsod pa dang / dgra phyogs las thob pa phul byung na phyag  
 mdud rgyab bkab sogs gang 'os byed / las sgo so (114a) so'i zong  
 rigs sngar lugs ltar spus dag dgos rgyu dang / las sgo'i 'go pa do dam  
 gang bkod des kyang tshad ldan dang / tshong pa sogs su thad nas  
 kyang de ka'i ngag 'khril dgos rgyu dang / don gyi snying por che  
 phra su thad nas kyang / 'di don la mi rtsi ba'i ngan pa mtshang  
 rdol byung ba dang / bka' shog gi rigs la 'dra brdzus 'bru log dang /  
 sa rim gyis gtong bar 'then thogs / gtan tshigs bkram pa'i don las  
 'gal ba sogs mi 'tsham pa'i bya ba byed mkhan byung na / rke mig  
 srog gsum rang la gtong nges yin zhing / de bzhin gtso bo mi rje chos  
 kyi rgyal po nas gzung / bla dpon sde rigs las tshan che rim rnams  
 la de lugs kyi khur bzhag med cing / mnga' 'bangs skyid sdug mi  
 blta / rang 'og mi non / rgyu 'bras khyad gsod nag po sdig las kyi  
 bya ba byas pa phyogs mtshams mtha' bzhi gang nas byung zhing  
 thos kyang / 'di la mngon spyod mi mdzad na /

'di la mngon spyod mi mdzad na /  
 dam can srung mas ci zhig bya //

zhes sogs dang /

dge ba su spyod sun 'byin pa //  
 'di 'dra bsgral ba'i 'os lags so //

zhes pa'i lung bzhin du ye shes mgon po'i dmar rgyan du 'bul  
 rgyu thag chod yin pas / der ma song ba'i rang rang so so'i thad du  
 go shes yang dag yod pa'i mu nas / lha dpang dkon mchog gsum  
 dang / mi dpang phyag mdzod rang du bcol ba'i bstan pa phyi nang  
 gsang gsum gyi zhabs 'degis ci 'gyur dang phan sleb gang che byas  
 shing / mtha' na lus (114b) srog gi steng khar babs kyang ci gsung

bsgrub pa'i snying stobs kyi go cha gyon te / chos dang srid kyi  
 bsrab ston 'gan bzhes chos blon mgar lta bu'i phyag phyi zhu dgos /  
 zhes dpal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i chos  
 kyi rgyal srid phyogs mthar spel ba'i las tshan spyi'i rnam par  
 gzhas pa'i yan lag tha mar dge ba'i bkra shis gsum pa 'jig rten kun  
 la khyab gyur cig //

gang 'dir chos srid lugs brgya'i bum bzang gtso //  
 phan bde'i lung gi rin chen ma nyams par //  
 rgyal brgyud lha dbang dgyes pa'i mchod sprin du //  
 'gro gsum mtho ris rten du bkod pa yin //

zhing khams rgya mtshor dge legs rab 'byams khungs //  
 bde 'byung nor bu'i khrir 'dzegs chos rgyal du //  
 longs su spyod chog dam pa'i legs bshad 'di //  
 sa spyod du ma'i rgyan du cis mi gzung //

srid par rlabs chen 'jug pa'i rnam thar 'phreng //  
 nyin gcig bzhin du spyod cing nges 'dod na //  
 blo ldan gang zhig 'di la che bzhir dang //  
 rgyal po khri thog sangs rgyas nyid du 'gyur //

de lta'i mthu las 'jig rten khams kun tu //  
 dpal ldan dbyar nga'i chos srid rab rgyas te //  
 gnas skabs mthar thug mi bslu phan bde'i 'bras //  
 rdzogs ldan ngo mar spyod pas 'da' gyur cig //

ces dpal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen ngag gi dbang po'i bka'  
 khrims phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i gtam 'di yang /  
 chos rgyal gong ma'i khrir sngon gyi smon lam rten 'byung gis grub  
 pa / bdag ngag (115a) dbang bstan 'dzin mi pham dbang po'i sdes /  
 rgyal ba'i gong bu ngag dbang bdud 'joms rdo rje 'phrin las bzhi'i  
 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzhal med khang / 'brug spungs thang bde ba  
 chen po lugs gnyis dge bar skyong ba'i rgyal khab nas / rab byung  
 zhes pa sa mo bya'i lo rgyal bas gsang sngags chos 'khor ston pa'i  
 dus kyi zla ba'i yar tshes bzang por bris pa dge legs su gyur cig / ces  
 pa lta bu ni blo ldan bstan la brtse zhing 'gro la phan bzhed lugs  
 nyis skyong ba rnam la sman 'gyur cher srid snyam nas 'dir dka'  
 yang dang du blangs pa'o //

[/Preamble/]

(100b 1.4) Secondly, as to explaining the decree of the legal code of the Mighty Dharmarāja<sup>1</sup> of the 'Brug-pa, now when the incarnation Lord Mi-pham dBang-po<sup>2</sup> had ascended the golden throne he voiced his thoughts about the propitious rule of this Realm of Four Approaches by means of the dual system [/of royal and religious law/] in accordance with the legal decrees of the ancients. He issued a command, saying: "You must at all costs prepare a record of the legal customs which were maintained intact by the sDe-pa dBu-mdzad<sup>3</sup> and others [/and which were based on/] legal codes handed down from the royal lineage and the ancestral Dharmarājas to Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che." I myself,<sup>4</sup> therefore, drew up and offered a draft of the laws of Srong-btsan sGam-po, Khri Srong-lde-btsan, Khri Ral-pa-can, Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che, the sDe-pa dBu-mdzad and others, just as they were discovered (101a) in the royal and religious histories. Now, following the account of the successive [/incumbents to the office of/] sDe-srid Phyag-mdzod,<sup>5</sup> the time has come to explain this same decree of the legal code. Furthermore, it is also set down here in order to bring benefit as an excellent example of what should be known to the successive upholders of the teachings of the Glorious 'Brug-pa, and so it is as follows:



The Legal Decree of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che,  
the Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po<sup>6</sup> entitled<sup>7</sup>  
The Discourse, Victorious in All Directions

PART I: Introduction to the principles of theocratic rule<sup>7</sup>

By good pronouncements, beneficial to religion  
 and the state,

Mighty 'Jigs-med Grags<sup>7</sup> protect

In the centre of the ocean, the realm of the  
 dKar-rgyud<sup>8</sup>

Which is sustained by the way of deliverance in  
 the Land of Medicine!<sup>9</sup>

Virtuous and all-encompassing sound of the  
Dharmacakra,

Excellent river of extensive teaching in your  
 three bodies,<sup>10</sup>

Son of Śuddhodana,<sup>11</sup> skilled in action in the ocean  
 of realms,

With sweet-sounding series of the triple gem<sup>12</sup>  
 rule over my head.

I bow to those known as the dKar-brgyud-pa, holders  
 of the enjoyment of all the maṇḍalas;

The matchless company who rain down these very  
 precious things, profound and vast, of the way  
 of deliverance

As far as the ends of the sky in the ten directions of  
 space; who are completely filled with magical  
 stores of jewels

By the lord of the Nāgas, who exercises the perfect  
 wisdom, the fulfilled desire pertaining to the  
 extensive Three Assemblages.<sup>13</sup>

I bow to the succession of ancestral Dharmarājas,

Those who ruled with the treasure of immeasurable  
 kindness

And beneficial, undiminishing authority in that Cool  
 Land<sup>14</sup>

By means of the three kinds<sup>15</sup> of wisdom, which have the  
 power of loving kindness.

(101b) In particular I do obeisance at the feet of the one  
possessed of the lineage

Of the melody of clouds <sup>16</sup> [that resembles] the sweet  
sound of a banner waved strongly,

Of the winged vulture <sup>17</sup> which reaches as far as [its  
destination in a day]

By means of the doctrines pertaining to the essence  
of secret truth.

Oh Ye-shes mGon[-po] <sup>18</sup> lCam-dral, who brings to an end  
The wars of malignant spirits who injure the teachings,  
Armed with a circle of magic swords,  
Remember the oath you took to sever the lives of  
enemies.

Since the appearance or non-appearance of benefit  
and happiness throughout the realm

Depends on whether state laws are promulgated in  
accordance with religion,

As to authority for governing the state by means of  
the Dharmacakra,

What else is there for it but to hold to the teachings  
of the Buddha as a model ?

On that account the golden womb of Muni's  
scriptures,

<sup>19</sup>  
The divine action of the fourfold wheel of Brahma,

Was enjoyed meritoriously

By the discriminating Mahāsammatā.

In accordance with these words, in general the happiness of  
all beings who are as limitless as the sky's extent depends  
on those very places where a Buddha's teachings have spread.

In particular, for us of the age of decline <sup>20</sup> it is the  
teachings of the Śākya king or the laws established by that  
same teacher [which hold sway]. In that regard, the precious  
doctrines known as the Śrāvaka discipline, the Bodhisattva

discipline and the Sugata discipline have been upheld, guarded and diffused; externally, the state laws of proper conduct, internally the Sangha which systematises the explanation and realisation [of the teachings] and, secretly, the ocean of oath-bound divinities with real and

(102a) magical powers have progressively protected and guarded them. So to this day they exist, having the quality of an unimpaired, slowly flowing heavenly stream.

Thinking of that, the Bhagavat said in the Suvarṇaprabhasa  
<sup>21</sup>  
sūtra:

For the benefit of myself and others

I shall protect the land with pure religion.

If the practice of deceit should become apparent

It shall be stopped by punishments that accord  
 with religion.

In accordance with these words, since a degree of strictness [in the administration] of the state laws is most important for the fortunes of the Buddha's teachings, the state laws and the customs of the successive rulers must be maintained unimpaired.

In that respect, as to the origins of the lineages of precious royal families: before the world and its inhabitants came into being, the great Brahma of the golden womb was produced as the spontaneous appearance of activity in the heavenly palace of the gods of clear light. From him there spread out in succession the clear light of the third realm, the seventeen abodes in the realm of form and the essence of the six groups of gods of desire. Finally, after he had descended to Jambudvīpa, by his favour the first [ruler to appear was] King Mahāsammata, in whose family the so-called

'five ancient kings' and the five classes of Cakravartin kings [came forth]. In the succession of their royal lineage they came to be known, from [various] causes, as the lineage of the Ikṣvāku and also as the Śākya lineage. It is said in the Vinaya that among them, from King Mahāsammata to Prince Rahula, there were one million one hundred and ten thousand five hundred generations of kings.<sup>22</sup> After [the time of] the Dharmarāja Aśoka, when many of these had gone by, [there appeared] gNya'-khri bTsan-po, the first of the kings (102b) of the Tibetan land, and in his royal lineage [there arose] the so-called 'Seven Khri in the Sky', 'Two lTeng of the World Above', 'Six Legs of the Intermediate Space', 'Eight lDe on the Earth' and 'Three bTsan of the Underworld'.<sup>23</sup> In the twenty-seventh generation of these kings lHa-tho-tho-ri sNyan-btsan, the incarnation of Ārya-Samantabhadra, came forth and the holy religion was begun. After Srong-btsan sGam-po, the lord of the world, had come forth in the fifth generation from him, in ruling by means of joining together the ten cycles of a Tathāgata with the ten cycles of a Dharmarāja,<sup>24</sup> from [the time of] Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan the Mañjuśrī, his son and the line of his successors, [down till] the time of [the ruler] Khri Ral-pa-can who was the chief of the secret host, and others, all the realms of Devavān<sup>25</sup> in the country of Tibet were governed by means of holy religion. Not only there but also in the countries of India, China, Kashmir, Khotan and Nepal the white parasol of the precious doctrine of the Buddha was placed on the spokes of the wheel of state laws. As for the fact that they thereby remained for a long time as fields of virtue, it is mentioned in scripture:

The good religious observances of humans

Form the basis of holy dharma.

The practice of the dharma together with its basis

Will gain one happiness on happiness.

As it thus happened, Ārya-Avalokiteśvara himself, the embodiment of all the Buddhas' compassion, incarnated himself in the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sGam-po who clearly laid down by means of many legal observances what was to be abstained from and what was to be adopted and so he turned the realm of Tibet into a pure land. Likewise the Realm of Four Approaches existed as the field of conversion for the family of his own reincarnation who was known as Ye-shes rDo-rje, [also known as] the Hierarch gTsang-pa rGya-ras(-pa) who possessed the name of his lineage and of his apparel<sup>26</sup> and who was the object of worship by beings, gods and humans [alike]; thus did he [gTsang-pa rGya-ras] give a prophecy to Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po as a sign that he would go there himself in the future.<sup>27</sup> And so he [gTsang-pa rGya-ras] took birth according to his will in an incarnation body within his own stainless lineage and came forth as the one named the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che, the Powerful Ngag-gi-dbang-po Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal 'Jigs-med-grags-pa.<sup>28</sup> To him the blood-drinking king Ye-shes mGon-po lCam-dral together with his proud army offered this Great Southern Realm of Four Approaches in the manner of a religious estate and accepted orders to fulfil his actions. Bearing in mind the prophecy which the Mahāvidyadhara Padmasambhava had also made, saying:

Having founded a home in the womb cavity of the south

Rivers will disperse to the four quarters at the named doors,<sup>29</sup>

he turned the bridle of his horse of the four actions towards

the great city of the Medicine Land, the sphere of conversion of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che, the Bodhisattva bDud-'joms rDo-rje.<sup>30</sup> Having defeated the four atrocious demons<sup>31</sup> together with their disorderly battle lines and having gained control of the upholding, guarding and diffusing of the stainless theocracy of the dual system [of religious and secular government], he began the laying out of vast numbers of 'triple supports'<sup>32</sup> and temples, and subjected to his authority all the districts of the South. Having introduced laws where there had been no southern laws and fixed handles where there had been no handles on pots,<sup>33</sup> he constrained by means of religious laws like a silken knot and pressed down with state laws as with the weight of a golden yoke. Beginning [from the time of] the introduction of the great law of the dual system, the successive rulers also preserved intact the observance of state laws in accordance with religion and it is due to this that the possibility has arisen for all subjects of the Realm of Four Approaches to enjoy themselves in the glory of happiness and contentment. This being so, there is a need for maintaining unimpaired the practices of the early royal lineage.

Now, foremost in the legal code of the great Dharmarāja<sup>34</sup> [there occurs] the law of not taking life, manslaughter-fines for the dead and the living; the law of not taking without being given — the hundredfold restitution for stealing religious goods, the eightyfold restitution for the king's goods, with the eightfold restitution for the goods of subjects; the law of not committing adultery with married women, with fines for fornication and penalties for adultery or rape; the law of abstaining from falsehood, the law of calling the guardian deities to witness when swearing oaths etc., and in

general, in addition to abstaining from the Ten Unvirtuous Actions, showing filial respect for one's father and mother and due respect to śramanas and brahmins, honouring the elders of the family, returning kindness done to oneself by others, abstaining from false cheating with regard to weights and measures -- he performed this enactment by law of the Sixteen Pure Rules of Human Conduct.

In that manner the so-called "regulation of public order"<sup>35</sup> of Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che acted in previous times (104a) throughout the whole of this land of the South as a most sacred example of a legal code pertaining to the dual system; however, in the meantime this regulation of public order has been largely treated with indifference and if such things are left to continue in that manner, laws relating to what should and should not be done are not practicable. If there is no law, happiness will not come to beings. If beings do not have happiness there is no point in the Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa upholding the doctrine of the dual system. Therefore, holding the precious doctrine in one's heart, it is necessary to enact legal observances like those of the Dharmarāja Srong-btsan sGam-po which establish a justice devoid of bias or partiality.

Furthermore:

The happiness of beings depends on the doctrine

And the doctrine on beings who uphold it.

Thus it happened, and so for beings who uphold the doctrine there is cause for desiring an establishment of happiness in the doctrine and among beings by setting up whatever is fundamental to a dual system of legal administration under which all beings are looked upon as an only child.

Yet nowadays, due to sheer obstinate wickedness on the

part of various persons [characterised by] bad, confused thoughts and lack of due measure, the bodeful laws have been repudiated. Without thinking for a moment about discrimination between good and evil, or between cause and effect, penalties and summary confiscations have been meted out for the sake of [acquiring] wealth by making false accusations against the innocent, beating and tying them with ropes and throwing them into dungeons, and all the 'patrons' have really become ghosts in the land of humans. The beneficial, enchanted lake of the state laws has been stirred into turbidity by many evil deeds not consonant with the doctrines, such as plain trickery, including bribery, on the part of a few wealthy and important people who include among them [village] counsellors and messengers <sup>36</sup> [who do this] while speaking sweet sounding deceits in pretence of respecting officialdom; also uprisings of subjects pushed towards the capital by some of them [with] all sorts of truths and untruths. Therefore, having investigated in detail what is what, the chief master of the laws <sup>37</sup> should turn towards good legal usages that distinguish religion from irreligion. As it is said:

The king skillful in all things  
Should consider well his servitors.  
With application to truth and religion  
He should always protect the provinces. <sup>38</sup>

Since it is necessary therefore to preserve the state laws in accordance with religion, acts of evil that transgress religion are to be suppressed; the pursuit of terminating all such things as selfishness, anger, fecklessness, wild behaviour, fierce oaths, contempt, the 'Seven Defects' and the 'Ten Realms' is the intention of the gūtras and tantras.



According to the word of the Buddha himself:

By cutting to pieces these things,  
The sojourn in hell will become short,  
There will be no obstacles to achieving yoga,  
The power of the Mahāyana will expand  
And the Buddhist doctrines will extend.

Thus it was said, and in the Northern Medicine Land of Sāla the Dharmarājas who came forth in early times were certainly nothing other than Bodhisattvas and abodes of grace. But later one section of [Tibetan] rulers,<sup>39</sup> as a result of their severe favouritism [characterised by] frenzy and evil temperaments, oppressed both the Kar[ma-pa] School and the 'Brug[pa] School as much as possible and even achieved their will [by promulgating] ordinances to the effect that since the order of these schools was evil they were to be annihilated. For example:

(105a) Even though the jackal howls with arrogance,  
The lion bears [him] compassion.<sup>40</sup>

Or again:

The great being examines his own faults;  
The bad man looks for faults in others.<sup>41</sup>

It was as said in these words. Similarly, even in this state of the Southern Land a few have fallen into selfishness and so the time draws near when the hundred white petals of the doctrine of religious and secular government will close. Exhorting, therefore, from one's innermost heart the sense of duty that cannot bear [to see] the doctrine repudiated before one, it is necessary to take after the wisdom and courage of the Bodhisattva Pañcasīkha, Khri Srong-lde-btsan, for the sake of protecting and of upholding, guarding and

diffusing this white parasol of the action of religious  
and secular law.

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[Here ends] the preliminary introduction to  
the general fundamentals of the theocratic  
rule of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che,  
the Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po. May the first  
virtuous blessing contained herein fill the  
whole world.

(105a  
1.4)

[/PART II: The duties of rulers and ministers]

(105a  
1.4) Those who hold the authority of royal measures  
taken

In this happy and prosperous world,  
May these great beings diffuse from here  
The fragrance of their deeds on the Mālaya winds.

Now, as to the chief actions befitting a sDe-srid  
Phyag-mdzod, who is the illuminator of the doctrine of the  
joint system [/of religious and state law/] and master of the  
practice of legal observances, the Bhagavat has said in the  
sūtras:

If the king becomes enamoured of religion,  
It is the path to happiness both in this and  
future lives  
Subjects will also act as the king acts;  
Therefore he must learn how to live in accord  
with religion.

(105b) Also the Second Buddha [/Padmasambhava/] has said:

A pure parental lineage, many supporting subjects,  
Noble behaviour, heed to promises made in an  
oath-list,  
Ability to guard one's dominion and possession of  
an army to overcome one's enemies,  
These are the requisites of an excellent king,  
a great man.

In accordance with these words, since this southern range  
is itself the unequalled and glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che's  
field of conversion, there is a definite need for not  
inferior designs to further the happiness of beings and of  
the doctrine by honouring on high the lotus feet of the  
Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po, the Jina's ruler.

Since the saṅgha is the basis of the Buddhist doctrine,

measures should be taken to do it honour as the occasion arises, giving pure exhortations towards /the cultivation of/ the meditational procedures of the utpatti/-krama/ and sampanna/-krama/<sup>42</sup> including the Ten Religious Practices<sup>43</sup> and the study of sacred dance, maṇḍalas and chanting. Textual examinations on studies completed by the students of grammar and poetry and by the College of Logic should be held at frequent intervals and rewards should be given in accordance with the works /on which they are examined./ An annual proclamation should be issued to the effect that instead of otherwise squandering whatever material objects there are in all the residences, they are to be used as offerings to the /Triple/ Gem, including the body, speech and mind-supports of the Jina, and for the upkeep of the saṅgha.

In the College of Crafts and also among the bodyguards and household servitors, examinations are to be held in accordance with their respective work in which emphasis should be placed on the Ten Religious Practices consisting of writing, making offerings, giving alms and so forth; and they should be employed in whatever works of service are undertaken for the doctrine.

When, in carrying out a daily investigation into the general welfare of the subjects, /It becomes evident that it is/ favourable or unfavourable, they should be brought exclusively to states of happiness. Enquiries should be entered into concerning how in time gone by the wisdom of good counsel caused subjects to adhere to the laws of the Ten Rules of Virtuous Conduct /and how this could also be done/ in the future /such as was done in the past by/ the enactment of prohibitions against hunting and fishing and

701

so on, whereby killing and thieving were abstained from in the various districts.

Since the victory or defeat of worldly welfare depends chiefly on judgements passed on litigation and on matters concerning taxation, corvée and the compulsory transportation of government loads, strict measures should be taken continuously in order to enquire into and root out any prejudiced relations that have been formed with an eye to the acquisition of food and wealth, whoever it may be who indulges in this, great or small. The ability to call the state laws to witness must be given prime importance,<sup>44</sup> without being influenced solely by what is said by the incumbents to the offices of rdzong/-dpon, mgron/-gnyer,<sup>45</sup> spyi-bla<sup>46</sup> and others who are wealthy and important, and without being influenced by the selfishness of personal servants in one's own retinue.

In this regard, as to the officials on the frontiers of the four borders, just as the happiness of the centre depends on the outer limits, if the terms of a treaty should be violated, one's own laws being treated laxly and acts of brigandage by one's own people occurring on the other side, not only will we meet with reprisals for these things but also it will turn into a serious transgression against the doctrine and beings in general. Lest this should happen, orders are to be issued repeatedly concerning the need for peaceful conduct.

Furthermore, if there should be any 'patrons' in any of the districts under the administration of a fort who are particularly oppressed by the need to render grass-tax and wood-tax,<sup>47</sup> such persons must be allowed to take charge of

/government/ horses and supply grass-tax at rates of liability fixed according to the custom which prevailed in previous times.

In brief, one must know the mechanism which illuminates the mastery of controlling at one time the play of the Four Actions /of pacifying, multiplying, ruling and subduing in order to fulfil, externally, the means by which the subjects are brought to happiness; internally, the commission of all officials; and in truth, the good deeds which diffuse the Three Refuges /and/ the monastic community. In The Mighty Lion's Roar it is said:

In the centre a peaceful circle, on the outside  
a square,

Prospering with the works of the four conch-  
shells,

The lion's roar which subjugates the three  
realms,

Turning the wheel of the magic-working sword.<sup>48</sup>

And in The Razor which Defeats the Enemies of the Doctrine it is said:

Any malignant being

Will be overtaken by magic power like a debt.

Bring down like a meteorite

Powerful works of destructive magic upon him.

As it is thus commanded, the custom of heaping good on good is instituted. If the heaping of evil on evil is not brought to an end, the state laws will not be able to spread in accordance with religion and so the principal requirement of a king is the fair discharge of state law. Moreover, just as one speaks of 'the law beloved of the king', so if a single king administers the law fairly he can bring his subjects to happiness in a single day. Now,

the fact that the succession of ancestral Dharmarājas in previous times sustained the beings of the Cool Land by means of the simultaneous discharge of religious and secular authority and the fact that Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che was able to tame this wild area of the South is due to the power they obtained through administering state laws in accordance with religion.

In general the reason for instituting state laws is for the very sake of the happiness of subjects in the various districts. In particular it is for the purpose of upholding, guarding and diffusing the sangha which abides to the Vinaya rules of the Buddha and forms the basis of the doctrine. However, in the meantime it has declined in some of its aspects and monks have broken their vows, taken life, taken that which is not given, and so forth. Although acting as the cause of the doctrine's decay such persons are not rooted out. Not only is this a bad example but it

(107a) will also cause the good path of the doctrine and of beings to decline as prophesied:

When the Vinaya rules decline the land is filled with oath-breakers.

This causes the happiness of beings to diminish.

And:

When religious law is discarded the main protector departs to heaven.

It is broken to pieces by the exhalations of the demon brothers.

When the religious customs of humans are discarded the gods decline.

The classes of black devils laugh 'Ha ha!'

Moreover the Tathāgata himself has said in the Sūryagarbha  
<sup>49</sup>  
Sūtra that the laws of monks during the final age of  
of decline will accord with the laws of the state.

Accordingly, from this time on when things have become intolerable for us, punishments are to be meted out in conformity with the customs of the Vinaya in right measure for each fault against the monastic precepts and it is certain that such monks must be deprived of their tokens of office and their robes. }

Furthermore, this evil sustenance called tha-ma-kha (tobacco) which is a cunning trick prepared by demons, is now being used continuously by all the people and the peasants, including the bodyguards and menials; not only does this pollute the body, speech and mind-supports but also it causes the gods above to decline, it disturbs the spirits of intermediate space and injures the nāgas of the underworld. From this cause there continuously arises in the world the fate of diseases, wars and famines and so it conforms with many prophecies given by the great teacher Padmasāmbhava. If people in any of the districts should be found to be indulging in the trading and smoking of tobacco, this ruinous sustenance, and if this practice is not forcibly eliminated by the rdzong/-dpon, mgon/-gnyer,  
<sup>50</sup> government representatives and officials, the village counsellors and messengers, then things will definitely fall on their own heads. The officials on the Indian frontier<sup>51</sup> must prohibit the import of tobacco  
<sup>52</sup> at the duars themselves. Control through these measures is important.

Similarly, when accounts are heard about the unequal and varying degrees of welfare among subjects during these present times, rather as a result of the karmic propensities of beings in the Age of Degeneration, and if a ruler should then discard with indifference those means towards



the obtainment of happiness that do exist, then what difference is there between him and a king of devils ? Apart from planting the staff of the Three Truths<sup>53</sup> before one and calling upon the Triple Gem to act as one's witness, if anyone at all, whoever he might be, has shown partiality and discrimination in his judgements on litigation or in matters of taxation, corvée and so on, then it is certain that he himself will meet with severe laws. That one should act in such a manner, it has been said in the scriptures:

Protecting the realm by whatever means,  
Taming the hated enemy,  
And not forsaking the hopes of the subjects:  
Do these quickly during your lifetime.

And:

The rough tamed the rough  
But how will the gentle be able to tame. 54

In accordance with these words, one must cut off at its roots the karmic effect of deeds while forever striving in virtuous actions. Evil criminals<sup>55</sup> should not be regarded with compassion but retributions<sup>56</sup> should be visited upon their bodies and souls in order that the future practice of such deeds be eliminated. If, however, on account of shame and pity they are allowed to continue, malevolent persons will multiply. That being so and since it is just as it has been said that Buddhahood subsists under the law beloved of the king, when it comes to be established by a ruler, on the basis of either what he has himself seen or of what he has heard of in reports, that the different grades of officials who reside in the rdzong

and the government representatives either have or else have not been administering the state laws to the subjects in accordance with religion, they are forthwith to be  
(108a) either eliminated or supported; and it must be known that this is a duty of the successive sDe-srid Phyag-mdzod.

Furthermore:

If a holy man is appointed chief

Aims are realised and happiness is gained.<sup>57</sup>

In accordance with these words, Buddhahood comes from a reigning king.

As to the order of employment of those holding the authority of the Dharmarāja who upholds the doctrine, (i.e.) the mgon-gnyer, the rdzong-dpon of the seats of residence and the three spyi-bla Źof sPa-gro, Krong-sarand Dar-dkar-nang, rGyal-dbang Kun-mkhyen 'Brug-pa Ź= Padma dKar-po has said:

Devotion to the lord on high and affection  
for the subjects below,

Noble behaviour, gentle speech and a pious  
disposition,

In combat brave and able to take others on;

These are the requisites when fulfilling the  
great commissions of a king.

Accordingly, on arrival in a place to which he has been transferred, Źan official should give reports on the merits and defects of government in its external, internal and middling undertakings Źin that place; Źthis should be done in general as a service rendered to the theocratic rule of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che, the Bodhisattva Ngag-gi dBang-po who is the crown ornament of those Źliving in the age of decline, and in particular as a primary act of reverence of special value for the orders

received on high from the great ruler. Detailed reports should be submitted on the accounts for previous expenditure on ritual ceremonies performed for the benefit of the doctrine and of beings and on the welfare of the district; also any very troublesome suits concerning the frontiers.

Regarding law-suits, honest statements which do not contradict each other and which clearly distinguish truth from falsity are to be submitted without being swayed by bribes and great haughtiness.

When it becomes necessary to receive petitions from or have personal meetings with people who pursue philosophical systems different from our own, including those from India, Nepal and Tibet, careful enquiries should be addressed to such persons, in accordance with the outcome of which help should be rendered to them.<sup>58</sup>

(108b) Persons who have worked for the doctrine should not be made despondent but brought to the notice of the ruler and raised to official posts in accordance with their merits.

Continually holding enquiries into the internal discipline of the store-keepers, the officials, the craftsmen, those entitled to ride horses, the bodyguards and cooks, they should be placed in shifts as of previous custom.

No person great or small should be entrusted with government powers if he takes credit for the good while blaming others for the evil he has himself committed.<sup>59</sup> When one comes to perform governmental duties one should endeavour as much as possible to fulfil them meticulously<sup>60</sup> just as if they were identical with one's own private affairs.

As to matters of great importance and significance, one should not decide on them oneself without having

requested instructions. Since however to submit many reports concerning evil crimes and unimportant matters of no significance would disturb the concentration of the ruler, it is unfitting to do more than decide on these matters oneself. Giving admonishments which inculcate the observance of the Ten Rules of Virtuous Conduct among the subjects while looking to their general welfare and so on, one should accept the command to fulfil on a broad scale acts such as these which can accomplish simultaneously the Four Actions.

Furthermore, lest decay on the border should lead to internal destruction<sup>61</sup> and in accordance with the saying: "Cleaning of the fortress without; hoarding and depositing of provisions in the stores within; furnishing armour and weapons in between -- since there is no certainty when the enemy will come, do not minimize preparations." -- so vigilant heed should be taken against enemies by watching and listening on the frontiers wherever they may be and without regard to their distance from the fortress. Also when it is necessary to take part in fierce warfare one should display the brilliance of great and confident bravery like a lion amidst wild beasts, by means of steadfast and prudent methods using humility, intelligence and alertness, these three, with resoluteness, courage and wisdom -- these three qualities<sup>62</sup> -- which look only to the precious lama as the essential refuge and to the doctrine's

(109a) gain. By these means the soldiers, each with a full set of armour, weapons and helmet<sup>63</sup> and with a horse<sup>64</sup> apiece are to be arrayed in the battle line where abundant revels should be held, at the conclusion of which dispositions are to be made as the occasion demands.

Once one's own side has summoned forth its courage and dexterity and once one has oneself become a leader capable of surprising the hostile army, then the enemy side is to be destroyed to ashes. Since, however, it would be a frightful crime if the body, speech and mind-supports of the Jina belonging to the enemy should be burnt, wrecked and smashed, such actions are to be stopped at their inception. Booty obtained in the battle line may be carried off by those who obtain it. When handing out weapons, orders are to be circulated to the effect that turquoises, houses and land properties<sup>65</sup> will be granted to those champions who can take on a hundred of the enemy. Those who have killed one or two persons should be treated according to their merits and given 'hero sashes', mantles and so on. With regard to the commanders, 'arrow captains', officers, quartermasters, armourers and soldiers, since there are many tactical dispositions to be prepared when they enter upon fierce warfare, it is vital that these should be arranged promptly.

Above all the ability to establish the cohesion of good relations between the ruler and his subjects is required when undertaking government work. As it is said:

An intelligent and honest minister

Fulfils all the interests of the ruler and his subjects.

66

And:

When petty-minded, ill-advised people quarrel

An intelligent person restores them to happiness  
by skillful means.

In accordance with these words, those rdzong/-dpon and mgron/-gnyer who take part in deliberations and those followers who attend on the lord, whoever they may be, should give reports unconcealingly about those external businesses

that are not being considered within the court and observe a strict watch on their thought and speech to avoid conveying outside the internal discussions of the court.

(109b)

As for the companion of clear intellect and few words, -

If slanders are committed they are like pieces of wood that have been misplaced.

And:

Someone who can be trusted with secret counsels is a friend;

If told to others they are unimpedable.<sup>67</sup>

In accordance with these words the butlers-in-chief, stewards-in-chief and others must have pure hearts. If they do not act in that manner, then:

Even more than by enemies are great men

Harmed by their retinues.<sup>68</sup>

Similarly, the household guards should not be careless during daytime and must not take breaks too soon or too late; they must make their general behaviour conform in body, speech and mind to religious principles. Accordingly, at times when it is required to show unerring discernment in one's choice of action according to the laws of the Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po which contain the fundamentals of government administration in its external, internal and intermediate aspects, then just as water is not clear when disturbed at its source:

'If the king himself does not render honour

Even the Omniscient One will not be held in esteem.

In accordance with these words, apart from the sDe-srid Phyang-mdzod at the head who is master of the law and who should conform to the above principles,<sup>69</sup> the rdor-'dzin of

Gangs-ri and other officials are to be accorded identical entitlements and customary privileges. The rdzong-dpon and the mgron-gnyer are required to eat their meals together in the kitchen. Alterations are not to be made from previous practice with regard to the privileges of the store-keepers and officers, whoever they may be. All those entitled to the various sorts of 'white rations'<sup>71</sup> are not permitted to eat turn by turn, earlier or later instead of together. All the rdzong-dpon of the provinces, the rgya-drung of the east and west and moreover those of the rank of phyi-mgron<sup>72</sup> whether they are major or minor government representatives, belong to the class of those entitled to 'white rations', except in the case of the various customary privileges that are admissable in terms of a special feast when taking up residence.<sup>73</sup> Not more than three or four attendants are to be taken with one when it is necessary to go on government duty to try law-suits.

Detailed accounts must be rendered to the ruler in compliance with proclamations that are issued annually regarding the revenue to be derived in terms of grain, goods and wealth; these accounts are to be drawn up in respect of each district under the administration of a rdzong, whether great or small, on the basis of the appointment and dismissal of old and new servants, the specific measure of grain realised from the ecclesiastical estates, the specific amount of taxes and 'initiation fees'<sup>74</sup> obtained from the 'patrons' and the entertainment allowances reckoned in accordance with the number of servants.

Throughout the districts keys should be held only by the store-keeper in person and not entrusted to one's own kinsmen.

With the exception of the team of craftsmen, it is not permitted to give [ration-]salaries to any person, strong or weak.

If the contents of the granaries and store rooms in each of the districts under the administration of a rdzong are left for a long time they go to waste; annual distributions should therefore be made to the subjects, the matter being reported to the ruler. In performing measures such as this simply and solely to bestow happiness, one should take after the Dharmarājas Mu-ne bTsan-po and Khri Ral-pa-can who on three occasions reduced the disparities of joy and misery among the beings of the Land of Snow.<sup>75</sup>

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[Here ends] the middle main section concerning the general fundamentals of [the system whereby] the ministers administer the theocratic rule of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che, the Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po. May the second virtuous blessing contained herein fill the whole world.



/PART III : The duties of government officials/

(110a  
1.5)

I shall speak here about the principal aspects,  
such as /prevailed in/ ancient times,

Of the discerning behaviour /to be observed by/  
the multitude of officials who are worthy of  
being trained

/By/ the seal of the command of he who experiences  
enjoyment

On a throne /formed by/ the tresses of millions  
of petty rulers who openly bow down /before  
him/.

(110b)

Just as one speaks of someone as 'an appointed man,  
a planted tree', the reason for appointing a master of  
the law to each district is because the various kinds of  
government representatives and officers are vital for the  
welfare of sentient beings in present times. That which  
they must know to be the fundamental rules governing their  
behaviour, analysed each in turn, is as follows.

Second-class /government/ representatives and those  
holding the joint office of bla/-ma/ and gnyer/-pa/ /are  
entitled to/ two attendants and one groom. All /ordinary/  
government representatives /are entitled to/ one attendant  
and one groom. If it is /found/ that on the estates there  
are /attendants and grooms/ in excess of these /entitlements/  
who have been maintained on the side, /they shall be/ bound  
with ropes and the government representative's salary in  
kind is to be stopped.

Since much travelling around by the various classes of  
officers is the occasion of great oppression to all the  
'patrons', as from now, except when transfers occur, it  
is forbidden to take even a single step on false pretexts.

Paddy that has to be given for husking must be given

only after a large measure has been saved up and not in dribbling quantities. Moreover, no more should be taken than that which is yielded by the sheaves after threshing.

Apart from ancient religious estates which bear official responsibilities and which are properly designated, others should be subjected to the common tax collections<sup>76</sup> reckoned according to the number of 'patrons' settled there.

Material objects, including gold, turquoise, bronze, copper, horses, cattle, images and religious objects are not to be seized from the public as false shares in kind for trading ventures. Apart from trading at rates determined by the local prices in each district, it is not permitted to force people to trade at extortionate rates. Salt and butter is not to be handed over as barter. Wool yarn is not to be handed over for weaving.<sup>77</sup> Fleece should not be demanded.

As from now the habit of those government representatives belonging to the districts under the administration of a rdzong and those lamas of the monastic communities who tour around begging alms from the 'patrons', roving the villages and so on, is to be suppressed.

It is not permitted to indulge in slave trading. If anyone trading suspiciously should come, the matter is to be explained to the district chief and it is required

(111a) that he too informs his chief overlord.

With regard to saline and mineral springs, apart from just those who fall under the following categories, it is forbidden to use the hot springs: yas phyin mchog phebs zhor (?);<sup>78</sup> the holy sangha for which it is a mark

of honour; those according to their merits /who pursue/ philosophical systems different /from our own/; and those officers, great or small, for example /the rdzong-dpon of/ the various provincial capitals and the spyi-bla, /their/ servants and so on, whose severe illness has been duly recognised. Besides otherwise /taking/ one's own provisions and looking for assistance, /the practice of demanding/ board and lodging, compulsory transportation of loads, food and ale during overnight stays and so forth is to be eliminated. It is absolutely forbidden to take servants on account of one's own going to the saline and mineral springs. In going there of one's own accord, apart from going straight there and back, it is forbidden to enter the rdzong. If /persons/ should come /into the rdzong/, the rules forbid them to be given provisions, audience or succour. In travelling there, unless the road guards possess orders /to the contrary/, those persons who are fit to go to the saline and mineral springs may be permitted to proceed after they have been stopped and individually passed.

Furthermore, as to the various kinds of load transport, the government representatives in the districts under the administration of a rdzong, whoever they may be, are required /to send/ written reports to the ruler concerning the specific number of loads transported. It is also required /to send/ to the ruler a list of receipts /which specify/ the various distances over which such and such a number of loads belonging to so and so were transported on such and such dates. If loads are not transported in this manner, reprisals and severe punishments are to be imposed individually.

As government representatives are given one horse for them to look after and one horse which is maintained [for them] by the rdzong, in addition to these they may, after requesting the chief civil officer, maintain each a horse on payment of a due of one hundred ṭamka. Besides this, it is not permitted to maintain horses and cattle on one's private means. If persons are found to be doing so, [the horses and cattle] will be seized and taken to the rdzong(-kha ?). Apart from thus maintaining up to three horses, it is forbidden for a government representative

(111b) to impose on 'patrons' any grass-tax, wood-tax, transportation of loads, and the various kinds of corvée. It is not permitted to send members of the public to the border trade marts in order to trade in the horses that have been collected as dues.<sup>79</sup>

With regard to the presents of ale sent to a government representative while he is judging cases, apart from a single vessel of ale reckoned from each litigant, it is not permitted to take as much as a ma-ṭam or as little as a square of smān/-rtse.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, apart from holding trials in the rdzong(-kha?) itself, it is not permitted for a government representative to decide on them [elsewhere], whatever the degree of their importance.

It is not permitted for government representatives to rove around the villages on false pretexts such as inspecting the boundary walls of fields during times of harvesting and planting. If horses and cattle belonging to the public should happen to stray and eat a little of the grass, grain-crop or fruit trees [within] the boundary walls of the government representative's fields, he is not to [mete out] false and tormenting punishments in order to obtain whatever

he should desire or commit other such unworthy deeds. Since the behaviour of those government representatives bearing the responsibilities of office who consume intoxicating liquor, cohabit with girls and commit adultery with married women constitutes the arch-enemy of the doctrine, such government representatives are to be summarily dismissed from office.

With regard to the administration of taxes for the levy of which meetings are required to be held, such as for meat-tax, butter-tax, harvest-tax and so forth, the village headmen and messengers must assemble on the property of the government representative himself and they are to be levied only after submitting to the chief civil officer a demand roll in which are entered the detailed accounts of specific tax liabilities that have been adjudged; <sup>81</sup> apart from this it is not permitted to levy from the 'patrons' various kinds of taxation, public or private.

Although an entertainment allowance is provided during overnight stays on the borders between districts, 'patrons' have sometimes been summarily appointed to supply board and lodging for guests; the entertainment allowance is not to be realised in this manner. Further, with (112a) regard to chance visits paid on 'patrons' for meals, apart from preparing for the guest whatever one might have at hand one should not occupy oneself with providing tea, liquor or meat. It is not permitted to take fields in lieu of the food allowance.

It is also not permitted for a government representative, after accepting gratifications, presents and so forth to grant remissions from military service, penal labour, The provision of government allowances, corvée, or to

show favour in matters relating to<sup>7</sup> tax estates and so forth. Government representatives should not take the prime portions in feasts held either for the dead or for the living. It is not permitted <sup>for them</sup> to accept presents during the festivities held to celebrate marriages and divorces.

In matters that require officials to go on tour, as in the case of butter-tax, decisions are to be taken by an assembled group <sup>consisting of the official himself</sup>, an attendant and a village messenger -- <sup>these</sup> three. It is not <sup>permitted to impose other</sup> kinds of tax on their<sup>own</sup> account.

Presents should not be accepted from cow<sup>owners</sup> and herdsmen. In the case of there being no more than a single couple <sup>working as</sup> pastoralists, <sup>they</sup> may be allowed to employ<sup>82</sup> one dairyman and one herdsman; if they <sup>the couple</sup> can manage the work within their own family, it is prohibited for them to employ a dairyman and a herdsman.

Apart from actually conscripting persons in corvée, punishments and the provision of government allowances, goods should not be taken <sup>from them in lieu of these obligations</sup>.

Those persons who have come to the end of their work, such as village counsellors and messengers, lamas and noblemen, and who travel to the capital and elsewhere, should not take with them companions from among the public. Nor are they permitted to levy taxes on the false pretext of <sup>their having to procure</sup> presents <sup>to offer their superiors in the capital</sup>. Basically those officials, great or small, bearing government responsibilities who are unable <sup>to continue in service</sup> on account of infirmity and old age and those, according to their merits, whose chronic illness has been duly recognised and,

furthermore, those who have been retired, all such persons must not stay in the rdzong for more than three days after receiving their dismissal.

If foreigners come to a district they are not to be permitted to proceed without informing the district chief, whoever he may be. Such persons are not to be harboured or welcomed. Those who have sheltered brigands are to receive severe punishments identical to those for thieves.

83

(112b) If unhappy slaves who run away are not seized and held by the inhabitants of those places where they stop but rather are allowed to proceed, then they the inhabitants shall themselves have to arrange substitute slaves in replacement. If a slave who has been seized and held is delivered up to the slave owner then food and rewards and the hospitality of the district should be given to the person responsible, fixed according to the distance and number of days spent in returning the slave.

Furthermore, if a 'patron' has a son, that son shall inherit and if he has a daughter, that daughter shall inherit. They are not permitted to combine two tax estates. If there is a 'patron' who has no daughters or servants of any kind, he should be made to supply 'dry tax' <sup>84</sup> to whatever extent possible for as long as he is living. On his decease the tax estate should be transferred to the kin most closely related to him by flesh or bone. <sup>85</sup> Marriages should not be contracted against the wishes of the parents. Also the practice whereby two or three taxpayers combine their taxable houses, taxable fields and all their material possessions causes a confusion with regard to 'dry tax'; this sets a bad example, injurious to all. If such persons themselves have male or female issue, then separate tax estates must be established. If they have no issue,

then they must designate someone as their 'issue' who must without fail be made to deliver taxes, take part in corvée and in the militia. Any persons possessing land property and houses who reside in a village district untaxed should be made to deliver taxes and take part in corvée on suitable terms fixed according to the size of his land property.

With regard to deaths, if much killing of animals for funerary feasts<sup>7</sup> takes place, this is not good either for the dead or for the living. Therefore in entertaining the lama who performs the cremation, it is sufficient to offer him a 'white meal'.<sup>86</sup> If this is done, then the government share is to be reckoned to the value of half a ma-tam in lieu of the head and quarter of an animal and the lama's share to the value of one roll of cotton. If, however, besides (113a) simply the 'blessed food' offered to the deceased himself, 'white meals' cannot be provided, the shares for the government and for the lama are to be reckoned as above and the monks assisting in the ritual are to be given four phul measures of rice or a piece of cloth in lieu of their shares of meat. If, however, it happens that there is nothing for it but to kill an animal, then a single animal may be butchered and used in a manner sufficient for providing the government share and for the entertainment of the monks assisting in the ritual and all the kinsmen assembled there. It is not permitted to butcher more than that. The distribution of meat to the relatives as a feast and a similar distribution made<sup>7</sup> when the pall is placed on the corpse is prohibited. Acts of merit for the deceased should be performed in his own village and not elsewhere. As for the materials used in acts of service 'reckoned to the thousandfold',<sup>87</sup> these may accord with the desire of the 'patron' himself and consist of



whatever 'dry' [cash] or 'wet' [food] he has at hand. Lamas of monastic communities [acting] in their private capacity must cremate the corpses of the deceased before one day has elapsed in summer and two in winter; the number of monks assisting in the ritual and the material necessities are equal to [those prescribed for funerals performed by] the government. In cases when the lama cannot come in person or is delayed, the 'patrons' must take to the monastery whatever provisions they have at hand, and of good quality, as the food required for the lama and the government when introducing the ritual of 'The Root of Virtue'; apart from doing this, it is not permitted to introduce [such rituals under these circumstances] in the home [of the deceased]. It is not permitted to set aside part of one's land and fields [in order to raise] the food shares of the religious persons [conducting a funeral]. Lay persons are not to reduce the provisions offered to religious persons. The personal property left by a deceased religious person who was himself the possessor of a tax estate should be disposed of by his loving patrons and attendant disciples in whatever meritorious works they can accomplish. After the death of a retired orderly who has devoted himself to the religious life, his religious objects and ritual implements are to be offered to the ruler for his funerary memorials. If there are more things besides these, they should be disposed of in whatever meritorious works can be accomplished.

88

As to the requirements governing the building of hermitages for religious persons, these should be built only within range of a monastic community and not above villages or in any random side valley. If men and women who cohabit in monastic communities should bear children, [they] should be

forced to settle in district communities where substitute taxpayers<sup>89</sup> are required [In order to replace previous taxpayers who had died there without issue] since the village is where worldly actions should be performed. If monks spend more than half a month in heedless loitering, except in the case of their going on begging tours, pursuing their own [legitimate] affairs or their lama's business, then just as householders engage themselves in agricultural work, [so also should] the government representative in the district where such monks make their halt put them to work in the transportation of loads and in corvée. Similarly, the lamas of monastic communities are to reside solely in states of seclusion, except when they are engaged in the annual and seasonal initiations, teachings, tshes-bcu<sup>90</sup> rituals and ma-ni recitations. Besides [propounding] in the district communities those spiritual precepts which are well-founded in learning, the diviners, astrologers, spell-binders, false monks and doctors who deceive others by singing whatever comes to mind are to be prohibited. Apart from devotional offerings, it is not permitted to render any kind of tax to the various sorts of ma-ni-ba<sup>91</sup>, for instance to the licensed ma-ni-ba attached to the districts under the administration of a rdzong.

Evil and deceitful persons who have been banished from the capital are not to be given harbour or support by anyone, great or small. In particular, there are no penalties or manslaughter-fines for killing a real thief while in the act of theft. For drawing a knife, 'knife penalty', and for fighting, 'fight penalty' [will be incurred]. If murders take place, the dead and the living are to be bound together.<sup>92</sup>

If this cannot be done, the murderer is to be executed upon his arrest and his children and family are to be expelled from their home and exiled to the border for all their lifetime. Furthermore, any person who kills an actual highwayman, robber, thief or deceitful liar, and any person who kills a wild beast that has been committing injuries in the districts, and any person who comes to offer goods won from the enemy side, all such persons should be rewarded appropriately with consecrated ribbons, mantles and so forth.

(114a) As of previous custom, the various goods in the different border trade marts<sup>93</sup> must be of good quality and whoever is appointed as the superintendant official of the border trade mart must himself be judicious in character. The traders and others, whoever they may be, must abide closely to what he says.

Essentially, if any person at all, great or small, should commit capital crimes<sup>94</sup> such as perpetrating evil deeds and sins that contravene the substance of these rules, counterfeiting written orders or altering their sense by reshaping their letters, impeding the dispatch by stages of such orders, or transgressing the substance of decrees<sup>94</sup> that have been duly circulated and other such things, then it is certain that such people will be bound by the neck, blinded and executed — these three. Similarly, if anyone from the chief Dharmarāja ruler at the top, down to the lamas and officers who hold important posts should, without acquiescing to such provisions as these, fail to look to the welfare of the subjects or keep a hold on those beneath them or if they should commit evil sinful deeds in contempt of the doctrine of karmic retribution — and if accounts of such things

occurring anywhere within the four cardinal points should be heard, then:

If destructive magic is not performed on him

What can the oath-bound Protectors do ?

And so forth. Also:

Those who offer insults to persons engaged in  
virtue

Are worthy of being dispatched in this manner.

In accordance with this command, it is certain that such persons should be offered to Mahākāla as his meat sacrifice.<sup>95</sup>

And so, lest it should come to such a pass, each on his own part should with pureconscience endeavour to fulfil whatever works of service to the doctrine — in its external, internal and secret forms — befall him and so bring benefit to the doctrine as much as possible, calling on the Triple Gem as his divine witness and on the Phyag-mdzod himself as his

(114b) human witness. Even though he should lose his life in the end, he should wear the armour of fortitude in accomplishing whatever he is commanded and render service like the religious minister mGar,<sup>96</sup> bearing the responsibility of giving admonitions on matters pertaining to the religion and the state.

[Here ends] the final section concerning the general fundamentals of [the system whereby] government officials diffuse to all directions and limits the theocratic rule of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che, the Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po. May the third virtuous blessing contained herein fill the whole world.

Lest the jewel of the authority of beneficial happiness  
 should decline,  
 He who is here chief of good vessels encompassing the  
 hundredfold forms of the religious state  
 Established the Three Classes of Beings<sup>97</sup> as supports of  
 paradise and  
 As a cloud of offerings which delights the royal lineage and  
 the divine rulers.

Why should not these holy aphorisms be upheld as the  
 ornament of worldlings,  
Aphorisms such as may be used for the sake of a dharmaraja,  
 He who has ascended the throne of jewels from which  
 happiness arises,  
 And who is the source of extensive virtue in the ocean of  
 heavens ?

If a man in his string of lives which billow into existence  
 Should genuinely aspire to act as if he had but a day,  
 Then any such wise person would here and now become a witness  
to the Buddha  
 And an enthroned king would become an actual Buddha.

From such power as this may the religious state of the  
 Glorious Drum of Summer<sup>98</sup>  
 Flourish widely throughout all realms of the world  
 And may it achieve and surpass the real satyayuga<sup>99</sup>  
 Which is the goal of temporal circumstances, the sure result  
 of beneficial happiness.

Colophon

Thus this Legal Decree of the Glorious 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che, the Mighty Ngag-gi dBang-po entitled The Discourse, Victorious in All Directions, completed on the strength of aspirations made in previous lives on the throne of the Lord Dharmarāja,  
 (115a) was written by myself, Ngag-dbang bsTan-'dzin Mi-pham dBang-po, in the capital of 'Brug sPungs-thang bDe-ba Chen-po where the dual system is virtuously administered, the palace where the Jina's essence, Ngag-dbang bDud-'joms rDo-rje, turned the wheel of the Four Actions, on the later auspicious dates of the month in which the Jina revealed the Dharmacakra of the Mantrayana, in the year called Rab-byung of the Earth Female Bird (1729).<sup>100</sup> May it become a work of virtuous merit.

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Thus, even though difficult, these words are submitted here since I bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal think they can be of great expediency to those wise persons who administer the dual system, who are enamoured of the doctrine and desirous of benefitting beings.

Notes to Text III

1. This could be taken to refer either to the 1st Zhabs-drung, Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (1594-?1651) or to one of his two incarnations alive when this code was composed: 'Jigs-med Grags-pa, the first thugs-sprul (1724-1761) or Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal, the first gsung-sprul (1708-1736). In a more general sense, it might refer to all three. However, in the formal title below we see the decree promulgated in the name of the founder whose memory overshadowed his living incarnations.
2. Mi-pham dBang-po (1709-38) was the first of six incarnations of the great bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas (1638-96) who had ruled as the 4th 'Brug sDe-srid from 1680-95 and who had been one of the most serious claimants to the guardianship of the throne of the 1st Zhabs-drung. Mi-pham dBang-po's biography by Shākya Rin-chen unfortunately has nothing to say on the matter of his 'legal decree', merely pointing out that at the start of his reign as the 10th 'Brug sDe-srid he used "all sorts of measures to bring sentient beings to happiness" (f. 36a). No doubt the decree was intended to be one such measure.
3. bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas, the 1st 'Brug sDe-srid (regn. 1651-56).
4. bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, 10th Head Abbot (regn. 1755-62), the author of LCB I.
5. See LCB I, ff. 92a-100b.
6. Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.

7. 'Jigs-med Grags-pa is both one of the names of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (see f. 103a below) and of the 1st thugs-sprul (the 2nd Zhabs-drung). Perhaps it is intended to refer to both here.
8. The 'mother school' of which the 'Brug-pa is a part. }
9. sMan-ljongs ('The Land of Medicinal Herbs') is a common expression for Bhutan.
10. On the dharmākaya, sambhogakāya and nirmāṇakaya see note 36 to the Relação below.
11. The historical Buddha, Sākyamuni, son of Śuddhodana.
12. Buddha, Dharma and Sangha.
13. This presumably refers to the three 'Paths of Assembling Merit' (tshogs-lam, Skt. sambhāramārga): small, middle and great.
14. Tibet.
15. The categories referred to here are probably: 1) 'memory of one's abodes in previous lives' (sngon-gyi gnas rjes-su dran-pa), 2) 'divine sight' (lha'i mig), and 3) 'knowledge that one's afflictions are ended' (zag-pa zad-pa shes-pa).
16. An allegorical expression referring to the 'Brug-pa ('thunder-dragon') school.
17. An allusion to the prophecy that the school of the 'Brug-pa would extend to an area covered by eighteen days flight of a vulture.



18. Mahākāla and his consort.
19. 'Pacifying, enriching, overpowering and destroying'  
(zhi, rgyas, dbang, drag).
20. lnga-brgya-pa is a confusing term which could easily be taken to refer to the last five hundred years in the duration of the dharma, a period when certain enlightened beings achieve full karmic realisation in the face of the doctrine's apparent collapse (see for instance the Vajracchedikā). However, Jamyang Namgyal (1971:96) notes: "The usual Lamaist scholastic explanation for this expression is snyigs-ma lnga, tshe-lo brgya / 'the five decays, and the lifespan of a hundred years'/. The five snyigs-ma (kaśāya) are: 1) tshe'i (āyuh); 2) lta-ba'i (dṛṣṭi); nyon-mongs-pa'i (kleśa); 4) sems-can-gyi (sattva); 5) dus kyi (kalpa). During this degenerate age, the life of man is no more than a hundred years." The dual signification of the term cannot be put into convenient English, hence my vague rendering as 'us of the age of decline'.
21. Tōhoku Nos. 556 and 557.
22. Cf. the extended account of the lineage of King Mahāsammata in the Blue Annals, Ch. I.
23. On this 'prehistoric' line of Tibetan kings, see Haarh 1969.
24. This theme is fully amplified by the gTsang mKhan-chen who adapts it particularly to his life of the 1st Zhabs-drung (PBP).
25. lHa-ldan (Devavān, 'The Abode of Gods') is thought to refer to lHa-sa, the capital of Tibet.

26. Ye-shes rDo-rje (1161-1211), the effective founder of the 'Brug-pa school, derives his epithet of gTsang-pa rGya-ras from the name of his family or clan (rGya) and the white cotton of his yogin's dress (ras).
27. On this important figure who is said to have been the first 'Brug-pa teacher in Bhutan, see pp. <sup>and 332-33</sup> 326-27/above.
28. By Bhutanese reckoning Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal was the fourth incarnation of gTsang-pa rGya-ras Ye-shes rDo-rje. The three preceding him were rGyal-dbang-rje Kun-dga' dPal-'byor (1428-76), 'Jam-dbyangs Chos-kyi Grags-pa (1478-1523) and Kun-mkhyen Padma dKar-po (1527-92).
29. LP tries to resolve the problem of sgo-btags-su in this prophecy by taking sgo ('door') to refer to the 'approaches' (kha) which are 'named' (ming-btags) in the term (lHo Mon) Kha bzhi ('The Southern Mon Country of Four Approaches', i.e., Bhutan). The many images which this prophecy conjure up are explained in his long gloss:
- lho-rong-gi yul-d'di-ni sbas-pa'i yul-gyi nang-tshan zhiḡ  
yin yul-'di'i bkod-pa rdo-rje rnal-'byor-ma ḡakki-ni wa-ra-  
hi'i gsang-ba'i padmo'i sbubs lta-bur yod-pas gsang-sngags-  
kyi chos thams-cad 'byung-ba'i gnas rdo-rje btsun-mo'i  
bha-ga rang-bzhin lhun-gyis grub-pa'i gnas-kyi lte-ba  
thed-thim-gyi yul-du (yul-lam pho-brang ste) rdzong  
btab-nas / dpal-ldan 'brug-pa'i phrin-las rnam-pa bzhi  
chos-srid-kyi bstan-pa kha-bab-kyi chu-bo chen-po bzhi'i  
yon-tan dang-mtshungs-par phyogs dang phyogs-su spel-ba'i  
kha bzhi-las 'dzam-gling kun-tu khyab-pa'i rten-'brel  
phyogs-bzhir kha bzhi'i ming-btags-pa'i sgo chen-po bzhi  
dang-ldan-pa de yin //

30. Another of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's names, in fact the one he himself most often used.
31. The demons of: 1) 'the skandhas' (phung-po), 2) 'obscurations' (nyon-mongs-pa), 3) 'the Lord of Death' ('chi-bdag), and 4) 'the son of the God of Desire' (/'dod-/lha'i bu).
32. Images, books and stūpas, which are classed as physical, verbal and mental supports of the faith, in that order.
33. The 'fixing of handles on pots' seems to be an allusion to Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's success in bringing the material benefits of civilization to Bhutan. The expression, which is not to be taken in a literal sense, is much favoured by later writers (Aris 1976:628 note 66). It would be interesting to discover its origin.
34. Srong-btsan sGam-po did not in fact promulgate any of the 'laws' listed here. Uray (1972:65) maintains that the Mi-chos gtsang-ma bcu-drug were first compiled "... to justify the codifications of Tshal and/or that of tai si-tu Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan from the historical and ideological point of view." The 'restitutions' listed here (and which vary greatly from period to period) perhaps have their prototype in what appears to be the provision for a nine-fold restitution for the theft of royal property in the 'Four Fundamental Laws' (rTsa-ba bzhi'i khrims), which are similarly attributed to Srong-btsan. These have been mixed up here with the 16 mi-chos and the 10 lha-chos. For the original lists of all these sets see Ma-ni bka'-'bum, Vol. E, f. 103a-b.
35. The word sgrigs ('order') is heard most commonly now in the compound sgrigs-khrims, a term which covers all the

unwritten rules governing the formal behaviour required of government officers and the public at the royal court or in a rdzong. These rules were originally of monastic origin, though that is nearly forgotten now. The term is today never applied to the state laws or administration in general. The sgrigs rnam-bzhag must have evolved in the rdzong monasteries of western Bhutan during the time of the 1st Zhabs-drung and his immediate successors. bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, the author of this decree, seems to have extended the true meaning of the term to include both 'laws' and 'administration' in general simply because there were no real state laws at the start of the Bhutanese theocracy. Much of the vagueness in the first two sections of his decree seems to derive from the absence of true legislation dating from the period of the state's founding.

36. I have assumed that the spyi-dpon in the 18th century had the same function as he does now in the 20th century, namely the carrying of messages from the rdzong to his village, the office rotating around the village. He stands at the very bottom of the administrative scale today but he may have been truly included at that time among the "wealthy and important" with whom he is linked in this text. ngo-can (lit. 'one having face'; 'important person') is a word often used specially of an influential person to whom contending parties will take their dispute for settlement. The gros-mi ('counsellor') has disappeared, if indeed his office was ever of a formal nature. DS (179) notes "Kyomi in Sikkim".

37. Presumably the 'Brug sDe-srid.

38. Neither of these are identified and the translation is tentative.
39. The dGe-lugs-pa authorities of Tibet.
40. Sa-skya legs-bshad No. 52.
41. Sa-skya legs-bshad No. 109.
42. The 'Stages of Generation' and the 'Stages of Perfection' in the practice of tantric yoga.
43. For a list of the 'Ten Religious Practices' see Aris 1977: 226 note 66.
44. LN: rgyal-khrims dpang-thub gtso-bor btton-ngos zer-ba-ni /  
bya-ba gang-yin-kyang rgyal-khab-kyi khrims-yig dpang-por  
bzhag-ste khrims-yig-la cha-'jog gtso-bor btton-pa'i ngos-nas  
(thog-nas) bya-gal che-ba zer-ba-yin /
45. Apart from the gZhung mGron-gnyer ('Government Chamberlain'), all the provincial governor (the rdzong-dpon and spyi-bla) had their own mgron-gnyer. Broadly speaking, their duties seem to have covered all matters external to the governor court, while the gzim-dpon ('Steward-in-chief') looked after the internal affairs.
46. sPyi-bla is the literary form for dpon-slob ('Governor'), of which there were three, i.e. those of sPa-gro, Dar-dkar-nang and Krong-sar. The office of Dar-dkar dpon-slob has lapsed and the remaining two are usually held by members of the present royal family. Both forms of the title reflect their monastic origin.
47. I.e. the requirement to provide the rdzong with fodder and firewood.

48. The form of the Zhabs-drung's seal known as 'The Sixteen I's' (Nga bcu-drug-ma) is derived directly from the symbolism contained in this verse.
49. Tōhoku No. 257.
50. The sku-tshab were almost certainly the government representatives appointed to the control of groups of villages, known as the drung-pa. See Aris 1976:616, 627.
51. The rGya-drung are called 'subha', 'soubah' etc. in the British records.
52. See the Glossary under las-sgo.
53. The 'Three Truths' are perhaps the same as the 'Three Kinds of Validity' (tshad-ma gsum): 1) the validity of quotations from scripture, 2) the validity of visible proof, and 3) the validity of reasoning.
54. Sa-skya legs-bshad No. 162. Cf. No. 328: "By mildness one conquers the mild and by mildness one also conquers the rough."
55. LN: ma-yin ma-'thus-pa'i nag-can zer-ba-ni /  
chos-srid-kyi khrims dang-mthun-pa ma-yin-par  
bka'-khrims-kyis ma 'thus-par khrims-'gal-gyi mi-de  
nag-can yin-pas /
56. See Glossary under tsa-ra.
57. Sa-skya legs-bshad No. 32.
58. Cf. f. 112a below: "If foreigners come to a district they are not to be permitted to proceed without informing the district chief, whoever he may be. Such persons are not to be harboured or welcomed."

59. LN: bzang-kha rang-nyid-kyis byas-pa'i ngan-kha  
zer-ba-ni / gzhung-don gang byed-kyang bzang-kha  
(legs-shom) nged-kyis byas-pa-yin bya-ba ngan-pa'i  
rigs byung-na nga min kho yin zer gshan-la mi-'gel-ba  
dang /
60. See Glossary under ru-nga(-bo).
61. DS (171): "literally, so that things may not look frayed and worn both at the edges and rent in the centre."
62. LN: des-gsum cang rig khyug gsum brtan rling bkyel  
che'i zer ba ni / des-pa-ni sems-rgyud zhi-dul  
bya-ba gang-la-yang cang-grung shes-rig khyug-pa  
dran-pa brtan-po dang-ldan-pa brling-ba-ni sems-kyi  
gting zab-cing bkyil-che'i (sic) sems-la dran-pa-rnams  
lam-sang kha-nas ma-thon-par sems-la bkyil-te gtam  
bzang-ngan lab-dgos-pa-yin /
63. This is TR's definition of 'Khor-gsum: rmog, khrab,  
mtshon-cha. Cf. the entries in Das and Jäschke.
64. See Glossary under mdo-drug.
65. DS (172): 'Jagir' (?).
66. Sa-skya legs-bshad No. 201.
67. zangs-thal (lit. 'to pass unhindered') is according to TR a term usually employed in describing the miraculous power of being able to pass through solid objects, hence my translation by 'unimpedable'.
68. Sa-skya legs-bshad No. 261.

69. LN: gong-du mtshungs-pa-las zer-ba-ni / 'brug sde-srid rang-nyid khrims dang mthun-dgos-pa ma-zad /
70. The Gangs-ri'i rdor-'dzin was the official appointed to control the area surrounding Kailash in western Tibet which had been granted to the Bhutanese authorities by the king of Ladakh when this region still formed part of Ladakh. Relations between Ladakh and Bhutan were consolidated by Byams-mgon Ngag-dbang rGyal-mtshan (1647-1732) and the grant probably dated from his lifetime. The government derived considerable income from the donations of pilgrims to Kailash and from the monastic estates which it administered there (Kawaguchi 1909:168). The post of Gangs-ri'i rdor-'dzin (or Gangs-ri bla-ma) was last held by Drag-shos bSod-nams Rab-rgyas who continued in office until 1959 when the Tibetan revolt took place.
71. gsol-ba ('siu' in the vernacular) is the honorific for lto, 'rice' and, more generally, 'food'. The term gsol-ba dkar-mo may refer to the high grade of white rice known as sbo-'bras, the issue of which seems to have been a privilege of senior government officers. The lower ranks would have received the coarser grade of reddish coloured rice.
72. We may conjecture that the office of phyi-mgron (lit. 'External Chamberlain') would have been held by certain officers on special deputation to a district.
73. LN: gzhi-len-gyi rnam-pa'i mthong-srol zer-ba-ni / dpon-khag gsar-pa bskos-pa dang phyogs-gzhan-nas gzhung-gi mgron-po gsar-pa phebs-mi-rnams-la gzhi-len



zer-ba lto-chas gang-zab drang-rgyu dang gzhi-tshugs  
zer gnyer-tshang sogs sprod-srol yod-pa zer-ba-yin /

74. The levy of dbang-yon as an additional form of taxation continued in Bhutan till quite recently. One of my informants described the institution of dbang-yon in this context as "an evil activity fixed in perpetuity" (spros-ngan rgyun-'jag).
75. Shakabpa (1976:198) takes this tradition as applied to Mu-ne bTsan-po for an early example of Tibetan 'land reform' (sa-zhing bcos-sgyur). The claim, however, rests on nothing more than conjecture.
76. DS (175): 'koot' (?).
77. DS (176): "lug-rgyab = a sheep's load - possibly a kind of illegal tax imposed by minor local officials from the raiyots."
78. This is an odd construction which I prefer to leave untranslated. LN suggests: yar 'gro-chog-pa yang-na 'gro-ba'i zhor-la zer-ba-yin /. DS (176): "in cases where (one) has to accompany the higher authorities (possibly the Deb or Dharma rajas)."
79. DS (177): "in lieu of cash revenue".
80. A silk fabric dyed yellow and printed with floral motifs.
81. The assessment of harvest-tax (bsdu-khral, see Glossary) is today based either on the area of the land in question or on its productive capacity, although it is not clear to me which circumstances have to obtain to determine the choice of system. In the former, the land is measured

according to glang-dor ('a pair of oxen'), that is to say the area of land that can be ploughed in one day, starting at dawn and ending at midday (nyin-gung, actually about 2.0 pm). In the latter system, productive capacity was reckoned by the quantity of seed planted. This is known as son-grangs ('seed-number'). Five measures of seed (son-bre) are said to equal approximately one glang-dor. According to the quality of their land, tax-payers (khral-pa) are placed in one of three categories: maximum, intermediate or minimum (khral rab 'bring mtha'-ma). New assessments (zhib-rtsis) could take place from time to time on the order of the ruler or district governor. Today the whole question of land-tax falls under the charge of the Sa-khram Yig-tshang at bKra-shis Chos-rdzong in Thim-phu.

The meat-tax and butter-tax referred to here were presumably levied from the pastoral communities in the north of the country in lieu of harvest-tax. I do not know how they were assessed. A useful account of Tibetan land-tax and the history of the various 'settlements' after 1740 is contained in Surkhang 1966.

82. The she-ma ('dairyman') is reckoned to be of a higher status than the rdzi-bo ('herdsman'). The former's work includes shearing yaks and curing hides, besides making cheese and butter. The latter is the one who actually goes around with the herd.
83. The colloquial words for slave in western Bhutan are 'zap' (masculine) and 'jham' (feminine). All slaves received their manumission in the 1950's.
84. I.e. in cash.

85. I.e. on his mother's or father's side of the family.
86. I.e. bloodless food.
87. I am not sure of the meaning of stong-rtsi zhabs-tog.  
The phrase might allude to a fine for manslaughter  
(stong) incurred by the deceased and still outstanding.
88. The verb brdung (future of rdung, 'to pound') suggests  
the pisé construction of most Bhutanese buildings.
89. One of the severest grievances was caused by the  
community being required to provide taxes and corvée  
for tax estates that stood empty, their liabilities  
still entered on the demand roll. Such 'empty estates'  
are called rkang-stong or rtsa-stong-sa.
90. 'The Tenth Day (of the Month)', a popular ritual  
devoted to Padmasambhava. In extended form it takes  
place as an annual festival of sacred dance in the  
provincial capitals.
91. The ma-ni-ba (ma-ni-pa in Tibetan, 'manip' in Bhutanese  
vernacular) are wandering bards who carry around with  
them portable stūpas known as bkra-shis sgo-mang, the  
doors of which open up to show scenes illustrating the  
stories from their repertoire. In Tibet the ma-ni-pa  
used painted scrolls instead for this purpose. The  
'licensed' bards referred to here were formally attached  
to government temples and monasteries, to which they  
would return in between their rounds of the villages.  
They no longer enjoy their former dispensation from  
taxes today and the whole custom is in some danger of  
disappearing. Apart from the common stock of stories

deriving from Indian legends ('Gro-ba bZang-mo, Dri-med Kun-ldan, gZugs-kyi Nyi-ma etc.) they sing several items peculiar to Bhutan, such as the life stories of the 1st Zhabs-drung and of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs. They also sing a great number of invocations based on the famous six-syllable mantra from which they derive their name.

92. DS (183): "... thrown into the water and then cremated."
  93. I have avoided duar for las-sgo here as the term probably includes the marts near the Tibetan border.
  94. I am not sure of the exact sense of gtan-tshigs here, though it is clearly related to gtsigs in the 8th and 9th century inscriptions meaning 'decree'.
  95. Literally, 'as his red ornaments'.
  96. The famous minister of King Srong-btsan sGam-po.
  97. Gods, humans and demi-gods (lha, mi, lha-ma-yin).
  98. See Note 16 above.
  99. The Age of Truth (or Perfection).
  100. Petech (1972:211 Note 75) points out that the term rab-byung (1747) is in contradiction to Earth Bird (1729) and that both years are incompatible with what he holds to be Mi-pham dBang-po's period of rule: 1730-1745. The dates given in LP's list, however, are 1729-1736 and in the preamble it is clearly stated that the decree was composed at the very beginning of Mi-pham dBang-po's reign. Earth Bird is therefore correct, while rab-byung may be taken as a simple error.
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TEXT IV

Translation of an excerpt from Estevão Cacella's  
Relação (1627)

Title fol.1 The Report which Father Estevão Cacella of the Society  
of Jesus sent to Father Alberto Laercio, Provincial of  
the Province of Malabar of East India, about his journey  
to Cathay/ Catayo/ until he came to the Kingdom of Potente.

[Bhotanta = Tibet]

Fol.6 Para.2 This city [Of Pargão<sup>1</sup> = sPa-gro] begins in a beautiful  
plain wide and pleasant, set between mountains on either  
side of it, which are cheerful to look at and there are  
well laid out fields of wheat and rice with which it was  
then covered; the plain is divided by two great rivers<sup>2</sup>  
which make it good to see, principally with the freshness  
imparted by great willows and by irrigation channels which  
come out of the rivers; with the plain begin the buildings,  
very big and high houses which are often of three, four or  
five storeys having very thick walls with windows and  
verandas which adorn them; these buildings are not in  
such a way that they form streets but are divided one from  
another over the plain and amidst the foothills of the  
mountains in such a way that they make a city but so long  
that even the part we covered and saw would be at least  
three leagues and there was quite a lot more which we did  
not see; because the valley goes on in the way I have  
described until it ends up in a mountain which divides it  
into two, down which come the two rivers one on each side,  
which irrigate the valley and around this mountain the  
city forms two long arms which go uphill along the rivers  
quite a long way. The people are innumerable and if one

were to add them up the very least number that live there would be more than five hundred thousand souls;<sup>3</sup> it is possible for so many people to live there because of the way which they have of living in those houses, because in each house there are many dwellers divided up by the storeys and the divisions which they make for this purpose; on the 25th of March we entered this city, the day on which the Eternal Word clothed in our humanity entered this world and from its infinite goodness we hope that our entry on that day into that land may constitute for that whole people their recognition by their Saviour. We could not come immediately to the house of the companion<sup>4</sup> who was guiding us and when on the next day we entered it we found ourselves robbed that morning of everything that we had for our sustenance; he put us in a house of his that was so dark that even at midday we could not see each other and it looked more like a prison than anything else.

Immediately we asked him to find us what we needed because he was acting as our guard in order to convey us in safety; but he, feeling very secure and independent, replied to us that he was going to rest and that afterwards he would do his duty. In all this he showed how little he cared about being unfaithful to us even after we had trusted him, and so he became obviously cross when we spoke to him about

fol.7 this business, saying that that business was not the work of one day but that it would last months, and that when the man who had done business with us in Runate Rangamati = Jaigaon<sup>5</sup> had come he would do what seemed best to him.

When we saw the damnable resolution of this man and other signs which he gave of having a heart infected with evil plans from which the lord Tater freed us and which we

afterwards got to know, we decided to leave his house in which there were great difficulties but after two days, seeing that he was often out of doors, we left his house - on which his relatives came up and stopped us and took news to him of what was happening; it was notable the anger with which this man came to impede us and to try once again by force to put us in his house; he made use of weapons and everything that he could against us; but God our Lord was pleased that with patience we should overcome him, resisting him only with this patience, that is resisting the passion and rage with which he came over-filled. And since at this time many people came up who saw the unreasonable way in which that man was acting towards us, they took pity on us, trying to quieten him down, and having taken him back to his house, we were thus rid of him; and that night we went into the house of a good old man who for the love of God our Lord made us welcome and on the next day a lama<sup>(Lamba)</sup> with authority with whom the Father João Cabral had previously talked sent us horses and people who took us to his house which was very far from this staging-post; but when we reached him we found him altered because he was afraid to quarrel with the man who had stolen from us, if he were to shelter us in his house: however, our Lord was pleased to encourage him not to notice this problem, although after we had been in his house because of the same man he prevented us from going onwards to such an extent that when another lama wished to take us, this man's people prevented him from doing this by force with weapons. Seeing us in such a state and in many other circumstances of difficulties and problems which I refrain from recording, in a country where



no one takes any action, every one of these-men being an absolute lord in his own house, without there being anyone outside it who can ask him for an explanation of what he is doing, we met the principal lama<sup>6</sup> that the King /Zhab-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal/ has here and who, when he knew of the impediments which we had preventing us from reaching the King, said that by his influence we would go there since it was he who was there in charge of the King's business, and he said that immediately we should go to his house; which we did with the agreement of the lama with whom we had been sheltered, and indeed he himself /later/ took us and accompanied us to the King; but even here the enemy did not refrain from making his normal efforts to impede us in such a way that, while we were talking with the principal lama about how we wanted to go on, the lama tried to persuade us that we should not go on but we should wait for the King there and he said that he /the King/ would come within a month (which was quite false since now six months have gone by without the King going there). When we saw that this change of heart also had its origin in the man who had robbed us we bade farewell to the lama and we began to walk alone, determined to carry on our journey, confident that our Lord would guide us and guard us, for having done everything we could we saw no other way of going ahead. The lama, seeing our resolution, was obliged to ask us to wait a few more hours to get us ready and to prepare his safe-conducts and we were to go by his means to the King because if the King were to see us there without our journeying as we should or if on the way some accident should happen to us the King would punish him severely. So we waited for the day and he gave us people and horses for the rest of the journey and

in the company of the first lama we left Pargão [sPa-gro]  
on the second octave of Easter, the fifth of April, [1527].

After three days journey we found in a village a lama,  
a relative<sup>7</sup> of the King, who came from the King to  
look for us with people and horses and he accompanied us;  
this person wrote immediately to the King that we were coming  
and so he sent other lamas who were to wait for us at the  
next staging-post with two horses, very well equipped, and  
journeying thus with all that company a good way before we  
arrived he sent more of his people inviting us to tea, which  
he and his people use a lot, and continuing our road after-  
wards which led through high mountains, coming near now to  
the place where he was, he sent other youthful lamas on  
their horses who entertained us with many races which they  
held in a staging-place where the mountains allowed it and  
then we saw through the trees a great multitude of people  
who were waiting for us and their shawms and trumpets were  
playing, because the instruments which they use in their

fol. 8 festivals have some similarity with these. Here were a  
hundred lamas<sup>8</sup> all young from twelve to twenty years old who  
came to meet us lined up in two lines. In the middle were  
three small lamas with incense which they were carrying in  
thuribles, which is an honour only the King has. Thus they  
took us to the place which they had made ready for us which  
was a very well made tent lined with Chinese silk with an  
altar-hanging and a place where we could lie down; and a  
little later the King sent us a note that we could proceed  
[to his presence] and we found him in another tent, very  
well decorated with silk, and he was sitting in a high  
place clothed with red silk embroidered in gold; on his  
right and very close to him in another appropriate place

there stood an image of his father<sup>9</sup> with a lamp alight  
 [before it] which was always burning there; there were  
 also two high places for us, no other lama however  
 important having a place there except on the mats which were  
 spread on the ground. He received us with a demonstration  
 of great benevolence, signifying this in the joy which he  
 showed on seeing us and on knowing where we were coming  
 from, where we were from, i.e. from what country and nation,  
 and he asked the other questions normal at a first meeting:  
 we were able to tell him that we were "Portuguese" because  
 since no foreigners ever come to these mountains, nor do  
 they remember ever having seen or heard of similar people  
 passing there,<sup>10</sup> the name of Franguis [Franks] has not  
 reached them, which is the name which the Portuguese have  
 in all the Orient.

It was no mean lack of consolation to find us here  
 almost without a language because although we brought with  
 us someone who knew Hindustani very well, Parsee and the  
 language of the Koch people (cocho), however we found here  
 only one lama from Chaparangue [Tsa-brang]<sup>11</sup> very beloved of  
 the King who could understand something, but very little, of  
 Hindustani; through him we spoke as best we could with much  
 trouble and difficulty, and also on the King's part who  
 desired very much that we should be able to make ourselves  
 clear in the lengthy conversations which he had every day  
 with us; but knowing from us how we came there with orders  
 to preach to him the faith of Christ our Lord because we had  
 heard that of old they had been Christians and afterwards as  
 the years went by and with lack of teachers the Christian  
 religion was forgotten but that they still had some elements<sup>12</sup>  
 of Christianity, he showed himself to approve of our coming

and said that we should learn his language so that we could speak to him and that he could not possibly not accept what we would teach him for those must be very good things for which we had come from so far away to search for him and so he ordered that lama from Chaparangue [rTsa-brang] to continue teaching us every day and the King for this purpose relieved the lama of his other duties.

The King who is called Droma Raja [Dharmarāja]<sup>13</sup> is thirty-three years old, the King and at the same time the chief lama of this Kingdom of Cambirasi,<sup>14</sup> the first of those of Potente [Bhoṭanta] in this area, which is very great and populated; he is proud of his gentleness for which he is highly reputed, but less feared, and at the moment he has in his house a lama,<sup>15</sup> a relative of his, who did him a notable disservice but he treats him well and told us that he would let him go immediately and that he had no heart to give him any other punishment although he knew that when he was freed from prison he would certainly rise up against him as he was accustomed to do. The King is also very celebrated for his abstinency in never eating rice or meat or fish, maintaining himself only with fruit and milk,<sup>16</sup> and also for the solitary way in which he lived during the three years before we came here, withdrawing into a hut which he made very small in the middle of the mountains on top of a great rock, now not seeing or allowing himself to be seen by anyone and they put his food on two ropes which from his hut went down to others which were below and he pulled the food in without speaking all this time to anyone;<sup>17</sup> he occupied himself, as he told us, in praying and in his spare time he made various objects which he has and he showed us one of them which was the best, being an image of the face of God

in white sandalwood, small but very well made and this is an art of which he is very proud, as also that of painter at which he is good and he showed us some of his paintings which were very good and seeing a St Raphael on a panel which we brought he wanted to make a copy of it and began straight away and went on with it very well, although because

fol. 9 of his many occupations he has not yet finished it.<sup>18</sup> This King has also a great reputation as a man of letters and as such all the other great lamas reverence him and the Kings send him presents and he is sought out from all these places, having with him lamas from very distant Kingdoms.<sup>19</sup>

The reason why we found him lodged in tents in these mountains is because the people of the villages are each one accustomed to call him to their village and so he sets himself up in some staging-place<sup>20</sup> from which he can go to many villages and they then offer to him great presents of horses, cattle, rice, cloth and other things which are his principal revenue, and those who do not invite him to visit them because they live too far away come themselves to find him with their offerings. For this reason he was in the mountains with the school of his lamas which he always takes with him and he has more than a hundred who are well practised at learning and performing their ceremonies; these are called Guelōis Źdge-slong<sup>21</sup> and they are the principal lamas for they do not marry and do not eat more than once before midday after which they cannot eat rice, nor fish, nor meat, nor do they ever drink wine and in this they are different from the other lamas who are not so strict;<sup>22</sup> they spend the whole day in the school in which they eat and sleep, all of them coming out twice a day, once in the morning the other time in the afternoon, and then going back immediately in order

one after the other in a composed and modest way, so well taught and accustomed to this are they and yet it was a great grief to see them so occupied in the errors which they are taught for they spend a great part of the day in their prayers and at night they all get up when a signal is given and they pray for a space of half an hour and again in the early morning, singing like clergy in the choir.

In these mountains and others we accompanied him /Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal/ for two months until we came to his house which is in those mountains where he spent his period of retreat without having with him anyone else apart from his lamas, nor is the place capable of being populated because to make a house it is necessary to break many stones and to flatten with great trouble some part of the mountain which is very steep; and it is a place he chose to defend himself against a King who is eight days journey from there and he is the greatest King of Potente /Bhotanta/ who is called Demba Cemba /sDe-pa gTsang-pa/ and he fought with him in the past because he /Zhabs-drung/ did not want to give him, as he said, a bone of his dead father<sup>25</sup> which the King asked him for and for this reason he does not live in a city of his, great and good, which is called Ralum /Ra-lung/<sup>26</sup> and this is five days journey away; he looked after us very well in his house in a part of it where we were able to make and decorate very nicely a chapel to which we invited him on the day of our Holy Father Ignatius<sup>27</sup> and the Lord consented that despite two robberies we still had all the apparatus which we brought for the altar and all the images for although in the first of the robberies they took away a picture of our Virgin Lady on a board, all

the same a lama who found it in possession of one of those who robbbed us brought it to us along with another Bible which they also had there; the King came to see the chapel with his master [lHa-dbang Blo-gros]<sup>28</sup> who is a very old lama for whom he has great respect and with the rest of the lamas and they were all very pleased with what they saw, spending some hours in seeing and asking about everything.

In these months we took every diligence to learn the<sup>29</sup> language and although we were staying in tents and going on roads and in strange houses which took up our time, all the same God our Lord did for us in this matter as in all others the greatest mercies; the worst trouble of all was the lack of a master because we could only make ourselves understood with great difficulty with the one that we had because he was not from this Kingdom but from Chaparangué [rTsa-brang] and did not know the language of this area, of which at the present time we had more necessity because while all these Kingdoms have the same language there is a great variation<sup>30</sup> in the pronunciation and in the endings and the corruption of it in some parts makes it almost another language, especially in this Kingdom which because it is in this corner having little contact or commerce with other Kingdoms the language is very different; however all the lamas and generally the people also understand the language of the rest and so with what we know we can communicate in all these areas and also we take a great deal of trouble to instruct ourselves well in the language of this very Kingdom in which the Lord is pleased that we should make our first stay and thus at the moment thanks to God our Lord we understand quite a lot fairly well and we talk about the things of our Holy Faith and we compose prayers and necessary

instructions in this language and we have them written in their characters so that they [the lamas] may learn more easily; and it helps us very much that we already know how to read their books even though we do not yet understand them well since they are written in the best and most polished form of the language; they were in all these times very frequent, the conversations we had with the King about the things<sup>of</sup> our Lord and which he enjoyed listening to; but realising as well that between us and him there was a great distance about what we believed of our Holy Faith we saw clearly in him dislike and coldness towards our things;<sup>31</sup> and thus we said to him, after thanking him very much for the love which he had shown to us, that he should be graciously pleased to give us permission and company in order to go forward to the Chaparangué [rTsa-brang] area because in this Kingdom there was nothing for us to do: the King was very embarrassed with this request and putting off the reply for some days he used the time by getting other lamas to try and persuade us from going on; but when we insisted on what we had asked he himself gave us a reply saying that it was a discredit to him that we should leave him and go on because all these Kingdoms knew that we were with him and having us here was a great honour and for this reason we were not to go on, particularly since we had said to him that we would be here always, nor would we leave him. To this we replied that our being here would be conditional on his taking pleasure in there being preached in the Kingdom the true Law of Christ our Lord and more particularly if he accepted it and made himself a Christian, and because we saw in him little pleasure in this business which is the only thing for which we were looking here there was no reason



why we should stay here. To this he said it was true but that he was afraid that if he was now to embrace our Law he would die immediately because his forefathers had had the law which he had and they were never Christians, but he said we should go on reading his books and that we should talk more deeply about the matter of the law and that for the moment we should begin to make Christians and preach our Holy Faith which was a very good one and this was his view and he said that soon we should have many Christians which was what we wanted and so that we could begin he said he would give us, and indeed he did, in his presence a young lama of twenty years, very close to him and the first co-brother of another lama<sup>32</sup> who is the whole government of the King and he said that he would soon give us two more and that many would follow these and he would build us a house and church in Pargão [̄sPa-grō]. When we saw the resolution of the King we said that we would like to please him because he had pleasure in our staying in his Kingdom with the hopes that he was giving us of extending in it the Faith of the Lord and we thanked him very much for the lamas which he had given us and who wanted to become Christians and we thanked him also for the church which he wanted to make in Pargao [̄sPā-grō]; as for the matter of dying immediately if he took up the Faith of the Lord he would see the contrary in those whom we made Christians because being Christ our Lord, the true life of souls, He did not kill bodies but rather with Him he would have all the goods of the body and the soul.

I will tell Your Reverence about the religion of this Kingdom which we learnt from conversations with the King and with his old master. They say in the first place that

they were never Christians, nor do they find in their books that their forefathers in all this Potente

[/Bhotanta] knew Christ our Lord or held his Law but they say they are not pagans, rather they laugh and mock pagan things like adoring animals and they abominate sacrificing cattle in pagodas and other ceremonies of the pagans; they speak very badly of the Moors [/the Muslims] and it is a name they use when they want to describe a very bad man.<sup>33</sup>

They say that they adore only One God and they have of him very well made images and one of them the King showed to us, very well made, modest and authentic of golden metal who had between his hands a small pot of water and he said that that water meant how God washed the souls of sin.<sup>34</sup> He also showed us another image of God on cloth all of dark blue and when we were surprised by the colour he said that they painted God in that way not because God had any colour but because his dwelling place was in the sky and for that reason

fol. 11 they painted him with that colour of the sky: they also showed us another panel in which the sky was painted, in the middle of it a square house<sup>35</sup> in which they said God lived: although in their ordinary speech they know of God as immense and being such he is everywhere; they say that in God there are three who are one God and two of them have no body and one has a body and the one that has a body they call Togu [/sPrul-sku]<sup>36</sup> which means Son and in the way they talk about his birth they give us to understand that they mean that his mother was a virgin and they will show us the image of a woman who they say is the mother of God.<sup>37</sup> They are aware of the blessed state where the good go and of hell where the evil are punished in which they say there are great torments of

fire and cold. One can clearly see in these things that somehow the light of the Holy Gospel has arrived here, and other ceremonies and blessings which they use show a great similarity with things of Christianity; but they have other things very much spoilt; they say that six hundred years ago there was no one in this Potente [/Bhotanta/], that it was all water, but when it dried the earth had trees but only two monkeys from which they say all the people of Potente [/Bhotanta/] are descended and that these monkeys afterwards went to heaven, and that in the beginning of these Kingdoms there was a King who had twelve heads.<sup>39</sup> And when we laughed at this and said that that was all falsehood and mockery he replied, sticking to what he had said, that this was what his books told him. Also they pretend that there are three paradises<sup>40</sup> where the good go from one to the other until they become completely spiritualised and those who go to heaven say that they enter into God himself and become Gods; and so they adore their masters and Kings whom they have as Holy like God after they are dead; for this reason it is that this King uses all his art and care in making images of his father and decorating them very nicely and making festivals for him and this image he has in a house which he made here for his prayers in which there is only this large image in a good and beautiful sepulchre of silver.<sup>41</sup> When they heard us say that only in the Law of the Lord Christ is there salvation they affirmed it to us that many forefathers of this King had gone to heaven in body and soul in the view of many people and this did not happen in the distant past but only a few years ago here,<sup>42</sup> and that the

father [Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma] of Droma Raja  
 [Dharmarāja = Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal] was so  
 holy that where he put his foot on stone sometimes foot-  
 prints<sup>43</sup> were made and he told us other things about his  
 forefathers with which the devil has kept them blind and  
 deceived. About the Son of God whom they say has been  
 born they affirm it to be their Chescamoni [Shākya Mu-ni]  
 which is a pagoda<sup>44</sup> very famous in these places and it is  
 twelve days journey away and they say that he was born two  
 thousand years ago and that he spent twelve months in his  
 mother's womb: this the principal lama<sup>45</sup> told us, who is  
 the one who governs the house of the King, the King having  
 first told us that Chescamoni [Shākya Mu-ni] was not God and  
 that the educated lamas did not adore him but only the  
 common people and those who were ignorant; and when the  
 King heard the lama say this he did not contradict him,  
 rather both of them were embarrassed and confused, not knowing  
 who it was who was this God the Son whom it seems they knew  
 and they did not know anything about him concerning whom we  
 gave him very different news; nor up till now have we  
 discovered that they have any knowledge of any of the other  
 mysteries of the life of our Lord, nor do we find any other  
 signs of the Holy Cross apart from a similarity in the name;  
 because what we call cross they call cruca<sup>46</sup> but they do not  
 regard this holy sign as a sacred object. Everyone esteems<sup>47</sup>  
 the King and the great lama greatly and they give of what  
 they have when they die so that he may send them to heaven;  
 the ceremony is that when they are near to death and in  
 their final agony the King is called and he is present at the  
 death and prays, and when they die the King pulls them by the  
 hair of their head and then he does for them that which they

consider a great act of mercy in sending their soul to heaven.<sup>48</sup> And when I asked one of these lamas on the occasion of the death of another one who died here if he pulled him by his hair before he died or afterwards the lama was very surprised at my question saying that to pull the hair before death would be a very serious sin. After the man has died they share out what they find amongst the rest of the people so that the soul can get on well in the other life and those who are absent when a relative dies take to the King the principal possessions of the dead man and they bring him to perform his supplications over him.<sup>49</sup>

Such, more or less, is the cult of God whom all these Kingdoms of Potente [Bhotanta] adore as we learn it from fol.12 the King and the lamas who are here from all these Kingdoms.

We took every trouble to ask questions about the Kingdom of [Cathay] Catayo/and we have no knowledge of it by that name which is completely unknown here; there is however a very well known

Kingdom which they say is very big and is called Xembala

[Sham-bha-la]<sup>50</sup> and he has asked us about it many times. We [Cathay]<sup>51</sup> believe that Catayo may be of this Kingdom because the

Kingdom of Sopo [Sog-po]<sup>52</sup> is that of the Tartars, as they understand through the war which this King says that Kingdom continually has with China, adding that the King of China

has more people; however the people of Sopo [Sog-po] are stronger and thus normally defeat the Chinese, all of which

tallies with what is so well known about the war of the [Cathay] Tartars with the Chinese,<sup>53</sup> and since the Kingdom of Catayo/is

very big and the only one which is on this side next to the Tartars as the maps show, it seems that we can with some probability think that it is what they call here Xembala

[Sham-bha-la], nor is it a reason against this the fact that

no other name is known here because neither China nor Tartaria nor Tibet are known by these names of which they have no knowledge; and China they call Guena /r̄Gya-nag/, Tartaria Sopo /Sog-po/, and Tibet Potente /Bhotanta/; they say there are many difficulties on the journey to the Kingdom of Xembala /Sham-bha-la/; however I trust in the Lord who has so far brought us with our eyes fixed on that Kingdom, that he may bring us to where we may see it more closely so that next year I may send to Your Reverence news about it. It will not be possible for Father João Cabral and me to go together because of the resolution of this man that we should not go any further and thus if it pleases God our Father Father João Cabral will stay in this house and church which the King is making for us, preaching the Holy Gospel to this people with the help and company of the three men whom the King has given us and seeing together the fruit which may be obtained in the souls of this Kingdom so that in conformity with this } we may deal with the setting up of this mission; and I with the help of the Lord will try to go to the Kingdom of Xembala /Sham-bha-la/ which may be either in that one /which we have heard about/ or in one of the others which are around here and may God our Lord provide occasions for us to perform greater services for him, and next year I will let Your Reverence know about everything concerning which we are able to have knowledge.<sup>54</sup>

The King gave us two more lamas which he promised us, one of whom is an agreeable boy of twelve years who is clever and another is nineteen who is particularly good in learning what is taught him: we are catechising and instructing all three in the matters of our Holy Faith.

Also there is another lama twenty-seven years old, a very important one and with many relatives who all these months was here with the King, helping him in his works of painting, sculpture and masonry in which he is always occupied for the decoration of the image of his father and he has promised me to become a Christian many times as soon as he should finish the King's works which will be in about a month and a half from now. I use this man to help me write and put into good language the prayers and Christian doctrine; and one of these days when he was writing the chapter of the catechism concerning the Holy Cross being the sign of Christ, and other things about the birth of Christ our Lord, and about the purity of our immaculate Virgin, Our Lady, he was very pleased and told me afterwards that he kept it in his heart and it contented him greatly. Also another man who came here from another village, seeing the chapel which we have and hearing some things about our Lord, told us that he would like to stay with us and that by going to our house he would stay with us so that our Lord might forgive him a sin which kept him very unhappy and that was that by an accident with an arrow he had killed a man; this person has been back again and persists in the same intention. Also others who have an affection for our things have promised us to bring us their children so that we can teach them and one of these is particularly grateful to us for the mercy which he says our Lord did him by giving one of his children health, a child whom he brought to us sick when we were with the King in the tents and when he asked us for a holy object for a cure, Father João Cabral gave him a relic to which the man attributes the health of his child and others often ask for holy water with which they say they

are cured of their afflictions. And the lamas and other people who come here to see us also with their offerings of fruit and milk, when they see the images and decoration

fol.13 of the chapel they are amazed and prostrate themselves many times before the image of our Virgin Lady and of Christ our Lord, kissing the base of the altar with much devotion. All this happens inside the King's house next door to this house where the pagoda is which is adjacent, where there goes on continuously the war which the devil wages against souls with the singing and praying of the lamas of the King's school and the sound of the various instruments with which they are always occupied in their cult and with the presence of the King himself who knows of everything that is happening here and his people compare our things with his and they prefer ours, of which it is clear that the King is very disapproving; and so from having this beginning here we can conjecture that there will be improvements in the good of souls, trusting in God our Lord who, coming out of this fortress which the devil has here, may give us many victories over him, stripping him of the souls which he has subjected here: because besides this there are no other pagodas or very few and when we went through these mountains for the first sixteen days journey we did not find a single one except that on the top of a mountain there was a lean-to, badly made of stones piled on top of each other with some pictures of the devil and idols;<sup>55</sup> and in Pargao /sPa-gro/, although it is a city as I said, we did not see more than one small house belonging to one lama which was his pagoda and so if churches are made to which the people can come en masse one may hope with the help of the Lord for fruit in the good of souls, in which



one may see the thirst which is caused by the propensity which they have for the knowledge of their creator, [and this can be seen] in the good will and pleasure which they show in hearing the things of the Lord which we tell them and in the piety and reverence which they show to any image which we tell them is of God and to the things of his divine service and this good thing will be greatly helped by the liberty which there is in this Kingdom which is large, broad and well populated, and the people have a very voluntary subjection to their King without any obligation on their part to defer to him or without any obligation to follow his doctrine, nor does he have power over the people to make anyone do anything; rather since his principal revenue is in what they give him voluntarily he does not wish to have any of his subjects discontented and every one of them is very free to do what he wants, as the King himself said to us on many occasions when he was talking to us even about his own lamas who are the people who are most subject to him.<sup>56</sup>

[Paragraph omitted. Cacella explains how pleased he is to be putting his religious training into practice and how much the Lord has favoured him in this.]

So far I have failed to tell Your Reverence in this letter of any information concerning the country in itself and about its climate; the climate is very healthy and after we came into these mountains we were always in good health and I never had such health in India; and this is common to everyone because one very rarely finds any sick man here and indeed there are many who although very old are healthy and vigorous; some servants whom we brought with us / <sup>became</sup> indisposed and had previously been ill but

here they recovered perfect health: we have been some seven months in these mountains and all the time the weather was very temperate without cold or excessive heat; in the four months from November to February it is colder but for these months there are very good woollen cloths which everyone wears. The country is very abundant with wheat, rice, meat, all of which are very cheap, of fruits which are many and good, pears of various sorts, some of them very big, all of them good, excellent peaches, apples, nuts, quinces in great abundance and there are also not lacking the rose-apples of India. There are also peas and very good turnips besides other things and fruits which are only found here. There is no fish here but good dry fish comes from the Salt Lake where they also get salt and that is nearby, or also it comes from the Kingdom of Cocho [Cooch Bihar] from where they also bring salt; and some things which are not in this land can be found in other places which are not very far away, such as grapes of which there are none here but they are found in a city called Compo [Kong-po] which is some twenty days journey from here and there they also make wine.<sup>57</sup> And this land is supplied with things from China such as silk, gold, porcelain which all comes to that city of Compo [Kong-po] and from there it comes down here, and also from Caximir [Kashmir] via Chaparangué [rTsa-brang] there is commerce with the lands which abut on to this Kingdom, and many foreigners come to Guiance [rGyal-rtse] which is the Court of Demba Cemba [sDe-pa gTsang-pa], the most powerful King of this Potente [Bhotanta] and that is eight days away and Laça [lHa-sa] which is the city where the pagoda Chescamoni [Shākya Mu-ne] is frequented by yogis and merchants of other places;

however, to the mountains where we are no foreigner comes<sup>58</sup>  
and they only have memory of the very occasional yogi who  
has passed this way nor does anyone come here from Cocho  
[Cooch Bihar] apart from the captives who are brought  
here by those who come down from this Kingdom to that one;  
and one uncle of the King of Cocho<sup>59</sup> [Cooch Bihar] who some  
years ago out of curiosity and a desire to see the world  
came into these mountains and for some time they kept him  
prisoner and made him work at the plough and when the King  
of Cocho [Cooch Bihar] heard about this he ordered all the  
people of this Kingdom to be taken prisoner who were in his  
Kingdom and proposing to do justice on them if they did not  
hand over his uncle, however this obliged them to hand him  
over and they did so. This land is not more than a month's  
fol.15 journey from the Kingdom of Chaparangue [rTsa-brang] and so  
after we arrived here we have occasionally had news of the  
fathers who are there, not directly from them because it  
seems they do not yet know of our arrival in these mountains  
but through the lamas who have come from there and through  
others who have gone there we have already written three  
times to the fathers<sup>60</sup> and also I sent to them letters for  
them to send to Your Reverence via Goa. The peoples of  
this Kingdom are white even though since the people are not  
clean they do not appear to be white; they all grow their  
hair in such a way that it covers their ears and part of  
their foreheads. Normally they do not allow any hair to  
grow on their faces and they have very well made tweezers  
around their necks whose function is solely to pull out any  
hair which appears; their arms are naked and from their  
necks to their knees they are covered with one of these  
woollen cloths, having another big one as a cape;<sup>61</sup> they

have leather belts with plates very well made as also are very well made and worked the bracelets which they normally have on their arms and the reliquaries which they wear over their shoulders; normally they are barefoot but they also have leather boots or socks made of their cloth specially for journeys; their weapons are bow and arrow, short swords and daggers of excellent iron which they decorate with great care and well. The lamas have no weapons and they cut all the hair of their heads; some, but a few, let their beards grow; the King has a long beard and some of its hairs reach his waist and which he normally has wrapped up in silk, and on festival days he takes them out of their wrappings and they are visible, and this he did when he received us; the hair on his head is so long, almost two ells; it seems he is very proud of these and he has them as a mark of grandeur; however he told me he intends to cut them off as soon as he has a son who will succeed him in his Kingdom<sup>63</sup> and that then he would retire and leave the world because he did not wish death to come upon him with his hair long as one ancestor of his, another King, died and this was a matter for scandal, that he had not cut his hair until that time.<sup>64</sup> All the lamas are dressed in oriental tunics which cover their chests well, leaving their arms uncovered and the rest of their body down to their feet they have well covered with another large cloth, yet another being a cape; which they never take off, nor do they walk about naked. May God our Lord set upon all of them the eyes of his divine mercy and bring them all to his divine knowledge, compelling them to make use of the mercy which he does them in knocking on their doors with the news of the Holy Gospel, for which I

beg Your Reverence once more a continuation of the prayers and sacrifices of all that Province; and I recommend myself to the blessing of Your Reverence.

From this Kingdom of Cambirasi and the house of the King, 4th of October 1627.

Son in Christ of Your Reverence, Estevão Cacella.

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Notes to Text IV

1. Pargão is an Indianised form of the Bhutanese place-name sPa-gro, the largest valley in western Bhutan. The ending gao derives from Bengali gram ('village'), a word pronounced gaon in the northern area of Bengal which adjoins western Bhutan (e.g. Jaigaon, Shipgaon, Palarigaon etc.). Other Indian adaptations or usages found in the Relação are:  
 1) Lamba (bla-ma), misapplied to all monks; 2) Droma Raja (= Dharma Rāja) for the Zhabs-drung; 3) Potente (= Bhotanta) for Tibet, which here includes Bhutan; and 4) Cocho (= Cooch Bihar). All these terms must surely have been used by Cacella's Cooch Bihari attendants and they provide a clue to the origin of the term 'Cambirasi' (see note 14 below) which appears only in this text to designate the area of Bhutan.
2. These are the sPa-ro Chu (or sPa-chu) and its tributary, the river which descends the side valley of Dol-po Shar-ri ('Dopshari').
3. This is a wild guess on Cacella's part. It is quite inconceivable that the sPa-gro valley could ever have supported such a population. The 1969 census gives the figure of 63,032 (Rose 1977:41).
4. This companion had joined the party at the village of 'Rintam' near the Indian border and was a relative of a Bhutanese they had met at Jaigaon with whom they had arranged for the journey. That arrangement had embroiled the Jesuits in an earlier adventure, described in Wessels 1924:132.
5. See Wessels 1924:135.

6. This cannot have been Chos-rje La-sngon-pa bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-grags who was appointed the first dpon-slob (or spyi-bla) of sPa-gro, presumably not before the establishment of the new rdzong there in 1645. More likely, it was one of two brothers from Zangs-dkar in La-dwags who came south with the Zhabs-drung and whom the latter appointed to sPa-gro as his representative. This person (either Chos-rje dNgos-grub or Chos-rje Klu-klu, it is not clear) finds brief mention in the biography of his descendant, Ngag-dbang Tshe-ring of rDzong-khul, an important lama of the 'Brug-pa school in that area. See dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa 'khrul-zhig rin-po-che ngag-dbang tshe-ring-gi rnam-thar kun-tu bzang-po'i zlos-gar yid-kyi bcud-len, f. 6a, repeated on f. 4b of the continuation of the rnam-thar by bSod-nams 'Brug-rgyas.
7. This relative of Zhabs-drung is likely to have been the Chos-rje La-sngon-pa referred to in note 6 above. He was the half-brother of Zhabs-drung, the first sPa-gro dPon-slob and later the second 'Brug sDe-srid, ruling as such from 1656 to 1657 (LCB I, ff. 93b-94b, and ff. 59b-68b passim of the rnam-thar of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas).
8. The number of monks in Zhabs-drung's personal retinue had greatly increased from the figure of thirty when he first established the community based at lCags-ri (LCB I, f. 29b). These later became the core of the state monastery founded in the rdzong at sPu-na-kha, which was built to hold a total of more than 600 monks in 1637, ten years after the events described in this narrative (LCB I, f. 36a).
9. Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma, who had died some seven or eight years previously (LCB I, f. 29a).

10. This seems to be quite correct as there is no account of any Europeans coming to Bhutan prior to Cacella and Cabral. Even if the Portuguese described in LCB I (ff. 34b-35a) and PBP (ff. 96b-97a) were a quite different party to their own, the Bhutanese accounts place this visit sometime after the year 1634 when a Tibetan force had temporarily occupied the rdzong at Srin-mo-dho-kha ('Simtokha'). See pp.496-97 above.
11. On the Jesuit mission to rTsa-brang ('Tsaparang') see Wessels 1924:69-93.
12. It was not very long before the Jesuits were disabused of the notion, current in north India during this period, that a corrupted form of Christianity was still practised in a vague area beyond the Himalayas. In a letter dated June 17th, 1628, written from Hugli after his return, Cabral said: "I begin to believe that these countries are pagan, both because they say they are, and because I have found that they have the same pagodas as the kingdom of Nepal and some kingdoms of Bengal. They only differ from the latter in not having their superstitions of caste and food" (Wessels 1924:156). Cabral was at Arakan in Burma four years later and noticed some of the features common to the forms of Buddhism practised there and in Tibet and Bhutan. It has been argued that Cabral was therefore the first "... to realise that besides Hinduism and Mohammedanism there was a third great religion in Asia" (Collis 1943:191). The passage in Cabral's letter } from Ceylon dated November 12th, 1633, in which he announces this discovery, also that of the ethnic affiliations of the Tibetans and Burmese, is worth quoting



in full: "There in Arracan, I discovered that the religion of the Maghs [= Mogos = Arracanese] and that of Tibet are identical, and that there is very little difference in their language. The gods are represented in the same manner, and with the same features; they have the same names, the same worship, and the same manner of prayers, and use the same ceremonies as the lamas. Talking with them on that subject, I was told in confidence that they are the same, and that those of Tibet are true Maghs, from whom they themselves are descended." (Luard 1926-7:421). Cabral eventually became rector of the Professed House of the Jesuits at Goa. It was left to the great Desideri (1684-1733) to produce the first coherent account of Tibetan Buddhism in his well-known Notizie Istoriche del Thibet, but four bulky manuscripts containing his defence of Christianity written in Tibetan still remain unexamined in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome.

13. This is doubtless the first recorded use of the title Dharmarāja as applied later to the Zhabs-drung and his incarnations by the Indian and British authorities. Cabral noted in his letter from Hugli that the Tibetans referred to him as 'Lamba Rupa' (Bla-ma 'Brug-pa) and that he ranked fifth in the Tibetan hierarchy (Wessels 1924:335). The statement that Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal was thirty-three years old in 1627 is quite correct by western reckoning; he was born in 1594. By Bhutanese or Tibetan reckoning he would have been thirty-four.
14. 'Cambirasi' was presumably a local name for Bhutan used by the people of Cooch Bihar which Cacella learnt from his

attendants. It cannot be found in any source except this one where it appears just twice. As Cabral wrote in his letter cited in note 12 above, they later heard in Tibet that the proper name for the country was the unspecific term Mon. Wessels (1924:143) speculates that 'Cambirasi' may be related to 'Chumbi', the name used by the British for the Gro-mo valley between Bhutan and Sikkim. This seems most implausible. The ending 'rasi' may well be the same as 'Razi' ('mountain'), as found in the names of many of the peaks which lie on the border of Tibet and Burma (e.g. Pasaung Razi, Gwelang Razi, Dindaw Razi, etc.). The highest of these is Kakabo Razi (19,315 ft), perhaps derived from the Tibetan Gangs dkar-po ('White Snow-Mountain') + 'Razi'. The latter element, obviously a word in one of the many tribal languages of Northern Burma (Lissu, Rawang ?), could perhaps have been transmitted westwards to northern Bengal through the medium of the Ahom people of Assam. }

15. Unidentified.

16. "He is an ascetic, eats only plantains, drinks only milk and indulges in no pleasures whatever." Thus did a Bhutanese captured by the Moslim invaders of Cooch Bihar describe the Zhabs-drung in 1661, as recorded in the Fathiya i Ibriya (Blochmann's translation in Wessels 1924:141).

17. This tallies perfectly with information found in LCB I (ff. 30a-31a) and PBP (ff. 52b-53a). In 1623 Zhabs-drung entered a three-year retreat in complete seclusion at lCags-ri at the top end of the Thimphu valley. The cave (known as bDud-'dul Phug-pa) where this occurred is

incorporated into a retreat house standing on the hillside just above the main temple.

18. Zhabs-drung's artistic skills are well attested in all the literature, for instance in LCB I (f. 19a) where we find him at an early age "contesting with the styles of India and China" in making an image of Hevajra for the head of the Sa-skya school, bSod-nams dBang-po. None of the Zhabs-drung's paintings or images have yet come to light.
19. This is also evident throughout the biographical literature. The greatest influx of Tibetan lamas seems to have occurred after the dGe-lugs-pa school won complete authority in Tibet in 1642. This event caused several great figures to take refuge at Zhabs-drung's court, most prominent of them being the gTsang mKhan-chen who was chaplain to the family of his old rival, the gTsang sDe-srid.
20. This practice is called sgar-'khor 'phebs-pa ('going around in camps'). For long periods Zhabs-drung enjoyed a peripatetic existence accompanied by all his monks, as we see below. This particular tour took him to the Shar district where he met the traditional patrons of the 'Brug-pa school in that area. Unfortunately the account (in LCB I, ff. 32a-b) has no mention of our Jesuits.
21. Sanskrit bkikṣu, a fully ordained monk.
22. Cacella here refers to the many existing communities in Bhutan, some of whose leaders were opposed to the Zhabs-drung.

23. lCags-ri rDo-rje-gdan, whose construction had been completed four years before the arrival of the Jesuits in 1623, just before the Zhabs-drung entered his three-year retreat (LCB I, f. 29a and PBP, f. 47b).
24. This is Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal, the gTsang sDe-srid (or, as here, sDe-pa gTsang-pa), the old enemy of the Zhabs-drung. See pp. 389 et seq. above.
25. The bone, a vertebra, was actually a relic of gTsang-pa rGya-ras (1161-1211), founder of the 'Brug-pa school and a remote, though direct, ancestor of Zhabs-drung. The relic is the famed Rang-byon Karsapani, still kept in the rdzong at sPu-na-kha today. The highly decorated reliquary in which it is kept was made by Newari artisans employed by the Zhabs-drung (PBP, f. 75a).
26. For a description of Ra-lung see Tucci 1956b:53, 60-63.
27. July 31st.
28. On Zhabs-drung's long association with lHa-dbang Blo-gros, the great astrological scholar, see particularly LCB I, ff. 16a, 29b, 33a, 34a. In 1627 he would have been about seventy-nine years old (in 1632 he was eighty-four; LCB I, f. 34a).
29. As we see below, Cacella's grasp of the relationship between the language of the 'Ngalong' of western Bhutan and classical Tibetan (both of which he and Cabral tried to learn) is perceptive.
30. This must refer to the odd set of verbal complements used in Bhutan and the way in which two syllables in standard Tibetan are fused into one in Bhutanese.

31. This feeling of antipathy towards the Jesuits increased. Cabral wrote that later the Zhabs-drung sent two emissaries to the court of the gTsang sDe-srid to warn him of the Jesuits' true aims "... by giving out that the main object of our visit was to pull down their pagodas and destroy their religion" (Wessels 1924:153). This is somewhat surprising in view of the strained relations between the two rulers at this time, though it is possible that efforts were being made to patch the old quarrel.
32. This is undoubtedly the first 'Brug sDe-srid, bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas who ruled the country from 1651 to 1656 at the start of the Zhabs-drung's final retreat. (See LCB I, ff. 92a-93b, and ff. 58a-59b of the bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas rnam-thar.)
33. The word is probably mu-stegs-pa ('heretic') which includes both Hindus and Moslims.
34. This must have been the Buddha of Boundless Life, Amitāyus (Tshe-dpag-med) who holds the vase containing nectar.
35. Perhaps a mandala.
36. The Christian trinity does bear these rather superficial resemblances with the theory of the three 'Bodies' of the Buddha, which consists in the 'Body of the Doctrine' existing on a transcendent, absolute level (dharmakāya, chos-sku), the 'Body of Bliss' on the heavenly plane (sambhogakāya, longs-sku), and the one mentioned here, the 'Manifested Body' on the mundane level (nirmānakāya, sprul-sku).

37. Queen Māyā, from whose right side the Buddha Śākyamuni was born in the Lumbinī Grove. The Jesuits were of course hoping that her image would resemble the Virgin Mary.
38. See rGyal-rigs, ff. 5a-6a.
39. This should be eleven, a reference to the eleven-headed form of Avalokiteśvara.
40. Probably the three 'realms' (not paradises) of 'Desire, Form and Non-Form' (kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu, arupadhātu; 'dod-khams, gzugs-khams, gzugs-med-khams).
41. This is the dNgul-'bum mChod-rten containing the remains of Zhabs-drung's father, Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma. The silver for it was offered to Zhabs-drung by his patrons at sKya-khra ('Chapcha') and the stūpa itself made by Newari artisans who had been brought for this purpose } from the Kathmandu valley by way of central Tibet. The principal temple at lCags-ri was built to contain it (LCB I, ff. 28b-29a). Zhabs-drung's own minute description of the dNgul-'bum mChod-rten is quoted verbatim in PBP, ff. 45a-47b.
42. This is a reference to 'ja'-lus 'pho-ba chen-po ('the Great Transference by the Rainbow Body').
43. Stories about bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma's footprints (zhabs-rjes) are still told in Bhutan today and no doubt find mention in his rnam-thar which I have been unable to trace.
44. Cf. f. 14 below. The temple is of course the Jo-khang of lHa-sa, containing the famed image of the Crowned Buddha, Śākyamuni.

45. bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyas (see note 32 above).
46. sku-ru-kha, a punctuation mark shaped like a cross, signifying 'as before' in ritual and devotional texts (see Jaschke 1881:22).
47. lHa-dbang Blo-gros (see note 28 above).
48. A reference to the rite of 'pho-ba ('the transfer of consciousness').
49. Cf. bKa'-khrims, f. 113a where the same practice has become institutionalised under the law.
50. All the itineraries to Sham-bha-la place this mythical kingdom in the far north (Tucci 1949:598, 617 note 289).
51. Despite the travels and discoveries of Bento de Goes in 1602-7 which had determined the identity of Cathay and China, the Jesuits were still seeking this fabled land of Christianity. The notion was derived from a distant memory of Nestorians at the Mongol court at the time of the Franciscan missions in the 13th and 14th centuries, and from garbled accounts of Chinese Buddhism. See Wessels 1924: Ch. I.
52. Mongolia.
53. The Tartars here are the Manchus who in fact belonged to a different stock from the Mongols. Their repeated attacks on the Chinese Ming dynasty culminated in 1644 with their establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty.
54. If this letter was ever written, it has not survived.
55. This statement, like the one above on the population of sPa-gro, passes belief. There must have been several

110

hundred temples and monasteries in Bhutan by this date. Could it be that both of these extraordinary statements derive solely from Cacella's wish to portray the country as ripe for Christian conversion ?

56. It should be noted that this tolerant, even permissive, trait in the complex personality of the great Zhabs-drung was recorded during the period before he started to impose his will directly on the country by constructing or appropriating fortresses that commanded the western valleys. Much of his success seems to have been derived from the uncompromising way he treated all opponents, external and internal, while apparently leaving his subjects to fulfil their obligations out of faith rather than by coercion. It is still not clear at which point his subjects were extended beyond the 'patrons' of the 'Brug-pa school to include the entire population.
57. Wine is called rgun-'brum-gyi chang ('the ale of grapes') in Bhutan, though it is not drunk there. That it was known to be found in Kong-po was the main factor behind the establishment of the Capuchin mission there.
58. Hindu yogins or sadhus do seem to have penetrated occasionally to the mountains of Bhutan. Speaking of the 'bad old days' before the imposition of 'Brug-pa rule, LCB I (f. 7b) says: "Indian yogins on pilgrimage were sold as slaves."
59. This king may perhaps be identified with Rāja Padma Narayan of Cooch Bihar who sent gifts to the Zhabs-drung on three occasions (LCB, ff. 28a-b, 47a).



60. There were a total of seven Jesuits in Tsaparang in 1627, headed by the famous Antonio de Andrade. Their church had been built there in the previous year. See Wessels 1924:71-72.
61. This description of Bhutanese costume shows how much it has changed since the 17th century. The sleeveless, knee-length garment known as 'pakhi', which was worn with a belt and knotted or buckled at the shoulders, is today only worn by a few groups in the south of the country. The cloak mentioned here is now only seen among some pastoral groups of the northern highlands. The standard article of dress for men is now the 'ko', basically the same as the Tibetan 'chuba' but hitched to the knees to form a pouch at the waist. By contrast, the women's dress has probably remained unchanged.
62. We can be positive, therefore, that the iconography of Zhabs-drung's figure, as seen in countless paintings and images throughout the country, is based on a physical likeness.
63. This is perhaps the single most important statement in the Relação from the point of view of Bhutanese history because it confirms the fact that it was Zhabs-drung's aim to leave a son who would succeed him as ruler of Bhutan. The idea of incarnational succession must have had little appeal for him in view of the protracted quarrel over his own recognition as the embodiment of Padma dKar-po. His son, the sickly 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje, was born in 1631 four years after this account was written. True to his intention recorded here, Zhabs-drung then

received the tonsure of a fully ordained monk in the following year from his old master lHa-dbang Blo-gros (LCB I, f. 34a, PBP, f. 89a).

64. The only member of the rGya lineage who is depicted with long hair in the thankas is Nam-mkha' dPal-bzang (1398-1425). He was one of two 'holy madmen' in this branch of the 'Brug-pa school, the other being the much more famous 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-1529).
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TEXT V

# 'THE ADMONITION OF THE THUNDERBOLT CANNON-BALL' AND ITS PLACE IN THE BHUTANESE NEW YEAR FESTIVAL \*

By MICHAEL ARIS  
(PLATES I-II)

## I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present to scholars of Tibetan and Himalayan culture a document which is recited annually to an assembled militia organization during the New Year festival observed in the old winter capital of the Himalayan kingdom of Bhutan at Punakha.<sup>1</sup> Apart from attempting to disclose the origin of this custom, which can be traced with some accuracy to the middle years of the seventeenth century, it is intended to relate it briefly to the wider context of the New Year celebrations as they used to be held in Tibet and as they continue to be held with considerable variance in Bhutan and other places on the periphery of Tibetan culture. In certain areas an ancient and fundamental distinction between the 'King's New Year' (*rgyal-po lo-gsar*) and the 'Agricultural New Year' (*so-nam lo-gsar*) has survived and my remarks on the relevant Bhutanese traditions are made on the basis of these two categories.

In 1408 Tsong-kha-pa, the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, introduced to Lhasa the New Year festival of the 'Great Prayer' (*sMon-lam Chen-mo*) and in c. 1644 *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the founder of Bhutan as we know it today, established the New Year festival of the 'Puna Dromchö',<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used are as follows.

CGS 'Brug-gzhung 'cham-gyi bshad-pa, 'an official guide to the sacred dances of Bhutan by Drag-sho Nag-'phel. Printed in Kalimpong, 1971. I have ignored the original pagination which is confusing and counted the preface as p. [1], proceeding consecutively from there.

DNg. *Deb-ther sngon-po* 'The blue annals', written between 1476 and 1478 by 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal; Yang-pa-can/Kun-bde-gling edition in 15 sections. G. N. Roerich's translation of this work (2 vols., Calcutta, 1949-53) was made from the slightly differing text of the later Amdo edition of mDzod-dge dGon-pa.

LCB *lHo'i chos-byung*, a history of Bhutan written by bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal, the tenth Head Abbot of Bhutan, between 1731 and 1759; Punakha edition, 151 folios.

PBP dPal 'brug-pa rin-po-che ngag-dbang bdud-'joms rdo-rje'i rnam-par thar-pa chos-kyi sprin chen-po'i dbyangs, the biography of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, 1504-1651, the first 'Dharmarāja' of Bhutan, written by gTsong mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan rGya-mtsho in the second half of the eighteenth century; Punakha edition in 4 vols.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 625, n. 60, for a discussion of this term. Due to the fact that Bhutan adopted in the seventeenth century the variant astrological system devised by the 'Brug-pa scholar lHa-dbang Blo-gros, one of the teachers of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, the 'Puna Dromchö' never coincides exactly with the *sMon-lam Chen-mo* of Lhasa. A discrepancy of a few days between the Bhutanese and Tibetan calendars is therefore apparent throughout the year. For a discussion of Lha-dbang Blo-gros's important work, the bsTan-ris 'dod-spyin gler-'bum, and a critique of Schlagintweit's early translation of it (1897), see A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan historical literature* (Soviet Indology Series, 4), Calcutta, 1970, 104 ff. (notes).

\* Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,

as we shall see below. Both were intended to be occasions of national importance marking the transition to the New Year in the respective capitals of each country. Coinciding roughly with the Chinese New Year, this 'King's New Year' marks the start of the first month of the lunar calendar and the ceremonies that were devised for it by Tsong-kha-pa were conceived as '... a kind of rededication of Tibet to the Buddhist faith'.<sup>3</sup> Alongside the Buddhist ritual many elements in the festival are ultimately derived, it is thought, from China, India, Iran, and also from non-Buddhist traditions of genuine Tibetan origin;<sup>4</sup> the role played by the 'King of Ransom Demons' (*glud-'gong rgyal-po*), the feat of sliding down a leather rope from the Potala Palace, the holding of races between naked boys (in the associated festival of Byams-pa gDan-'dran), the ambiguous figures of the 'white demons' (*'dre-dkar*), the yak and lion dances, the military processions, and many other features of the festival all point to a conscious preservation of ancient traditions as received from the past. It need not surprise us, therefore, to find that in the New Year festival of the 'Puna Dromchö' in Bhutan, which may well have been inspired at least in part by the 'Great Prayer' of Lhasa, there exists a similar mixture of folk elements with the explicitly Buddhist nature of the occasion. As will be seen, this 'King's New Year' in Bhutan was intended to celebrate the triumph of the 'Brug-pa school in that country and the entire theme of the festival is still today one of spiritual victory over the supernatural forces that are believed to hinder its dominion and martial conquest of its external human enemies. It is in the latter respect that the folk elements are most apparent and, as I hope becomes evident below, it would appear that some of these were borrowed from earlier rites of the 'Agricultural New Year'.

In the historical material that has survived the hazards of fire and earthquake in Bhutan, we find the valleys of Paro in the west and Bumthang in the central part of Bhutan are regarded as the earliest centres of civilization both for the Buddhists, who revere Padmasambhava as the person responsible for introducing their faith to these places in the eighth century, and for the practitioners of *bon* in Tibet who claim Paro as an important site where their sacred texts were 'rediscovered'.<sup>5</sup> Whatever the truth of these claims, although Tibetan sources nearly always regard these valleys as belonging to the 'border country of barbarians' there is little doubt that they were flourishing centres of Buddhism from at least the twelfth century and possibly much earlier. sKyer-chu lHa-khang in Paro and Byams-pa'i lHa-khang in Bumthang are traditionally reckoned as two of the 'temples to convert the people beyond the border' (*yang-'dul-gyi gtsug-lag-khang*) or 'to suppress the wings' (*ru-gnon*) built by Srong-btsan sGam-po in the seventh century and there is no reason

<sup>3</sup> David Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A cultural history of Tibet*, London, 1968, 181.

<sup>4</sup> R. A. Stein, *Tibetan civilization*, London, 1972, 212-20.

<sup>5</sup> On the discovery of the *sPa-gro-ma* texts of the Bon-po see Samten G. Karmay (ed. and tr.), *The treasury of good sayings: a Tibetan history of bon*, London, 1972, 145-9.

why we should doubt this ascription.<sup>6</sup> The 'later spread' (*phyi-dar*) of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet had its effect on Bhutan and a long line of spiritual masters including Kha-rag sGom-chung (a contemporary of Atisha and the founder of the fine little hermitage of Lug-gi Rwa-ba to the north of the Chos-'khor district in Bumthang), the first Karma-pa incarnation, Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa<sup>7</sup> (1110-93), and many others heralded a continuing stream of teachers who no doubt were attracted by the holy sites and temperate climate of these beautiful and secluded valleys. Among them can be counted refugees from the tumults of Tibetan politics of this period, including Klong-chen-pa<sup>8</sup> (1308-63), the greatest philosopher of his time, who founded monasteries in Paro, Bumthang, and other places and who was reincarnated in Padma Gling-pa, a member of a local branch of the gNyos clan in Bumthang from whom the present royal family claim descent. The 'Brug-pa school was first introduced by Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po<sup>9</sup> (1162-1251), a Khampa who studied at Rwa-lung, and by his four sons who came to acquire secular authority in parts of western Bhutan.

We can assume that this steady influence from the north came in the wake of successive (and, so far, undatable) migrations of peoples from Tibet who, intermarrying with the indigenous tribes of the area, tended to push the more intractable of these to the outer fringes where they continue today as minor sub-groups. Throughout the country enormous regional diversity in dialects persists as evidence of the early fragmentation of Bhutanese society into small valley units quite independent of each other. In the wake of religion came improvements in communication and the best example of this is the work of the bridge-building saint, Thang-stong rGyal-po<sup>10</sup> (1385-1464) who was active in many parts of the country. With the linking together of the central valleys and the eventual emergence of a central government under the theocracy imposed by the 'Brug-pa school, Bhutan came to possess a remarkable uniformity of religious culture that can perhaps be said to extend over a larger

<sup>6</sup> For a list of these temples see *rGyal-rabs-rnams-kyi 'byung-tshul gsal-ba'i me-long* by bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan, 1508; Lhasa ed., fols. 54b, 60a. In speaking of the Bumthang sKyer-chu Lha-khang, however, the work has confused the two Bhutanese temples in Paro and Bumthang.

<sup>7</sup> For Dus-gsum mKhyen-pa's visit to Paro see Lokesh Chandra's ed. of the *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, pt. II, 824 and also *DNg., Nya*, fol. 33b.

<sup>8</sup> An account of kLong-chen-pa's stay in Bhutan is found in his biography, *Kun-mkhyen chos-kyi rgyal-po gter-chen dri-med 'od-zer-gyi rnam-par thar-pa cung-zad spros-pa ngo-mtshar skal-bzang mchog-gi dga'-ston*, Lha-lung ed., fols. 22-3. kLong-chen-pa was the author of a long and fascinating verse description of the 'hidden land' of Bumthang. It can be found on fol. 22b f. of vol. *Shri* of his collected works.

<sup>9</sup> See his undated and anonymous biography *Pha 'brug-sgom zhig-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa lhugs-rje'i chu-rgyun*, 44 folios.

<sup>10</sup> A rare Bhutanese version of his biography by Mon-pa bDe-ba bZang-po is preserved in the temple of rTa-mchog sGang south of Paro. It is the *Bla-ma thang-stong rgyal-po'i rnam-thar gsal-ba'i sgron-me*, 294 folios. An account of his work in Bhutan is found on fols. 130a-43b of this manuscript.

area of the Himalaya than that covered by any other culture in the ranges to the west or east. This process that began in the seventeenth century and which can be seen to continue to this day in the efforts of the present government has tended to obscure much of the early cultural life of the Bhutanese peoples. Although the arts of textile and basket weaving bear the true stamp of indigenous crafts of great antiquity, they alone seem to survive as the single expression of the true native genius for the physical arts. Architecture, wood-carving, statuary, painting, and metal-work all belong to the mainstream of Tibetan artistic tradition though local styles and techniques are everywhere evident.

The same may be said to hold true for folk traditions but it seems to be in these peripheral areas of 'cultural Tibet' that some early customs have been best preserved. Stein has noted this to be the case in regard to the 'Agricultural New Year' in Ladakh and Sikkim.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the best-known example of this festival is the one observed in parts of Tibet when at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh lunar month 'For some days servants do no work, but are richly dressed and treated with respect by their masters, who present them with offerings and treat them to parties and carousels. As in the carnivals of ancient China, the world is turned upside down to mark the uncertain interval or crossing from the old year to the new. We are reminded of the fact that in the cycle of cosmic periods (*kalpa*), the end of our present age is marked by a turning upside down of society's established structures, and in particular that servants will rule over their masters'.<sup>12</sup> In the less hierarchic societies of the border areas, however, this tradition appears to be replaced by a concern to appease the local spirits at this crucial time as it is so often upon them that the success of agriculture and personal undertakings in the coming year depend. The festival of 'Paro Lomba', which is described below, is an example of this concern.

The period around the winter solstice in Bhutan is marked by an interval between the threshing and storing of harvested paddy and the start of winter ploughing. It is traditionally devoted to a time of relaxation during which archery is the main preoccupation of the village. Contests are arranged between the men of rival villages and the women also participate by singing songs to encourage their team. Important contests are taken very seriously and astrological magic is used to ensure success. A whole ritual has in fact developed around the practice of archery in Bhutan and at no time is it more apparent than during this period. The climax of this winter holiday is reached in the festival of 'Paro Lomba' which continues for the first three days of the eleventh month. 'Lomba' is explained as *lo-'ba'*, literally 'the carrying of the year'. Although the exact implication of the term is not clear, it perhaps suggests 'carrying over' the old year into the new and so may emphasize the 'interregnum' of this transitional period of renewal. The ritual of this

<sup>11</sup> Stein, *op. cit.*, 213.

<sup>12</sup> Stein, *op. cit.*, 213.

'Agricultural New Year' centres around the activity of the village oracle who is known as the *dpa'-bo*, literally 'hero', a name perhaps borrowed from that of the heavenly attendants of Padmasambhava. In the case of a female oracle she is known as the *rnal-'byor-ma* (*yoginī*) or, in a variant form, *bsnyen-jo-mo* 'Invocation-Lady'. Her equivalent in eastern Bhutan is known as the *dpa'-mo*, pronounced 'pam'. During 'Paro Lomba' the occasion on which the oracle enters into a mediumistic trance during which he is possessed by one or a succession of spirits is called the 'bongku'. None of my informants could explain the meaning of this term properly or give me its orthography. The privilege of acting as host for the 'bongku' rotates around the village from year to year and each household or group of households appears to enjoy the privilege approximately once every three years. This is made possible by virtue of the fact that about three 'bongku' are held on each day of the festival in different parts of the village, thus enabling the oracle to be possessed by the different spirits associated with each locale. Of these the most important are Drag-skyes (the guardian spirit of Paro whose sacred mountain and lake are situated to the north-east of the valley), Khyung-bdud (the guardian of the Ha valley), sPang-kha-btsan, dGe-bsnyen, and the *nāga* spirits inhabiting the pools, streams, and 'watery subsoil' who are known as *klu* or *mtsho-sman*. During the night preceding each day of his performance the oracle stays in a specially constructed hut where he observes a vigil and prepares himself for his ordeal. The invocations and appeasements he uses for this appear to be much the same as the common Buddhist ones; like 'assimilated *bon*' much of the oracle's ceremonial seems to be taken from Buddhist ceremonial. He wears the *rig-lnga* 'Five Families' crown decorated with the figures of the five *ḍākinīs* and holds the pellet-drum and bell. Tucked into the waist of the traditional knee-length robe of a layman is the white and maroon mantle that is the mark of rNying-ma-pa lamas in Tibet (known as the 'katri kumni' in Bhutan) which he wears like an apron. Ceremonial scarves are draped around his neck. His costume, like his name, is taken to be that of the heavenly attendants of Padmasambhava but whether these are later Buddhist accretions or whether the *dpa'-bo* in Buddhist mythology is itself of some early shamanistic or mediumistic origin is not clear. There is a lay dance in Bhutan known as *dpa'-cham*,<sup>13</sup> especially performed as a welcome to important persons, which imitates the movements of the oracle prior to his trance and for which the same basic costume is worn. The high leaps which also characterize the dance but which are not seen in the movements of the real oracle remind one that the attendants of Padmasambhava are also acrobats. The official manual to the sacred dances of Bhutan explains that this *dpa'-cham* was revealed to Padma Gling-pa in a vision of these heavenly attendants in the Copper-Coloured Mountain of Padmasambhava but this only serves to underline the problem further.

<sup>13</sup> CGS, [23].



On the morning of the first day of 'Paro Lomba' a festival dish consisting of a rice cake garnished with honey is served in every household. Soon after, the oracle emerges from his hut and the first 'bongku' takes place. It begins with the oracle facing an old man of the village dressed as a clown across a length of cloth held up between them by two village girls. On other occasions the cloth separates the oracle from his female counterpart, the *rnal-'byor-ma*, who performs simultaneously with him. The clown carries a large wooden phallic symbol with which he touches the ladies of the village as he dances opposite the oracle. The steps of the oracle's dance are said to copy those of the snowcock and he accompanies himself on the drum and bell while singing a song. Gradually the tempo increases until he begins to shake in convulsions. Everything else stops and he begins to sigh and as he starts to speak the villagers gather round to hear what he says. As the spirit possessing the oracle remonstrates with the village people for their past and future misdeeds, individual people in the crowd give their assurances that they will abide by his commands. These usually take the form of injunctions to perform various rituals as a means of averting disaster and illness. After this has continued for some time the oracle begins to dance again until he has stopped shaking and reverted to his normal self. If the rite takes place in the locale of the *nāga* spirits the oracle has three small girls standing near him holding garlanded arrows. They represent the attendants of the *nāga*. In order to pacify one of these water spirits the oracle places the shell of a tortoise on its shrine which is generally in the form of a small square-shaped *mchod-rten* near a stream or pond. Apart from this there is an absence of the 'props' associated with the other kind of oracles known as *chos-skyong* or *sku-rten-pa* in Tibet.<sup>14</sup> The only other assistants besides those already mentioned are a number of small boys carrying banners and wearing old helmets.

The second part of the 'bongku' takes place in the courtyard or close vicinity of the host's house. In the presence of the oracle the host stands in front of a large vessel of barley beer and dipping a ladle into it then holds it up while all the men of the village chant a prayer of offering to the local spirits with their hands raised in a gesture of offering. When this is finished the host tosses the beer from his ladle into the air while the men let loose cries of 'Ki hi hi hi'.<sup>15</sup> The host then first pours a token drop into the palm of the oracle and then presents him with a garlanded arrow to touch. This libation ceremony is called *mar-chang* 'butter beer' (?) or *chang-'phul* 'beer offering' and of all public folk rites in Bhutan it is perhaps the most popular. It is then followed by an ancient sword dance performed by a single youth of the village who has been trained for this purpose. Resting a banner-staff on his left shoulder, he dances with slow, highly stylized movements. As he swings his

<sup>14</sup> See René de Nebesky-Wojtkowitz, *Oracles and demons of Tibet: the cult and iconography of the Tibetan protective deities*, The Hague, 1956, 409; also Stein, op. cit., 187.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 633, n. 87.

sword against unseen enemies he calls on the guardian spirits to assist him and then cuts them down. The dance is known as *rbad-rgyab* 'Flinging incitements' and, on the village level, seems to be restricted to this one occasion in the year. It also features in the festival of sacred dance that takes place simultaneously with 'Paro Lomba' in the temple of Ngag lHa-khang in the Chos-'khor-stod district of Bumthang and we can assume therefore that it is peculiarly associated with the 'Agricultural New Year' in Bhutan. After its performance in Paro the occasion is concluded with a distribution of food and drink by the host to all the assembled villagers. The meeting disbands only to be started again in another part of the village later on the same day and so it continues till the festival is concluded. Two further items in the festival may be mentioned. On the last day a volume of the *Prajñāpāramitā* is carried around the outer limits of the village in a clockwise fashion as a means of protecting it in the coming year, the procession headed by a fully-ordained monk. Finally a 'sorcerer's horn' (*thun-rwa*; also called *sri-gnan*) is buried by the oracle at night at the junction of two paths in the village to ward off troublesome demons in the coming year and thread-crosses (*mādos*) are erected on poles for the same reason.

The above observations were made by me in the village of Uchu where in 1970 the responsibility of acting as host to the oracle fell on my household and I was able to witness the proceedings at close hand for the first time. On the bank of a small stream just beyond the north wall of the house (which was previously the seat of a local official known as the *drung-pa*, or 'drūm' in the colloquial language, on whom see below) there is situated a large pit, its sides shored up with stones, at the bottom of which lies a boulder whose location is said to have been revealed long ago by an oracle during a trance. It is the abode of a *nāga* spirit and during the festival and on other occasions throughout the year it receives offerings of milk and other substances. Material benefits resulting from these placatory measures are thought to accrue to the donors. This was the only case I found in Bhutan of a stone of this sort being inhabited by a potentially malignant spirit who had shown its location to an oracle and I was reminded of the strange rite of breaking such a stone that G. N. Roerich witnessed performed by travelling actors from Spiti in the western Himalaya. The derivation of this ceremony (known as *Pho-bar rDo-gcog*) is traditionally ascribed to Thang-stong rGyal-po (see above) who first performed it to exorcize a malignant demon that was hindering his construction of the Chu-bo-ri monastery on the banks of the Tsang-po river near the most famous of his iron-chain bridges. Coincidentally, the village of Uchu is inhabited mainly by craftsmen, particularly bowl-makers and blacksmiths, and on fol. 135b of Thang-stong rGyal-po's biography (see p. 603, n. 10, above) we learn that it was from the neighbouring hamlet of Jiu (spelt *Bye'u*) that the saint employed some blacksmiths to convert the iron he was offered in Bhutan into the links of the same bridge on the Tsang-po. Whether there is any connexion between the veneration of this large boulder in Uchu, uniquely regarded as the seat of

a *nāga*, and the activities of Thang-stong rGyal-po in the area, it would be impossible to say.

For the village people of Paro the festival of 'Paro Lomba' definitely marks the coming of the New Year and the later 'King's New Year' in February passes by almost unnoticed except by government servants. With the exception of Ha, the neighbouring valley to the east, where a similar festival<sup>16</sup> centred around the famous oracle of Khyung-bdud occurs but which I have not witnessed, the formal celebration of the 'Agricultural New Year' seems to have died out in Bhutan but further instances of it may yet come to light. In their communication 'On two Bhutanese New Year's celebrations' (*American Anthropologist*, LVIII, 1, 1956, 179-83), Robert and Beatrice Miller have described the festivals of the 'Cultivators' New Year' in the villages of Pedong and Sakyong in the Darjeeling District of West Bengal which are inhabited by a few hundred Bhutanese who have survived there from the time when this area was still part of Bhutan proper in the last century. Here the festival is wholly taken up with archery and with a local version of the *mar-chang* ceremony described above. The oracle takes no part and '... religious symbolism seems to be at a minimum' (p. 182). While their remark that the same festival '... is observed in villages throughout Bhutan' cannot be countenanced, one can, however, still catch odd glimpses of the 'Agricultural New Year' here and there, as may be evident below.

'Paro Lomba' is itself preceded by a single day of sacred dance in the temple of Cang Nam-mkha' lHa-khang whose foundation is attributed to the first 'Brug-pa teacher in Bhutan, *Pha-jo* 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, in the thirteenth century (see above). The original temple is preserved within a later one and in the outer courtyard on the last day of the tenth month five dancers depict the generals emanated by this saint in his struggles with the lHa-pa sect, an offshoot of the 'Bri-khung bKa'-rgyud, which had been introduced by a certain rGyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (1164-1224)<sup>17</sup> of the gNyes clan and which had gained a measure of secular power in western Bhutan. It was still this sect which proved the most troublesome to the spread of 'Brug-pa rule four centuries later. Historians, however, claimed that the lHa-pa were first defeated by *Pha-jo* and it is clear that this dance is meant to celebrate the victory. Three large 'Guardians of Religion' (*chos-skyong*) make their appearance during the dance and bless the crowd. The scene then moves towards a green close by where a lama in 'Black Hat' apparel performs the ceremony of casting a sacrificial cake (*gtor-ma*). At the climax of the ceremony the onlookers fire off muskets and the dance is then resumed in the courtyard. In the afternoon the

<sup>16</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz (pp. 236-7), in his brief account of the local protective deities of Bhutan, based on information collected in Kalimpong, West Bengal, recounts an oral legend about Khyung-bdud (whom he spells Khyung-dung or Khyung-'dus) but has no information on his festival. For some interesting conjectures about the connexion between the cult of the *dpa'-bo* and *bon* practices, see pp. 425-8, and also his 'Tibetan drum divination, "ngamo"', *Ethnos*, XVII, 1952, 150-2.

<sup>17</sup> See *DNg.*, *Nya*, fol. 87b.

dance-drama of *Pho-legs mo-legs*<sup>18</sup> (a Bhutanese version of the *rGyal-po* Nor-bzang story of Indian inspiration) is performed. In its casting of the *gtor-ma* (with its triple connotation of ritual weapon, oblation, and 'scapegoat') and in its celebration of victory the festival marks the passing of the old year and is a preparation for the 'Lomba' which follows. It is, however, attended only by the population of neighbouring villages and not by that of the valley as a whole, whose principal religious festival is the *Tshes-bcu* held in honour of Padmasambhava in spring and centred in Rin-spungs rDzong.

The only festival comparable to the 'Lomba' which I have witnessed elsewhere in the country (with the exception of those held in Ha and in Ngag-lHa-khang mentioned above) is the so-called 'Drub' (*sGrub* 'ritual performance' or 'ritual conjuration') of the ancient Byams-pa'i lHa-khang in Bumthang. The climax of this October festival occurs when on the final night all the spectators take turns in leaping through the flames of a large bonfire as a means of purifying their sins committed in the previous year. The ritual is known as *me-dbang* 'fire initiation' and appears to be a local rite peculiar to the Bumthang district which developed out of the better-known ceremony of *byin-sreg* 'burnt offerings'. It also features in the two-day festival held in September at Thang-sbe lHa-khang in Chos-'khor-stod, said to have been founded by Grags-pa Seng-ge (1283-1349), the first Zhwa-dmar incarnation, though the attribution is as yet unsubstantiated. Another important peculiarity of the 'Drup' of Byams-pa'i lHa-khang is the humorous role played by two figures said to represent an old man and an old lady. Their names, 'gadpo' and 'gadmo', partly preserve the original pronunciation of these words (*rgad-po*, *rgad-mo* are usually pronounced 'gepo', 'gemo') and this is characteristic of the Bumthang dialect, in which many ancient forms have survived to this day. Like the well-known clown called the *A-tsa-ra* (from the Sanskrit *ācārya*), who is to be seen in all lamaist dance festivals and whom they replace, these figures provide comic relief through their buffoonery, entertaining the crowd with a succession of skits and lampooning the sacred performance of the dance. If we are to assume that the old man and the old lady were originally folk figures upon whom their comic role was later grafted, one cannot but wonder whether they relate in any way to the 'grandfather' and 'grandmother' who are portrayed in the 'Agricultural New Year' as observed by A. H. Francke at Khalatse in Ladakh.<sup>19</sup> Although the 'Drup' at Byams-pa'i lHa-khang seems to have replaced the village rites of the 'Agricultural New Year' with the ritual of a Buddhist dance festival, several of its features seem to be derived from an earlier and more popular version. Significantly, after its conclusion the people of Bumthang traditionally start to migrate to their winter residences to the south in the district of Mang-sde-lung and so for them it marks a fresh

<sup>18</sup> See CGS, [32-3].

<sup>19</sup> See A. H. Francke, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder*, Hagen and Darmstadt, 1923, 28-31, as noted by Stein, op. cit., 220.

beginning just as the 'Lomba' does for the agricultural cycle of the Paro people.

When we turn to consider the official New Year celebrated in the former winter capital at Punakha we move from these elemental and relatively unsophisticated rites as observed in the provincial districts to a state occasion of great pomp and intricacy. As has already been noted, on a general level this festival serves to celebrate at this crucial season the religious and temporal ascendancy in Bhutan of the 'Brug-pa school which had its origins in the twelfth century as an important offshoot of the bKa'-rgyud-pa. Its rapid spread throughout Tibet was due to the effective leadership of three disciples of *gTsang-pa rGya-ras Ye-shes rDo-rje* (1161-1211) who were later recognized as having each founded their own sub-sect.<sup>20</sup> It was also due, it seems, to the fact that their teachings appealed to a large number of people with religious vocations who wished to pursue these as simple mendicants intent on salvation through meditation rather than as members of large communities where the formal study of Buddhist scholarship was paramount. This is hinted at by the author of the 'Blue annals' who says '... the hermits belonging to the 'Brug-pa school were devoid of the prejudices and dissensions of sectarian and scholastic partiality and were all extremely humble'.<sup>21</sup> That this was a matter of some pride is indicated by the following jingle,<sup>22</sup> half humorous and not to be taken literally, which is still repeated today.

'Half the people are 'Brug-pa.  
Half the 'Brug-pa are beggars.  
Half the beggars are saints.'

The sentiment expressed here accords well with a recurring theme in Tibetan religious life, namely a return to ideals of original simplicity and purity, but it was not very long before the 'Brug-pa followed the general pattern set by other schools of acquiring rich monasteries and estates under the patronage of a noble house. Thus the succession to the principal abbatial seat of the 'Middle Branch of the 'Brug-pa' (*Bar 'Brug*) at Rwa-lung passed in a line from paternal uncle to nephew within the noble clan of rGya which had been associated with the school since its inception. In the fourteenth century it acquired considerable landholdings in central Tibet as a result of the patronage of the Mongol king Toyon Temür (d. 1370) but its power never equalled that of the Phag-mo-gru-pa, Sa-skyapa, Karma-pa, or 'Bri-khung-pa schools, whose authority had been gained in a similar manner. Factional rivalries within its ruling family depleted these holdings of the 'Brug-pa, and military and political defeats further weakened it, but for several centuries it maintained a position of considerable weight during this stormy period when, in the absence of a strong central authority, the most powerful schools were contending for secular

<sup>20</sup> See p. 629, n. 71, below.

<sup>21</sup> *DNg.*, *Nya*, fol. 118a.

<sup>22</sup> // *mi phyed 'brug pa* // *'brug phyed sprang po* // *sprang phyed grub thob* //

## PLATE I



THE *DRACHEN* DURING THE AGRICULTURAL NEW YEAR FESTIVAL IN PARO



PLATE II



ONE OF THE 'PAZAP' GENERALS DURING THE KING'S NEW YEAR FESTIVAL IN  
PUNAKHA

control of the country. This 'Middle Branch of the 'Brug-pa' acquired monasteries in many parts of the country and soon spread to Bhutan where it vied with other schools for the allegiance of the population. Despite increasing preoccupation with the worldly management of its affairs the 'Brug-pa continued to produce brilliant scholars and the greatest of these was undoubtedly Padma dKar-po 'the Omniscient' (1527-92), one of the finest and most prolific savants of his age, who earned the respect later of the great fifth Dalai Lama, who was otherwise so sceptical of bKa'-rgyud-pa scholarship. After his death a bitter dispute arose over the recognition of his incarnation, the two contestants being *Zhabs-drung* Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (1594-1651) of the rGya family, the eighteenth incumbent of the abbatial seat of Rwa-lung; and dPag-bsam dBang-po (1593-1641), son of the prince of 'Phyong-rgyas, who with the backing of the gTsang ruler (*sde-srid*) gained control of the monastery of gSang-sngags Chos-gling founded by Padma dKar-po in the area north-east of Bhutan. The quarrel not only resulted in a major split within the 'Brug-pa but also produced a situation leading to the consolidation of Bhutanese sovereignty under Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal and his successors. It finally came to a head in the form of a contention over the right to the ancestral relics of the school, in particular the 'self-created' (*rang-'byung*) Kar-sa-pa-ni (a form of Avalokiteśvara) which was supposed to have been found in one of the vertebrae of *gTsang-pa rGya-rus*, the founder of the school, after his cremation.<sup>23</sup> It was this which finally persuaded Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal to go into voluntary exile in Bhutan which he claimed had been offered to him by Mahākāla in a prophetic dream.<sup>24</sup> Building on the foundations which had been laid there by his predecessors, he proceeded to unite western Bhutan, creating a monastic principality governed on the lines of an ecclesiastical estate. It was left to his immediate successors to extend Bhutan's boundaries to most of their present limits but its division into administrative units based on the *rdzong* was his own unique invention. These gigantic structures which dominate the main valleys of the country to this day are essentially regional fortresses containing both monastic and civil sections. They were the natural product of an age which saw in Tibet the besieging of religious buildings whose basic design had never been intended to facilitate military defence. Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, as cleric and statesman, solved the problem by placing his monasteries inside strategically situated fortresses. These he either built on the foundations of existing castles which were offered to him by local princes (as in the case of

<sup>23</sup> Unexpected confirmation of the nature of this quarrel can be found in the contemporary account of Stephen Cacella who, together with John Cabral, was a Portuguese Jesuit missionary who spent most of 1627 in Bhutan (which he calls Cambirasi) in the company of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. The latter wished to detain them from continuing their journey to Tibet where they intended to operate under the patronage of his enemy the *gTsang sDe-srid*, and he even offered them a site in Paro to build a church. See C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia, 1603-1721*, The Hague, 1924, 120-61, and appendixes II, III.

<sup>24</sup> See p. 630, n. 78, below.



Rin-spungs rDzong in Paro and bKra-shis Chos rDzong in Thimphu) or else on entirely new sites (as at sPungs-thang bDe-can Pho-brang rDzong in Punakha and dBang-'dus Pho-brang rDzong in the Shar district). They served not only as a defence against his enemies but also as a means of consolidating his hold on the country. To begin with the secular and ecclesiastical functions of the *rdzong* were virtually indistinguishable as all posts were filled by monastic officials, many of whom rose from the rank and file who had been placed in the monastery as obligatory 'monk tax' (*btsun-khral*). Gradually a separation of duties took place in accordance with the theory of the 'dual system' (*lugs-gnyis*) of royal and religious law and as it was the latter that took precedence over the former both in the theory and practice of government the term theocracy can be properly applied.

This historical digression has been necessary in order to set the scene for the introduction of the official New Year celebrations by Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. In 1637 the construction of the *rdzong* at the confluence of the Pho Chu and Mo Chu rivers in Punakha was completed.<sup>25</sup> Two years later the last gTsang ruler, Karma bsTan-skyong (1622-42), invaded Bhutan unsuccessfully.<sup>26</sup> He was defeated and killed in 1642 by the forces of Gusri Khan, chief of the Qoṣot Mongols, who then gave the fifth Dalai Lama authority to rule over all Tibet. In 1644 a joint Mongol-Tibetan army invaded Bhutan for the first time only to be eventually repulsed.<sup>27</sup> It was succeeded by a further attempt, equally unsuccessful, in 1649.<sup>28</sup> Some time in between these two dates Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal instituted a ceremony at Punakha which later became the basis of the New Year celebrations. In his biography we find this event has already acquired the aura of historical myth.

'Also at that time he introduced the great offering ritual of Mahākāla and his multitude of gods as a thanksgiving for the Guardians of Religion and so a circle of amassed oblations of the finest kind were daily offered, adorned with great magnificence as if in fulfilment of all desires. With the sacred dances of the Las-mgon sDe-bzhi and sDe-brgyad<sup>29</sup> he then caused the ritual to be extended in the form of a celebration of victory over the demon army. One day in the outer courtyard (of Punakha *rdzong*) the great Vajra-holder himself (i.e. Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal) acted as the chief dancer in the middle of a concourse of people of the Southern Land of Four Districts. Like the black cloud blowing from the vault of the sky at the end of time, he held in his hand and raised aloft the pennant of the aspects of Mahākāla, the great triple-pointed banner (*ba-dan* = Skt. *patākā*) burning with a design of flames. By bringing forth emanations through a mental concentration of destructive magic and with a great cry of

<sup>25</sup> *PBP, Nga*, fols. 75b-8a.

<sup>26</sup> *PBP, Nga*, fol. 77b.

<sup>27</sup> *PBP, Nga*, fols. 88a, 94a.

<sup>28</sup> *PBP, Nga*, fols. 104b-8a.

<sup>29</sup> On the dances of these aspects of Mahākāla see *CGS*, [6-7].

"Receive!" he gave in offering to the fierce *hom* (within which) the *ling-ga*<sup>30</sup> (was contained) a list of the names of those who were injuring the teachings of the 'Brug-pa and who had transgressed their vows; so that he radiated a great brilliance which terrified all those beings who stood close by.'<sup>31</sup>

The *LCB* (fols. 44b-5a) suggests that the festival, for which the re-enactment of this event later formed its basis, was in fact introduced immediately after the final invasion of 1649, which lasted for about three or four months. It adds the information that *sDe-srid dBu-mdzad* (on whom see p. 631, n. 81) offered some musical instruments, which were his own family's heirlooms, for use in the festival. At its conclusion, we are told, various miracles occurred; the powdered colours of the *maṇḍala* acquired a peculiar brilliance and the 'nectar' held in the ritual skull cups (*sgrub-thod*) boiled. Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal is then supposed to have given the assurance that '... from now on no external injuries would be inflicted on the teachings of the glorious 'Brug-pa, which shall themselves come to thrive. When it was asked of him: "Henceforth will the army of the dGe-ldan-pa not be able to come?", he replied: "If they are imprudent they will come again but they will not be able to do us harm. If they should come once more, although we now have sufficient weapons, we still require tea, clothing, and silk". Although this was said as a passing jest, later it came about as if it had been a prophecy' (fol. 45a). The reference to weapons, on which the humour of this 'jest' depends, alludes to the fact that a vast quantity of weapons had been surrendered to the Bhutanese by the Tibetans and Mongolians when they capitulated. This incident became the subject of a piece of doggerel verse that circulated in Tibet, lampooning the behaviour of the defeated army and its commanders. The weapons themselves were placed in the great *mgon-khang* (known appropriately as the g.Yul-rgyal mGon-khang Chen-mo) dedicated to Mahākāla in Punakha Dzong. They are specially exhibited during the festival to this day.

In the passage quoted above there is no indication as to the time of year when the rite of Mahākāla was first performed as a thanksgiving and victory celebration but I am inclined to the view that it must have occurred during the period of the New Year; we find the same rite described in a long list of the ceremonials introduced by Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal as follows.

'Furthermore, he held *in the first month* (my italics) the offering rite of Mahākāla lasting 15 days, performing it with the quality of fierce destructive magic, according to the arrangement by *ācārya* Abhayākara of the Mahākāla ritual given in the *mGon-po-dngos-grub-'byung-ba'i-rgyud*<sup>32</sup> and with the great *maṇḍala* of mGon-po dGongs-'dus composed in extended form by Padma dKar-po, the Great Omniscient One of the Age of Degenera-

<sup>30</sup> See R. A. Stein, 'Le *linga* des danses masquées lamaïques et la théorie des âmes', *Sino-Indian Studies*, v, 3-4, 1957, 200-34.

<sup>31</sup> *PBP*, *Nga*, fol. 88b.

<sup>32</sup> *bka'-'gyur*: *rGyud-'bum*, no. 418.

tion. In conjunction with this the sacred dances of 'earth-taming' (*sa-'dul*)<sup>33</sup> and, at the time of the real basis of the ritual, the physical forms of the aspects of Mahākāla in the dances of the Las-mgon sDe-bzhi and sDe-brgyad and of the sGo-mtshams Lha-mo brGyad<sup>34</sup> were staged with the nine choreographic expressions<sup>35</sup> and the sacred dance of hurled offerings (*zor-'chams*). At the time of conveying the coloured powders of the *maṇḍala* to the water during the concluding part of the ritual many hundreds of monks proceeded with disciplined and handsome demeanour on the path covered with soft *spa-ril* (?) leading from the fortress up to the river pool, wearing silken patched cloaks and meditation hats. They held pleated hangings, and heaps of various kinds of silken scarves; also parasols, victory standards, banners, silken pendants, tassels, and so forth so that the hand emblems (*phyag-mtshan*) were all like those of the good age. There were many kinds of incense and cymbals, melodious and pleasing like the tunes of the ruling goddesses, and a brilliance was produced by the sound of the horns and large drums. There were many thousands of champions (*dpa'-rtsal-pa*) decorated with armour and weapons like the armies of the *devas* and *asuras*; and horses, elephants, bell-wethers, and so forth, constituting a cloud of offerings of many "established supports for worship" (*mchod-pa'i rten-'dzugs*).<sup>36</sup> The ground was filled with a great gathering of people all of whom, in a state of joy and happiness, made gestures to each other expressing satisfaction with the great spectacle. All the Vajra-holders, while performing the ritual of the *nāgas*, offered the coloured powders of the *maṇḍala* to the protectors and kings of the *nāgas*. As a sign of the virtue and auspiciousness of the occasion the thunder of the dragons of the earth and sky rolled forth and fine rain fell down.'<sup>37</sup>

This passage describes the *nāga* ritual and monastic procession with which the festival is concluded and, in its essentials, could just as well be taken to refer to the twentieth-century version. Animals no longer take a part and the number of champions do not exceed a few hundred but otherwise it remains the same. The festival of 'Puna Dromchö', for which this event serves as its climax, was later copied and introduced to bKra-shis Chos rDzong in the Thimphu valley by rGyal-sras Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan (alias Gha-na-pa-ti), 1689-1713, who was the incarnation of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's own son,

<sup>33</sup> CGS, [3, 5]. Also p. 632, n. 32, below.

<sup>34</sup> CGS, [9]. The role of these multiple attendant forms of Mahākāla is alluded to in LCB (fols. 44b and 45a) where reference is made to the whole ritual as the *mGon-mangs sGrub-mchod Chen-mo* and the *mGon-po lHa-dmangs-kyi bsGrub-mChod Chen-mo*.

<sup>35</sup> The 'nine choreographic expressions' (*gar dgu'i rnam-rol* or *gar-gyi nyams dgu*) are thought to derive from the classical dance of India and are commonly listed as follows: (1) alluring, *ageg-pa*, (2) courageous, *dpa'-ba*, (3) ugly, *mi-sdug-pa*, (4) fierce, *drag-shul*, (5) laughing, *dgod*, (6) terrifying, *'jigs-su-rung*, (7) compassionate, *anying-rje*, (8) raging, *rngams*, (9) peaceful, *zhi-ba*.

<sup>36</sup> My translation of this unusual phrase is tentative.

<sup>37</sup> PBP, Nga, fols. 118b-19a.

'Jam-dpal rDo-rje (1631-81) and whereas the presiding deity of the Punakha festival is Mahākāla, in Thimphu it was his sister, Mahākālī (dPal-ldan Lha-mo), who was given pride of place. The 'Thimphu Dromchö' festival takes place in the summer and is immediately followed by three days of sacred dance devoted to Padmasambhava.<sup>33</sup> In both festivals the dances that follow their respective rituals are interpreted as 'production (or generation) of the deity in front' (*mdun-bskyed*), a technical term more usually applied to the visualization of a chosen deity in front of the meditator who has first envisaged the world as the palace of that deity. It follows the 'production (or generation) of the deity in oneself' (*bdag-bskyed*) during which the meditator imagines himself as the deity whom he has caused to arise from the void. The process of creation and dissolution and the transition from an absolute to a phenomenal state and back again to an absolute state is integral to most of Tibetan ritual but the function of sacred dance as a special element in the *mdun-bskyed* has not been properly recognized. As in the case of the similar dances which are performed during the *sMon-lam Chen-mo* festival of the New Year at Lhasa, after the dancers and officiating monks have completed the stages of the visualization, the divinities thus manifested ritually slay a small human effigy known as the *ling-ga* or 'sign' which has been imbued with a 'life-force'. This annual exorcism of evil, as we have seen above, was particularly directed by Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal against the enemies of the 'Brug-pa in an act of sympathetic magic wherein their names were written down and placed on the triangular cloth upon which the sacrificial effigy is slain and dismembered. We can assume, though it is not stated explicitly, that the 'conscious principles' (*ruam-shes*) of these enemies were then 'released' (*bsgral*) and despatched to a paradise, which is the way in which these rites are thought to be brought into line with the tenets of Buddhism.

The extended ritual of Mahākāla at Punakha is preceded by a ceremony devoted to Cakrasamvara, the tutelary deity of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, which during his time was performed for a week starting on the tenth day of the 'middle month of winter'. This was later combined with the more important Mahākāla rite and together they now occupy 11 consecutive days. This is followed by the festival proper which is attended by the public and normally concludes on the ninth day of the first month. The sacred dances of the festival, both those conceived as 'production of the deity in front' and those having auxiliary and didactic purposes, do not differ substantially from their Tibetan equivalents and need not detain us here. It is on the final day that the peculiarly Bhutanese features of the festival are most evident and these are centred in the ceremonial activity of the *dpa'-rtsal-pa* (pronounced, in a corrupted form, 'pazap') which means literally 'those skilled in heroism' but which I translate as 'champions'. These 'pazap' are drawn from eight villages of the Wang people who inhabit the Thimphu valley in

<sup>33</sup> *LOB*, fol. 62a and *CGS*, [13-15].

summer and the Punakha valley in winter; the former Bhutanese capital used to move between the *rdzongs* of these two valleys according to the annual migration of the Wang and even though the modern capital has been permanently sited at Thimphu the state monks continue to move between the two. The militia organization which is formed by these 'pazaps' certainly dates back to the time of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal himself and, in a looser form, perhaps still further. The confinement of their role to a purely ceremonial one is of fairly recent origin as they undoubtedly played a part in the long internecine struggles in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, before that, were instrumental in the expansion of 'Brug-pa rule to eastern Bhutan in the campaign led by Mi-'gyur brTan-pa in 1675.<sup>39</sup> They are, however, especially remembered as the personal army of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal and it must have been to their prowess that his many victories against his enemies both inside and outside the country were due, though they are usually ascribed to his magical hold over the 'Guardians of Religion'. For these and other reasons they occupy a position of special honour and their annual privilege of assembling and performing ceremonies during the final two days of the 'Puna Dromchö', as we have seen in the passage quoted above, dates back to the time when the festival was first instituted. The role played in New Year ceremonies by similar militia organizations or by people acting the part of warriors has been observed in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet and also in Sikkim. For example, during the *sMon-lam Chen-mo* a body known as the *gZim-chung-ba* acts as the personal guard of the Dalai Lama, its members being chosen from selected villages near the capital. A brief description of their Bhutanese counterpart may, therefore, be of some interest for the contrast it affords.

The 'pazaps' are divided into eight teams according to the villages<sup>40</sup> which they inhabit and each team is under the immediate control of a village headman who in turn is nominally responsible to a man acting the part of a *drung-pa* (in the colloquial language, 'drüm'), an official formerly appointed as government representative to a group of villages. Originally filled by monastic officials, the post later became a lay sinecure and was finally abolished in the 1950's by the late king of Bhutan, but for the purpose of the New Year festival these *drung-pa* still make their appearance in the form of certain laymen dressed as monks for the occasion. There are in addition four 'generals' (*driag-dpon*) who are appointed each year. During the final two days of the festival the 'pazaps' control and take precedence over the public in the *rdzong* and are accorded special privileges in recognition of their rank. The first half of the code which governs their behaviour, given in full below, is read out to them on the penultimate day of the festival and takes the form of a preparatory statement of their general responsibilities. That night they

<sup>39</sup> This campaign is the subject of the rare eighteenth-century manuscript work *dPal-lan 'brug-par lung lha'i gzung-rgyud kyis bstan-pa'i ring-tugs lho-mon-kha-bzhi-las nyi-ma shar-phyogs-su byung-zhing rgyas-pa'i lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long* by the monk Ngag-dbang.

<sup>40</sup> See p. 625, n. 61, below.

divide themselves into teams and pay visits to the hamlets in the vicinity of the *rdzong* where they perform dances and sing songs. In return they are given food, drink, and gifts of money. They all sleep in separate camps arranged on the plain to the north of the *rdzong*. On the following morning a public initiation of Mahākāla takes place and a sacrificial cake is cast on the roof of the *rdzong*. At the stage of the liturgy known as 'praising' (*stod-pa*) the 'pazaps' perform a simultaneous dance of praise in the main courtyard. This is followed by a sword dance performed each in turn by the four 'generals' in front of the Head Abbot in an upper temple. More elaborate in form, it is, however, the same *rbad-rgyab* ('Flinging incitements') which has been described as it takes place during the 'Agricultural New Year' of 'Paro Lomba'. Dressed in the costume of Mongolian generals, the standard of performance on this occasion is singularly impressive and dignified. After the 'generals' have completed their performance their soldiers are given an 'examination' in the same art in the main courtyard in front of an assembly of monks. This 'examination' (*rgyugs-phul*) is a token affair and it is unlikely that anyone would be 'failed'. One by one the 'pazaps' dance in between two columns of their associates until all have had their turn. Once this is completed they assemble again in two columns and the monastic official known as the *srung-khor-pa*<sup>41</sup> recites the principal part of their code of observance. The proclamation lays out their specific duties in a highly rhetorical style with many allusions to Bhutanese history and religious traditions. At the instant when the recital is finished muskets are discharged and the 'pazaps' let loose war cries. As if leaving for a battle, they begin to depart from the *rdzong* in pairs, each pair performing a further sword dance at the main exit. They are preceded by their 'generals' who mount horses, circumambulate the tall prayer flag outside the *rdzong* three times, and gallop off across the plain. The whole scene is accompanied by more firing of muskets and war cries. After an interval during which it is assumed the 'battle' has been won, the 'pazaps' all return in four columns to the *rdzong* courtyard where a victory rite in the form of a libation ceremony takes place. Again this is identical in form with the *mar-chang* ceremony observed in the 'Paro Lomba' festival and there is no reason why we should not draw the obvious conclusion that both the sword dance and the libation ceremony are features carried over from the 'Agricultural New Year' to this 'King's New Year' by village people who, familiar with the former festival, at a later date acquired a role in the latter festival which came to supplant it. A further (and more fundamental) point of contact between the two festivals can be noticed in how the possession of the oracular 'hero' (*dpa'-bo*) by local spirits on the village level is paralleled on the national level by the possession, in a somewhat looser sense, of the 'pazap' warriors by the guardian deities who preside over the fate of the country as a whole (as explained at the end of their code). This, however, should not be taken to imply a case of trans-

<sup>41</sup> See p. 635, n. 100, below.

mission between the two but rather as an example of how ideas concerning the human incarnation of divine or semi-divine entities penetrate to many levels of experience. The lama who visualizes himself as the deity is perhaps the highest expression of this idea.

The final procession of monks from the *rdzong* to the river takes place immediately after the libation ceremony of the 'pazaps' and the moving and colourful spectacle which this provides to my mind justifies the enthusiasm with which Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's biographer described the occasion in the passage given above. The discipline of the monks is assured by the fact that this is the first chance of the newly appointed monastic prefects to make a show of their severity. All the monks wear cloaks of ancient Chinese silk brocade and the intricate design of the many symbolic offerings and decorations which they carry, combined with the reverberations of the deep processional music that is played, make a splendid spectacle. The Head Abbot comes at the end of the procession attired in the 'Black Hat' dress, blessing the public along the way. At the foot of the old tree on the bank of the Pho Chu river the monks form up and intone the liturgy dedicated to the *nāga* spirits that inhabit the river pool at that spot. The coloured powders which have formed the basic design of the *maṇḍala* used in the Mahākāla rite and the powders of all the important *maṇḍalas* constructed in the previous year are then thrown into the river. Finally oranges are also thrown and on this action local traditions have put an interesting interpretation. Strangely enough, although Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal is supposed to have had a special relationship with the principal river spirit at this place since it was she who showed him in a vision where he would find in the river-bed a large tree trunk which he later had made into the supporting pillars of the main temple at Punakha, it is not this story<sup>42</sup> which is remembered in the oral legend but a quite different one that finds no mention in the written histories. At a certain date an army of the gTsang ruler of Tibet was encamped on the banks of the river opposite to this spot. It had come as usual to try and defeat Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal in battle and recover the sacred relic of the *Rang-'byung* Kar-sa-pa-ni for dPag-bsam dBang-po whom their ruler deemed the true successor of Padma dKar-po, as has been explained above. Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, standing by the old tree, faced this army from across the river and devised a ruse to foil it. He shouted to the soldiers saying that although he did not mind losing the relic he was certainly not going to allow it to fall into their hands. Pretending to have it hidden up his sleeve, he took out a small package and threw it into the river. Convinced it was the relic they were seeking, the Tibetan soldiers dived in to try and recover it and were all drowned. The legend persists in a number of slightly different versions, as is so often the case with oral traditions, and is matched by similar stories told in Paro about how Tibetan armies met their undoing there through ruse or blunder. The Punakha story is re-enacted

<sup>42</sup> *PBP*, *Nga*, fol. 76a.

annually at this spot by swimmers diving into the river for the oranges thrown into it by the Head Abbot. They are said to confer special blessings on those who recover them. The procession then makes its way back to the *rdzong* where the 'pazaps' perform a final dance in conclusion of the festival.

The text and translation of the 'Admonition of the thunderbolt cannon-ball', the 'pazap' code referred to above, are given below in the hope that the information it provides on the conventions of this militia organization and on the degree to which the cult of the guardian divinities has influenced its character will be of some interest to students in the field of Tibetan and Himalayan cultural institutions. The abundant use of connecting particles, presumably intended here to facilitate its recital at top speed, has made the translation into readable English a difficult task and in many places I have had to supply punctuation as I thought appropriate. Nevertheless, a few sections remain unavoidably long and contorted and I can only express the hope that the reader will persist in trying to unravel the sense which, let me assure him, with some effort does eventually emerge. Notes in elucidation of the special references to Bhutanese history and culture are provided. For reasons of syntax, the numbers in the margin of the translation only roughly correspond to the folios of the original manuscript which is of the unnumbered, folding concertina type that is conveniently used in many parts of Asia for non-scriptural works of this kind.

#### Note

A most interesting and curious insight into the nature of New Year ceremonies is provided in the biography<sup>43</sup> of *rJe Yon-tan mTha'-yas* (1724-84), one of the greatest figures in Bhutan's religious history who acted as the tenth Head Abbot between 1771 and 1775. In the passage devoted to his family's history and descent from the illustrious *sKyu-ra* (or *sKyu-ru*) clan of 'Bri-gung through a certain *Grub-thob dBu-thon Sangs-rgyas* who settled at *mTshams-brag* in the *sKyabs-khra* ('Chapcha') district on the main route south of Paro to India, we learn that the clan of his descendants became more or less absorbed into the *rNying-ma-pa* and 'Brug-pa schools. The hereditary chiefs (*zhal-ngo*) gradually lost their pre-eminence and became indistinguishable from ordinary householders (*khyim-pa*). During the 'interregnum' of the passing of the old year and the coming of the new year (*lo gsar-rnying-gi skabs*) they observed a custom whereby one elder from each family (*pha-tshan*) of the clan would go into a strict retreat (*bcad-rgya*) at the temple of *mTshams-brag* for a period of between five days and a week. During this retreat the elders would occupy themselves day and night with the performance of rituals devoted to the

<sup>43</sup> *Khyab-bdag rdo-rje-'chang ngag-dbang yon-tan mtha'-yas-kyi gsang-gsum mi-zad rgyan-gyi 'khor-lor rnam-par rol-pa'i rtogs-pa brjed-pa skal-bzang mos-pa'i padmo rgyas-byed ye-she's 'od-stong 'phro-ba'i nyi-ma* (blockprint, margin, A, 136 fols.) by *rJe 'Jam-dbyangs rGyal-mtshan*, 1745-1803 (eighteenth Head Abbot, regn. 1797-1803). See fol. 14a-b. I am indebted to Mr. Hugh Richardson for lending me this work.



guardian deities. Whether this fell within the purview of the 'Agricultural' or the 'King's New Year', it cannot be decided with certainty, but the custom provides an obvious parallel to (and possibly a connecting link between) the nocturnal retreat of the medium priest in the former and the great rituals devoted to the guardian divinities in the latter. See also p. 635.

## II. TIBETAN TEXT

With the exception of a very few minor and recurring spelling mistakes and some obvious omissions (which have been duly emended and indicated), the original manuscript is in an exceptionally good condition. To assist the reader, the text has been hyphenated throughout in order to indicate compound terms and the use of suffixes. Similarly, names of persons and divinities (but not their titles or epithets) have been isolated by continuous hyphenation (viz. *ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal*, *las-mkhan-cig-car-dmar-po*, etc.).

### BKA'-BKYON RDO-RJE THO-LUM

(1) // 'o / de-ring gza' dang skar-ma phun-sum-tshogs-pa'i dus 'dir / chos-rje 'brug-pa'i phyag-srol bzang-po dus-chen lo-gsar zla-ba dang-po'i mgor mgon-dbang sgrub-mchog chen-mo (2) gegs-med-du grub-pa'i dga'-ston gtang<sup>44</sup>-rag-gi slad-du / chos-skyong mnyes-pa'i rtag-mtshan gsal-bar bya phyir byin-rlabs-kyi mtshan-ka rmad-du-byung-ba'i lha-sgrom chen-po'i gar-gyi mchod-pa kun-gyi (3) mthong-snan-du ston-pa'i dus-ston phun-sum-tshogs-pa dang 'brel-bar khyed-rang tsho<sup>45</sup>-chen brgyad-po'i sku-tshab rged-spyi pho-mgo tshang-ma 'dir 'dzoms dgos-pa'i don ni lo-ltar bka'-rgya yang-yang gnang-bas so-so'i blo-yul-du nges tshod dang / yin-kyang da-rung lcags-la zhun dang zhun-la thar zer-ba'i dpe-bzhin-du gal-che-ba'i gtam yin-stabs / rang-la mkhas-pa'i smra-sgo yangs-pa'i bshad-pa med-rung / bisugs-pa'i shing dang bskos-pa'i mi zhig yin-pa-las sngar-srol-gyi khungs da-lta'i gtam (4) dang sbyar-te mdo-tsam zhu-ba-yin-pas / khyed-rang-tshos legs-par nyan-nas sems-khar bskyal dgos / don-du bdag-cag lho-ljongs-pa yongs-kyi gtsug-rgyan dam-pa bla-ma ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal rang-gi lho-lung-pa'i sbyin-bdag-gi sbug-las thugs-kyi gtad-pa'i sbyin-bdag-gi gtso-bo khyed tsho<sup>45</sup>-chen brgyad-po yin-stabs / da-res 'di-nang chos-skyong mnyes-pa'i dga'-ston lha-sgrom chen-mo ston-pa'i skabs 'dir / chos-skyong ye-shes-mgon-po ni dkar-po spyod-pa (5) yongs-kyi dgra-lha dang / nag-po sdig-spyod-rnams-kyi gshed-ma lta-bu yin-pas / dkar-phyogs sangs-rgyas-kyi bstan-pa spyi dang khyad-par dpal-ldan 'brug-pa'i bshad-sgrub-kyi bstan-pa rin-po-che 'di-nyid 'jig-rten-gyi kham-na phan-pa dang bde-ba'i legs-tshogs ma-lus-pa 'byung-ba'i gnas yin-zhing / bstan-pa de mi-nyams-par bsrung-ba ni chos-skyong-la rag-las-shing / khyed tsho<sup>45</sup>-chen brgyad-po'i dpa'-gzab-pa-tsho yang dgra-lha chos-skyong ye-shes-mgon-po'i rten-gzugs-su byin-gyis-(6)-brlabs-nas 'dzugs-pa-yin-pas / de-ring-nas bzung-ste phyi pha-rol-pa'i dgra-la ngoms-pa'i dpa'-rtsal lus-la 'chang-zhing / nang bstan-pa'i zhabs-tog lha-g-bsam rnam-dag-gi

<sup>44</sup> btang.

<sup>45</sup> mtsho.

sgo-nas bsgrub dgos-pa'i bdag-rkyen gong-sa rin-po-che dang bla-ma dge'dun  
 lhan-thog-nas gnanng-ba-yin-pas / de-las lhag-par de-ring khyed-rang-tsho'i sgar  
 btab nod-kyi thed yin-rung 'dzoms phar-ka dang thang-rdzong-du rang-rang so-so'i  
 sa-mtshams rdo-mtshams bca'de pha-yis gang bsten bu-yi lam (7) zer-ba-ltar  
 sngar-srol gang yin-pa-bzhin byed dgos / phyi-dror sgar-du yin-rung dga'-spro  
 gu-yangs-kyi ngang-nas glu bzhad sogs btang-ba ma-gtogs 'thab-'dzing 'ur-lang sogs  
 byed-lugs ma-shes-na nyes-thog so-so'i lus-rten-du gzar-rgyu-yin-pa dang /  
 rdzong-nang 'ong-nod sogs gong-ma-la mi-gus-pa'i rtags chang-gis bzir-nas  
 'thab-'dzing 'ur-lang sogs ma-byed-par khyi bzang bdag-po-la gus-pa'i dpe-ltar  
 rang-sde bsrung-zhing gzhan-sde zil-gyis gnon-pa'i dpa'-rtsal dang ldan-pa'i  
 zol-(8)-gyis 'ong dgos-pa dang / zhwa dang lham<sup>46</sup> sogs lus-kyi dpa'-chas-rnams  
 kyang tshang-ba gra-khad-khad byas bslab zer med-pa zhig da-lta snga-gong-nas  
 byed dgos / mgon-dbang sgrub-mchog chen-mo'i bka'-zhib rgyas-par nang-pa  
 sde-yangs-nang-nas gnanng-rgyu-yod / de-ring 'di-tsam-gyis 'thus-par zhu-bas  
 sems-khar bzhag dgos / de-ltar bgyis-pa'i mthu-la bsten / nang bstan-pa dang  
 de-'dzin thams-cad mi-nyams yun-du gnas-pa dang / phyi lho kha bzhi'i sbyin-bdag  
 spyi dang / khyad-par tsho<sup>45</sup>-chen brgyad-(9)-po'i yul-gru thams-cad-du lo phyugs  
 rtag-tu legs char-chu dus-su 'bab / mi-nad phyugs-nad thams-cad rgyun chad-de  
 bde-skyid rdzogs-ldan-gyi dpal-la longs-su spyod-pa'i rten-'brel smon-lam zhu-ba-  
 lags-so //

/ de-ni nyin dang-po'o // nyin gnyis-pa-la /

'o / de-ring legs-byas rten-'brel-gyi sgo zab-mo // gang ci-las kyang phun-sum-  
 tshogs-shing gza'-skar byed-sbyor-gyi mtshan shin-tu dar-ba'i dus 'dir / phun-  
 sum-tshogs-pa'i yan-lag-las brtsams-te cung-zad zhu-na / rang-re'i chos-rje  
 'gro-ba'i-mgon-(10)-po'i zhal-snga-nas

/ legs-pa'i phyogs-su rten-'brel bzang-po sgrig /

/ phun-sum-tshogs-pa rang-gis byed-pas chog /

ces gsungs-pa-bzhin / da-lam kha bzhi llo'i rgyal-khab tsan-dan nags-mo'i  
 ljongs-kyi bstan-pa'i sbyin-bdag-gi gtso-bo tsho<sup>45</sup>-chen brgyad-po'i sku-tshab  
 las-'dzin rged-spyi pho-gzhon dpa'-mdzangs des gsum-dang-ldan-pa'i stag-sha  
 tshang-ma / da-res dus-chen lo-gsar zla-ba dang-po'i mgor mgon-dbang sgrub-mchog  
 chen-mo'i dga'-ston dang bstun 'dir 'dzoms-(11)-pa ni shin-tu legs / legs-pa'i  
 rgyu-mtshan gang yin zer-na / ji-skad-du

/ gzar tshes dang-po'i zla-ba la /

/ dga'-ston byed-pa phun-sum-tshogs /

/ zhes gsungs-pa-ltar / spyir bslu-med dkon-mchog-gsum-gyi thugs-rje dang /  
 khyad-par bla-ma ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal-gyi thugs-bskyed smon-lam dang /  
 sgos-su mnga'-bdag mi-dbang rin-po-che'i sku-bsod-las / da-res rang-re'i rgyal-khab  
 'di-ni rgyal-khab gzhan-gyi yid-smon lia-bur gyur-te / bde-skyid-kyi nyi-ma  
 dgung-las ma-yol-bar chos dang (12) srid-kyi legs-tshogs gang-yang dbyar-gyi  
 mtsho-chen brdol-ba-ltar 'bad-rtsol med-par phun-sum-tshogs-te yod-pa ni / rgyu  
 gang-las byung zer<sup>47</sup>-na / lo-ltar sngar-srol bzang-po'i rten-'brel ma-'phyug-par

<sup>46</sup> lham.

<sup>47</sup> Omitted.

bsgrigs-pas chos-skyong ye-shes-mgon-po mnyes-pa'i mthu-las byung-ba-yin-no //  
 de chos-skyong-gi mthu yin-min sus shes snyam-na / rang-re'i dpal-ldan 'brug-pa  
 rin-po-che 'di-nyid chos-skyong-la mnga'-brnyes-pa'i dbang-las / kha bzhi lho'i  
 rgyal-khab (13) 'di yang bla-ma ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal-gyi gdul-bya'i zhing-du  
 dpal-ldan ye-shes-mgon-po-lcam-dral-gyis mngon-sum-du 'bul-ba-lags-tshe /  
 kha-khra mon-gyi yul kla-klo'i chos-kyis gang-ba'i lho-rong 'di-nang chibs-kha-  
 bsgyur-te thugs-rje'i phyag-gis bzung-nas / lho-khrims med-la khrims btsugs /  
 rdza-lung med-la lung 'dogs / las dkar-po dge-ba bcu dang / mi-chos gtsang-ma  
 bcu-drug-gi srol gtod / rten-gsum gtsug-lag-khang-gi bkod-pa mdzad-de / mtho-(14)-  
 ris dang thar-pa'i sgo phye / legs-byas-kyi snang-ba dar-la-phab / khyad-par  
 bde-bar-gshegs-pa'i 'khor-lo bcu dang / chos-kyi-rgyal-po'i 'khor-lo bcu zung-du  
 'brel-nas / skye-'gro kun gnas-skabs bde-skyid-kyi dpal-la longs<sup>44</sup>spyod-pa dang /  
 mthar-thug sangs-rgyas thob-pa'i srol bzang-po dri-ma med-pa 'di-nyid mun-  
 khang-la sgron-me snang-ba-bzhin-du mdzad-pas / mtha-'khob kla-klo'i yul  
 zer-ba de-nas bzung 'brug-pa zer-ba'i ming snyan-snyan-po zhiq thob-pa de-yang  
 bla-ma ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal-(15)-gyi sku-drin dang chos-skyong ye-shes-mgon  
 po'i 'phrin-las nyag-gcig yin-par shes dgos-te / ji-skad-du

/ de-nas bzung-ste chos-kyi ni /

/ dga'-ston 'jig-rten 'di-ru 'byung /

/ zhes gsungs-pa-ltar-ro / de-lta-bu'i bka'-drin-dang-ldan-pa'i chos-rje 'brug-pa  
 'di-nyid gdung-gis che-zhing chos-kyis btsun-pa'i che-ba gnyis-ldan-gyi lo-rgyus-las  
 zur-tsam gleng-na / 'jam-dpal gsang-ba-las

/ byang-phyogs bod-kyi rgyal-khams 'dir /

/ thugs-rje chen-po'i brgyud-pa-la /

/ khyad-par lha-yi rnam-'phrul ni /

/ bcu-phrag brgyad-(16)-kyi bar-du byon /

/ zhes gsungs-pa-ltar / sngon chos-rgyal srong-btsan-sgam-po'i dus rgya-nag-nas  
 jo-bo skākya-mu-ne spyan 'dran-pa'i gyad lha-dga'i gdung-brgyud-las spyan-  
 ras-gzigs-kyi rnam-'phrul rim-par mched-pa ni / 'phags-yul pan-grub-kyi gtso-bo  
 dpal-ldan nā-ro-ta-pa kha-ba ri-pa'i bstan-pa dang sems-can-gyi don-du skye-srid  
 bzung-nas 'gro-ba'i-mgon-po gdung dang na-bza'i mtshan-can dpal-ldan 'brug-pa  
 rin-po-che 'di-nyid sku 'khrungs-te / gangs-ri'i khrod-du grub-pa'i khyu-yis (17)  
 bkang-ste / stod-'brug gnam-gyi skar-ma tsam dang / smad 'brug sa-yi dreg-pa  
 tsam dang / bar-'brug nyi-zer-gyi rdul-las brgal-te / dpal-ldan 'brug-pa'i chos-  
 brgyud-kyis bya-rgod-po'i nyin-lam bco-brgyad-kyi bar khyab-ste byung-ba dang /  
 de'i gdung-rabs-las senge'i mtshan-can dgu dang / rigs-gsum rnam-sprul gsum  
 dang / mtshungs-med rgyal-dbang-rje yab-sras sogs dang / de-las kun-mkhyen  
 rgyal-ba gnyis-pa mi-pham-padma-dkar-po zhes mkhas-pa stong-gi gtsug-rgyan-du  
 gyur-pa des sku'i phreng-ba (18) phyi-ma lung-bstan-pa ni / ji-skad-du

/ sngon-byon rgyal-ba kun-gyi sprul-pa'i gzhi /

/ ma-byon rgyal-ba-rnams-kyi 'byung-khungs pa /

/ da-lta'i skyobs-pa-dag dang dbyer-med-pa'i /

/ chos-kyi-rgyal-po rnam-par-rgyal-bar 'gyur /

<sup>44</sup> Omitted.

/ zhes gsungs-pa-ltar / che-ba gnyis-ldan-gyi gdung-rabs-las rim-par brgyud-pa  
yab rdo-rje 'dzin-pa chen-po mi-pham-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma dang / yum sde-pa  
skyid-shod-pa'i sras-mo bsod-nams-dpal-gyi-bu-khrid-las kun-mkhyen ngag-dbang-  
nor-bu de-nyid slar-yang lho-ljongs (19) 'di'i mgon-du bsam-bzhin-du skye-srid  
bzung-nas mthu-chen chos-kyi-rgyal-po ngag-dbang-phyogs-las-rnam-par-rgyal-ba'i  
mtshan-can 'di-nyid bkra-shis-pa'i dge-mtshan du-ma dang bcas-te sku 'khrungs-  
pa-yin-no // de-nas rim-gyis gangs-can mkhas-pa<sup>49</sup> dang grub-pa yongs-kyi  
rtse-mor son-dus dpal ye-shes-kyi-mgon-po-lcam-dral-gyis / kha bzhi lho'i rgyal-  
khab chen-po 'di-nyid chos-gzhis-su phul-nas lung-bstan / phrin-las sgrub-pa'i bka'  
nod-pa-bzhin rim-gyis nyi-ma lho-phyogs tsan-dan bkod-pa'i ljongs 'dir chibs-  
kha-bsgyur / lho-phyogs nor-'dzin-(20)-gyi yul-gru mtha'-dag bka'-'bangs-su  
bsdus / nang bstan-rtsu dge-'dun-gyi sde dang bshad-sgrub zung-gi bstan-pa  
btsugs / phyi tsho<sup>50</sup>-chen brgyad-kyis gtsos-pa'i bstan-pa'i sbyin-bdag-rnams-kyi  
bsrung-skyong-du spyi-bla sku-tshab las-'dzin thams-cad rim-par bskos / chos-  
khrims dar-gyi mdud-pa bzhin-du bsadams / rgyal-khrims gser-gyi gnya'-shing  
lta-bu'i ljid-kyis gnon-te / chos dang srid-kyi khrims-lugs bzang-po 'dzugs-nas  
lho-ljongs-kyi rgyal-khab 'di-nyid bde-skyid-kyi dpal-la longs-(21)-su-spyod pa'i  
snang-ba ma-nyams-par da-lta'i bar-du byung-ba ni bla-ma ngag-dbang-rnam-  
rgyal-gyi thugs-rje kho-nar yin-par shes dgos-so // de-ltar chos-rje 'brug-pa'i  
bstan-pa 'di-nyid chos-srid lugs-gnyis-kyi sgo-nas bskyang-bar mdzad dgos-pa-las /  
nang chos-khrims-kyi thed / bstan-pa 'dzin-skyong-spel-ba'i byed-po dgra-bcom  
gnas-brtan mkhan-chen rim-par byon-pa-nas / da-lta 'tsho-zhing gzhes-pa'i  
skyabs-rje mkhan rin-po-che'i bar sangs-rgyas mi-gzugs-su byon-pa 'ba'-zhig  
yin-pas (22) chos-spyod-kyi mdzad-sgo-rnams zhu dgos mi-'dug / phyi rgyal-  
khrims-kyi thed / mnga'-'bangs bde-bar skyong-ba'i byed-po sde-srid dbu-mdzad  
chen-po-nas bzung chos-kyi-rgyal-po rim-par byon-pa-nas / da-lta'i mnga'-bdag  
mi-dbang chos-rgyal chen-po 'di'i bar byang-chub sems-dpa' sha-stag yin-pas  
bka'-khrims-kyi lei yang zhu dgos mi-'dug / da-ni khyed-rang bstan-pa'i sbyin-  
bdag-rnams-nas yin-rung sngar-srol bzang-po'i khrims-lugs ras-su ma-bcug-par  
mna'-rabs-kyi lugs-srol bzang-po de-rang gtso-bor byed-pa gal-che / (23) lhag-par  
phyi gtsug-lug-khang-gi zhig-gso dang / nang phyag-mchod-kyi yo-byad dang  
sri-zhu sogs bsod-nams dge-ba'i dngos-po-rnams / 'bras-bu rang-thog-tu smin-du  
yod-pas ci nus bsgrub-pa gal-che / de-las khyed rged-po-tsho yin-rung mang-po'i  
sbug-nas bsadams / nyung-ba'i gral-las btsugs-pa'i don-can yin-pas / za-'dod-kyi  
dbang-du ma-btang-bar / yar gong-ma'i zhabs-'degs 'byor-ba dang / mar mi-ser-gyi  
skyid-sdug mthong-ba gal-che / khyed-rang dpa'-gzab-(24)-pa-rnams yin-rung  
da-res 'dir lo-mod lo-'khor-gyi sgrig-lam nyin gnyis-las med-pa de zab-zab  
ma-byed-par sgrig-'gal-gyi bya-ba gang byung byed-lugs ma-shes-na tsho<sup>51</sup> rang  
'og-gi mgo-dpon-nas bzung nag-chad dang sbrag-rgyu-yin-cing sems-la mnga'-ba  
gal-che / de-las da-res 'di-nang rgyal-sras 'phags-pa'i dge-'dun-pa-rnams-nas /  
thog-mar dpal 'khor-lo-sdom-pa'i bsnyen-pa zhag bdun-phrag-gi bar kha-skong  
las-sbyor sbyin-sreg dang bcas-pa grub-pa'i rjes-su / mgon-dbang sgrub-mchog

<sup>49</sup> Omitted.<sup>50</sup> mtsho.<sup>51</sup> mtsho.

chen-mo sa-chog (25) dang bcas-pa bsgrubs-pa mthar-phyin-nas / rdul-tshon  
 yid<sup>52</sup>-bzhin-gyi nor-bur bsngos-te klu-yi dbang-po-la gtad-de 'jig-rten bde-zhing  
 skyid-pa dang / char-chu dus-su 'bab-pa'i gnyer-gtad-kyi ched-du gser-sbreng-gis  
 bsus-te mchod-pa'i rnam-grangs bsam-gyis mi-khyab-pa'i sgo-nas mdzad-pa'i  
 legs-tshogs zab-mo dang bstun / khyed tsho<sup>53</sup>-chen brgyad-po'i dpa'-rtsal-pa-rnams  
 kyang dgra-la ngoms-pa'i dpa'-chas / gos lham<sup>54</sup> stod-gos / rmok-zhwa Ang-zil /  
 'gying-thod (26) dgra-lha'i pan-rtse / gri-ring gri-lhung / me-mda' gzhu-rgod /  
 do-cha mihe-kor la-sogs-pa'i dpa'-chas thams-cad gra-sgrigs legs-par yod-dam /  
 med-na re-re-bzhin-du nyes-chad 'ong-rgyu dang / rdzong-nas phyir 'thon-pa'i  
 skabs kyang dkar-po lha-yi dmag-dpon khyab-'jug-chen-po'i dpa'-rtul dang  
 phur-bu'i blo-gros zung-du 'brel-ba'i sgo-nas / stag-ltar mchongs-pa / gzig-ltar  
 ngar-ba / cang-shes-gyi 'gros-ltar / rngam-zhing rngam-pa / mi-sdug-pa'i gzugs  
 'jigs-su-rung-bas / pha-rol-pa'i dgra-la ngag mi-snyan-pa'i sgra 'khol-(27)-ba /  
 sems snying-rje med-par gtum-pas srid-pa gsum za-bar chas-pa lta-bu / go-mtshon  
 sna-tshogs-pas mgo-lus med-par brgyan-te / bstun-pa'i dgra-bgegs thams-cad  
 thal-ba'i rdul-phran bzhin-du brlag-pa'i sems-dang-ldan-pa'i sgo-nas 'gro dgos-pa'i  
 khar / phyir 'thon-dus kyang sgrigs-med 'ur-lang ma-byed-par ma-mgyogs  
 ma-'gor-zhing skad-mdangs bar-ma-chad-par dgra-lha dgyes-pa'i phywa dang  
 hug-gis gnam sa gang-ba lta-bu'i shugs-kyis 'gro dgos-shing / yar lhod-pa-las  
 chas-ka dang (28) go-mtshon phud-de sar bzlag-pa sogs dgra-lha nyams-pa'i  
 bya-ba mi-mdzes-pa sogs byed-lugs ma-shes-na mi-'thus nges-can yin-no // nang-du  
 'dzul-skabs kyang bdud-kyi g.yul-las rgyal-ba'i lha'i ba-dan dkar-po srid rtser  
 bsgrang-ste rta-dbyangs bar-ma-chad-par 'then-nas / dper-na chu-bo chen-po bzhi  
 mtha'i rgya-mtsho'i nang-du g.yas-bskor-gyis 'khyil-ba-lta-bu thang-lhod mnyam-  
 par bskor-te sde-yangs-nang / bla-ma yi-dam mkha'-'gro chos-skyong srung-ma'i  
 tshogs-la sngar-bcol legs-grub-kyi gtang<sup>55</sup>-rag-gi tshul-(29)-du sman-phud rgya-  
 mtshos mchod-de dgyes-par rol-ba'i tshul-du dga'-ston phywa dang hug-gis bkang-  
 nas dga'-ba'i rol-rtsed yod-par zhu-zhing / da-ni dpal ye-shes-kyi-mgon-po  
 ma-ha'-ka'-la-lcam-dral snang-srid dregs-pa'i dpung dang bcas-pa-rnams dang /  
 gzhan-yang dmag-dpon chen-po las-mkhan-cig-car-dmar-po / khyab-'jug-chen-po  
 gza'-bdud dug-gi spu-gri / dam-can sgo-bdud-chen-po lcags-kyi ral-pa-can dang /  
 lhag-par thim-yul bde-chen-phu-yi gnas-nas / btsan-rgod (30) dgra-lha-yi-rgyal-po /  
 las-byed-gshan-pa-dmar-po / skyes-pa-pho-thog-yongs-kyi-dgra-lha / dkar-po-lha-  
 yi-dmag-dpon / zhang-zhung-bon-gyi-srung-ma / rig'dzin bla-ma'i bka'-gnyan /  
 dam-nyams dgra-bgegs-kyi srog dbugs me-ltar-du len-pa'i gshan-dmar-'bum-sde'i  
 tshogs dang bcas-pa-rnams dang / mdor-na bstan-pa bsrung-zhing bstan-dgra  
 bsgral-bar zhal-gyis bzhes-pa'i chos-skyong srung-ma rdzu-'phrul-gyi stobs  
 mnga'-ba thams-cad / sngon-gyi dam-bca'-las mi-'da'-bar rlung-ltar myur-ba'i (31)  
 shugs-kyis gnam sa g.yo-ba'i sgra dang bcas-te da-lta-nyid-du 'dir byon-nas /  
 bstan-pa bsrung-ba'i dpa'-bo tsho<sup>56</sup>-chen brgyad-po'i dmag-mi thams-cad-kyi  
 lus-la zhugs-te rdo-rje go-khrab bzhes-shig / bzhes-nas dgra-bgegs thams-cad

<sup>52</sup> yin.<sup>53</sup> btang.<sup>54</sup> mtsho.<sup>55</sup> mtsho.<sup>56</sup> lhwam.

*thal-ba'i rdul-du brlag-par byon-cig / byon-nas slar nang-du dga'-ston legs-grub-kyi*  
*gtang<sup>57</sup>-rag dang bkra-shis smon-lam yod-par zhu-ba-lags-so //*  
*// zhes-pa 'di'ang gzhung srung-'khor-pa'i phyag-tu . . .<sup>58</sup>-so //*

### III. TRANSLATION

#### The admonition of the thunderbolt cannon-ball

- 1 Oh! Today, at this time of the manifold conjunction of planets and stars the signs beloved of the 'Guardians of Religion' are revealed for the sake of the good tradition of the Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa, the unhindered thanksgiving celebrations of the Great Excellent Rite of Mahākāla's<sup>59</sup>
- 2 Initiation which takes place at the beginning of the first month during the New Year festival. For this purpose the blessed and wondrous attributes of the dance offerings of the lHa-sgrom Chen-po<sup>60</sup> are brought into every-
- 3 one's sight. The reason why all of you, the representatives, elders and headmen of the Eight Great Hosts,<sup>61</sup> have to assemble here in conjunction with this excellent festival is firmly fixed in each of your minds due to annual commands that have been issued again and again. However, in accordance with the proverb which says 'Though iron melts it sets again' and since it is a discourse of great importance, I shall address you briefly,

<sup>57</sup> *btang*.

<sup>58</sup> Approximately two words have been deleted here.

<sup>59</sup> For an account of the origins of Mahākāla and an explanation of the significance which this deity holds in Bhutan see *dPal ye-shes mgon-po lcām-dral sger-gsol ngo-thog bcas kyī rtogs-brjod* (LCB, fols. 116b-25a). On fol. 117a-b we read: '... in particular he (Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal) instituted the annual *sgrub-chen* of Arya Cakrasamvara and Mahākāla lasting 15 days and so on; as if fulfilling the prophecy of the *Jina* himself the teachings of Mahākāla were caused to flourish impartially in these southern lands'.

<sup>60</sup> None of my informants in Bhutan could explain this term *lHa-sgrom Chen-po/mo* (lit. 'Great God-Box') which seems to be used in this text as a name for the whole festival at Punakha. In the colloquial language of western Bhutan the festival is called the 'Puna(kha) Dromchö' and this may be a corruption of *sgrom-chen* or of some abbreviation of *sgrub-mchog/chog chen.mo*. Could the 'Great God-Box' allude in some way to the sacred reliquary containing the famed *Rang-'byung Kar-sa-pa-ni*? (See introduction.)

<sup>61</sup> The eight villages of the Wang people from whom the *Wang Tsho-chen brGyad* militia is drawn (together with a few of their variant spellings and their modern pronunciation) are as follows: (1) *dKar-sbis* (*Ka-sbi*, *Ka-spe*), pronounced 'Karbji'; (2) *Cang* (*lCang*), 'Chang'; (3) *rKang-wang* (*Ka-wang*), 'Kangwa'; (4) *sTod-wang*, 'Töwang'; (5) *sMad-wang*, 'Mewang'; (6) *Bar-pa*, 'Bap'; (7) *sBis-mig* (*sBe-smad*), 'Bjimé'; (8) *sTod-pa*, 'Töp'. The suffixes *-kha*, *-nang*, *-sa*, and *-i-sa*, commonly added to place-names in Bhutan to distinguish the locality from its inhabitants (root + *-pa*, or final 'p' in the colloquial language), can be applied to some of these names, viz. 'Barpaissa', 'Töpaissa', 'Bjimenang', 'Karbjiisa', etc. Luciano Petech, 'The rulers of Bhutan c. 1650-1750', *Oriens Extremus*, xix, 1972, p. 210, n. 63, suggests that *Ka-spe* is a family or clan name. In Bhutan, however, with the exception of various districts in the east, clan and family names are non-existent and instead place-names are used in front of personal names to distinguish people. Petech's *Ka-spe* is clearly 'Karbjiisa' (no. (1) above), a village in the extreme north of the Thimphu valley which produced many influential figures in later Bhutanese history as a result of its long association with the 'Brug-pa school.

- connecting the present account with the sources of ancient custom. This I shall do as I am 'a planted tree, an appointed man' even though I am incapable of giving broad explanations through clever speech. After listening
- 4 well you must hold it in your minds. Since in reality you, the Eight Great Hosts, are chief of the favourite followers from among the patrons in the Southern Land of the holy lama Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal himself, who is the head ornament of all of us Southerners, here today on the occasion of holding the lHa-sgrom Chen-mo celebrations that are beloved of the 'Guardians of Religion' and during which Mahākāla, the 'Guardian of
- 5 Religion', is like the War God of all white doers of virtue and the executioner of all black evildoers, owing to the fact that on the side of virtue the Teachings of the Buddha in general and in particular these precious teachings of explanation and realization of the Glorious 'Brug-pa are, without exception, the source from which arises the good accumulation of benefits and happiness in the sphere of the world, the protection of those teachings from decline depends on the 'Guardians of Religion' and so the War God in the 'support-form' of the 'Guardian of Religion' enters even you, the
- 6 champions of the Eight Great Hosts, after bestowing blessings on you. From this day forward the honour of embracing bravery which destroys the ulterior enemies without and of accomplishing works of service to the religion within by means of pure and special devotion has been conferred on you jointly by the Precious Lord,<sup>62</sup> the lamas and the monastic community. Furthermore, although you are established in camps you must also form each your own earth and stone boundaries on the outer assembly ground and in the stockade and just as it is said 'Whatever the father
- 7 teaches is the way for the son', so you must act in accordance with ancient customs whatever they may be. At night, although you are in camp, apart from singing songs and so on in a state of contentment and ease, if you should quarrel, make disturbances, and so on, then punishments will be meted out on each of you. On entering the fortress you must not get intoxicated on beer, quarrelling and making disturbances, which is a sign of disrespect to one's superiors. Instead, taking for example the devotion of a good dog to its master, you must proceed cunningly with heroic skill in protecting your own home and in vanquishing the homes of others.
- 8 As to the preparation of all your kit including helmets and boots, you must do it now in advance without saying 'Teach us!' (?). The detailed commands as to the Great Excellent Rite of Mahākāla's Initiation will be issued in extended form tomorrow in the courtyard. What I have spoken to you of today is sufficient and you should keep it in mind. I voice the aspiration that, as a result of the efficacy of acting in this manner, internally the Teachings and their upholders will continue for a long time without decline,

<sup>62</sup> *Gong-sa Rin-po-che* is a title of the 'Brug sDe-srid, the former secular rulers of Bhutan, on whom see p. 631, n. 81, below.

that externally among the patrons of the Four Districts of the South <sup>63</sup> in  
 9 general and in particular among all the villages of the Eight Great Hosts  
 harvests and domestic animals will always prosper, that rains will fall in  
 their due season, that human and animal diseases will always be stopped,  
 and that good auspices will come forth bringing an enjoyment of the  
 glorious age of consummate happiness.

That completes the first day. On the second day:

Oh! The profound threshold of good auspices being more perfect today  
 than on any other occasion, if I am to address you briefly on this, starting  
 with the aspects of this perfection at this time of the great flourishing of  
 the qualities of astrological conjunction, as our own Hierarch the Protector  
 10 of Beings <sup>64</sup> declared:

'Prepare good auspices towards virtue.

Then one can achieve perfection oneself'.

In accordance with these words, the fact that now all of you young braves  
 who include the three groups of champions, that is the executive repre-  
 sentatives, all the headmen and the youths of the Eight Great Hosts who  
 are the chief patrons of religion in the Southern Kingdom of Four Districts,  
 the land of Sandalwood Forests, are assembled here for the festival of the  
 11 Great Excellent Rite of Mahākāla's Initiation is extremely good. If it be  
 asked 'What is the reason for it being good?', it is as has been said:

'On the new dates of the first month

If you hold celebrations perfection will come'.

In accordance with these words, due in general to the unfeigned compassion  
 of the Triple Gem, in particular to the aspirations born in the mind of the  
 lama Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal <sup>65</sup> and especially due to the merit of our  
 Precious Ruler, our country today has become like an object of desire to  
 other countries. The sun of happiness not moving from the heavens,  
 12 whatever accumulations of good there are that exist here pertaining to  
 religious and secular affairs have without effort been brought to plenitude  
 like an ocean which swells in summer. If it be asked 'From where does  
 the cause of this arise?', it arises from the power of the 'Guardian of

<sup>63</sup> *lHo kha bzhi* (or *lHo mon kha bzhi*) is said to be the oldest name for Bhutan and continues to be used in literary works today. The term denotes the geographical extent of the country and *kha* may perhaps be rendered as 'approach' rather than 'district', the more usual meaning. Lists of these four *kha* tend to vary from one text to another but probably the most common one is: (1) *Shar Kha-gling-kha* (a border district in south-east Bhutan); (2) *lHo Gha-ti-kha* (Cooch Bihar in north Bengal); (3) *Nub brDa-ling-kha* (Kalimpong); (4) *Eyang sTag-rtse-kha* (an unidentified place on the northern border).

<sup>64</sup> 'Gro-ba'i mGon-po is an epithet of *gTsang-pa rGya-ras Ye-shes rDo-rje*, alias g.Yung-drung-dpal (1161-1211), the founder of the 'Brug-pa school. A useful sketch of his life can be found in *DNg., Nya*, fols. 115b-18a.

<sup>65</sup> See introduction.



Religion' Mahākāla who is pleased by the preparation of the auspices year by year without mistake according to the good ancient customs. If it be thought, 'Who knows whether or not it is the power of the "Guardian of Religion"?' (the answer is that) it was our own Precious One of the Glorious 'Brug-pa (Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal) who gained control over the 'Guardians of Religion' and due to this the Glorious Mahākāla Brother  
 13 and Sister manifestly offered the Southern Kingdom of Four Districts itself to the lama Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal as his field for converting activities. At that time the Country of the *Mon Kha-khra*<sup>66</sup> was filled with barbaric religion and after he came to these southern chasms he introduced laws where there had been no southern laws and whereas the pots had no handles he fixed handles. He established the custom of the Ten Virtuous Actions and the Sixteen Pure Observances. He founded monasteries containing the Three Supports. He opened the door to the divine states  
 14 and to liberation. He increased the radiance of virtuous deeds. In particular, having combined together the Ten Cycles of a Dharmarāja with the Ten Cycles of a Tathāgata, he brought all beings to enjoyment of the glory of temporal happiness and to the unblemished practice of attaining ultimately to Buddhahood—which was like the appearance of a light in a dark house. As a result of this the so-called 'Border Country of Barbarians' from that time on gained the exceedingly pleasant name of 'Brug-pa' and it must be known that this was due solely to the kindness of the lama Ngag-dbang  
 15 rNam-rgyal and to the activity of the 'Guardian of Religion' Mahākāla. As it has been said,

'From that time on the celebration of  
 The *dharma* came to this world'.

And so it came about as spoken.

If just a little should be further recounted from the story of these Hierarchs of the 'Brug-pa who are possessed of such kindness as this and who have the dual greatness of their lineage and of their monastic status, then, quoting from the '*Jam-dpal-gsang-ba*',<sup>67</sup>

'In this northern realm of Tibet  
 Among the descendants of Avalokiteśvara  
 There will come up to eighty  
 Of these divine emanations in particular'.

16 In accordance with these words, previously at the time of the Dharmarāja

<sup>66</sup> As in the case of *Mon, Kha-khra* would appear to be a name used loosely by Tibetans for people living south of the Himalayan watershed but it seems to be used more particularly with regard to some of the tribal people of Arunachal Pradesh in the area to the east of Bhutan.

The peculiar reference in this sentence to fixing handles on pots should be taken as alluding metaphorically to Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's success in bringing the material benefits of civilization to the Bhutanese. The phrase is taken verbatim from *LOB*, fol. 103a. The tone of these historical allusions (and some of their wording) may be traced to certain passages in *LCB*.

<sup>67</sup> *bKa'-gyur*: *rNying-rgyud*, no. 838.

Srong-btsan sGam-po, the champion lHa-dga'<sup>68</sup> fetched from China the image of the Jo-bo Shākya Mu-ne. As to the successive issue of emanations of Avalokiteśvara from among his descendants, the Glorious Nā-ro-ta-pa,<sup>69</sup> chief of the scholars and sages of India, took birth for the sake of the Teachings and of sentient beings in the Snow Mountains and so the Protector of Beings, possessed of the name of his clan and of his apparel,<sup>70</sup> this Precious One of the Glorious 'Brug-pa himself, was born. Having filled the mountain ranges with bands of sages, the Upper 'Brug<sup>71</sup> became even  
 17 like the stars in the sky, the Lower 'Brug even like the soil of the earth, and the Middle 'Brug exceeded the atoms in the sun's rays. So the *dharma*-lineage of the Glorious 'Brug-pa arose, filling the land covered by up to 18 days' flight of a vulture. Among the scions of this school were nine bearing the name Seng-ge,<sup>72</sup> three emanations of the Three Families, the unequalled rGyal-dbang-rje, father and son, and others, and then the Omniscient Second Buddha called Mi-pham Padma dKar-po<sup>73</sup> who became  
 18 the head ornament of a thousand sages. With regard to his prophecy concerning his future incarnations, as he himself declared,<sup>74</sup>

'The basis from which all previous Jinās were emanated is

The source of all future Jinās;

Inseparable from the present protectors

The Dharmarāja rNam-par rGyal-ba will come forth'.

In accordance with these words, the Omniscient Ngag-dbang Nor-bu<sup>75</sup>

<sup>68</sup> lHa-dga' and kLu-dga' are said to be two champions who obtained an image of the Buddha from China for King Srong-btsan sGam-po of Tibet. It is the former whom the clan of rGya claim as their ancestor and it is presumed that it was this exploit which provided the name of the clan (rGya can mean China). On the early development of the 'Brug-pa school and its close association with this clan see R. A. Stein's *Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le Yogi*, Paris, 1972, 10-12.

<sup>69</sup> Nāropa, the Indian master of Mar-pa 'the Translator' (1012-96), to whom the bKa'-rgyud-pa, and the 'Brug-pa as one of its sub-schools, trace their spiritual lineage.

<sup>70</sup> I take *gdung dung na-bza'i mtshan-can* to refer to *gTsang-pa rGya-ras* (see p. 627, n. 64, above); *rGya* is the name of his clan (*gdung*) and *ras* is the white cotton of his apparel (*na-bza'*).

<sup>71</sup> The Upper, Lower, and Middle Branches of the 'Brug-pa were founded respectively by three disciples of *gTsang-pa rGya-ras* Ye-shes rDo-rje, namely *rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po rDo-rje* (1180-1258), *Lo-ras-pa dBang-phyug brTson-'grus* (1187-1250) and *Sangs-rgyas dBon-ras* Darma Seng-ge (1177-1237), the first of the nine 'Seng-ge' mentioned below. Although the *DNg.* has a long passage (*Nya*, fols. 118a-33b) devoted to the evolution of these sub-schools, the Middle Branch which gained control of Bhutan is treated as representing the personal lineage of *gTsang-pa rGya-ras* himself (fol. 119a) and is not given a separate name as in the case of the other two sub-schools.

<sup>72</sup> A complete list of these 14 hierarchs of Rwa-lung, who between them cover a period from 1177 to 1638, can be found in Stein (op. cit.; a useful chart is given between pp. 10 and 11) and a partial list in *DNg.*, *Nya*, fols. 118-19. Their biographies can be found in the Punakha edition of the *bKa'-rgyud gSer-'phrang* whose contents have been analysed by E. Gene Smith in his appendix III to Lokesh Chandra's edition of *The life of the saint of gTsang* (Śata-piṭaka Series, LXXIX), New Delhi, 1969.

<sup>73</sup> See introduction.

<sup>74</sup> Another version of this 'prophecy', omitting mention of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's name, is found in *PBP, Ga*, fol. 13b.

<sup>75</sup> Ngag-dbang Nor-bu is an alias for Padma dKar-po.

himself, thinking of protecting this southern land, once again took birth, having as his father the great Vajra-holder Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma,<sup>76</sup> who was a descendant in his turn from the lineage possessed of both great-  
 19 *sde-pa sKyid-shod-pa*<sup>77</sup>; and so the one having the name of Ngag-dbang rNam(-par)-rGyal(-ba), the powerful Dharmarāja, was born accompanied by many auspicious signs of virtue. Then when he had gradually come to live at the apex of all the scholars and sages of the Land of Snow, the Glorious Mahākāla Brother and Sister prophesied that he would offer to him as a religious estate this Great Southern Kingdom of Four Districts.<sup>78</sup> In accordance with the orders which he had received to fulfil his work, he rode in stages to this land arrayed with sandal trees in the southerly  
 20 direction of the sun. He subjugated all the wealthy provinces of the South. Internally, he founded communities for the Sangha, the root of the Teachings, and established therein the combined teachings pertaining to explanations of the doctrines and their realization. Externally, with a view to the governance of all the patrons of religion, having at their head the Eight Great Hosts, he appointed by turn all the Provincial Governors,<sup>79</sup> Government Representatives, and Executive Officers. Constraining by means of religious law which is like a silken knot and pressing down with the weight of secular law which is like that of a golden yoke, he introduced

<sup>76</sup> Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma (1567-1619), the son of the seventeenth incumbent of Rwa-lung, Mi-pham Chos-kyi rGyal-po (1543-1606), was active in Bhutan some years before the arrival of his heir, Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal. He died in Tibet and his body was secretly brought down to Bhutan and his ashes deposited in a silver *mchod-rtan* at lCaga-ri to the north of the Thimphu valley. He is known to have had at least one other son, the illegitimate bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-sgra (1607-67), who ruled Bhutan as its second *sde-srid* for 12 years. A short sketch of bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma's life is found in *PBP*, *Ga*, fol. 16a-b.

<sup>77</sup> The *sde-pa sKyid-shod-pa* is the title of the ruler of the lHa-sa district during this period of the lay hegemony in Tibet of the gTsang kings. We do not know his name but one tradition has it that he first gave this daughter in marriage to the king of that time, Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal. A daughter, *A-lce* (or *A-zhes*) Drung, was born to them but the marriage did not last and she was later given in marriage to Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i Nyi-ma.

<sup>78</sup> This prophecy was the basis for future justifications of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal's rule in Bhutan. It is said to have been revealed to him in the following vision (*PBP*, *Ga*, fol. 99a-b). '... in particular, in a dream which the lord himself experienced a cat was at first making sounds while damaging a sacrificial cake and so, knowing that it was a phantom created by the king (?), he crushed it with a concentration of wrathful visualizations and after it had disappeared an extremely large raven came up to his side. When it flew off in a southerly direction he went flying after it and arrived in a place which he did not know. "Later it turned out to be sPang-ri Zam-pa", he said. The Raven-headed Mahākāla having thus come and conducted him along a path of clear light, gestures of offering this country of the Southern Land to him as his heavenly field were made.' (The temple at sPang-ri Zam-pa, founded by Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal, 1465-1540, still stands today at the head of the Thimphu valley. It was one of the first places in Bhutan which Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal gained control of after his arrival in 1616.)

<sup>79</sup> The *spyi-bla*, more usually called *dpon-slob*, were the provincial governors of Paro, Tongsa, and Dagana. Originally monastic officials with secular responsibilities, these were quite soon succeeded by laymen who yet retained a certain monastic style in their courts. The posts continue today as royal sinecures with the exception of that of Dagana which has lapsed.

the good legal system relating to religious and secular affairs and so it must be known that it is due solely to the compassion of the lama Ngag-dbang  
 21 rNam-rgyal that up to the present an enjoyable condition of glorious happiness has arisen in this very kingdom of the Southern Land. Likewise, since it is necessary to protect these teachings of the 'Brug-pa Hierarchs by means of both religious and secular measures, from the internal point of view of religious law, as the successive Great Abbots,<sup>80</sup> the Sthavira Arhats, who perform the function of upholding, guarding, and diffusing the teachings, have, up to the present living Precious Protector Abbot, all  
 22 solely been Buddhas entered into human form there is no need to tell you of their works of religious activity. From the external point of view of secular law, since from the time of the great *sDe-srid dbU-mdzad*<sup>81</sup> the successive Dharmarājas who perform the function of successfully defending the public have, up to the present ruler, this great Dharmarāja, all been Bodhisattvas, there is no need to tell you of the weight of their edicts. Now even though you are of the class of patrons of religion it is very important that you should give countenance to these good ancient practices  
 23 lest the legal system of old and good custom should be allowed to deteriorate. Furthermore, it is very important that you should, as best you can, complete the external repair of temples and furnish within them articles of obeisance and offering and objects of meritorious virtue as marks of reverence since the karmic result of these actions will come to fruition on the one who performs them. Also even though you are headmen, since you are important people engaged from the hollow of the masses and appointed from the lines of the few, lest you should give in to the power of your desires for acquisition it is vital that you should adhere to works of service to your superior above

<sup>80</sup> The *mKhan-chen*, or *rJe mKhan-po*, as he is popularly known, is the Head Abbot of all state monks in Bhutan, both in the capital and in all the provincial monasteries located in the *rdzong* of each district. There were 48 of these Head Abbots to hold office between the first, Pad-dkar 'Byung-gnas (1604-72), a descendant of *Pha-jo* 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po, and the last one before the foundation of the present monarchy, 'Jam-dpal bShes-gnyen who was enthroned in 1907. The office continues today as the highest ecclesiastical post in the country.

<sup>81</sup> *sDe-srid dbU-mdzad* (alias bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-rgyal) was born in 1591 in the line of *Grub-thob* gTer-khung-pa in the 'Ob-'tsho family of northern Bhutan. He received his monastic training at Rwa-lung and accompanied Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal on his journey to Bhutan. As *sde-srid phyug-mdzod* he was given responsibility for the secular administration of the country. He ruled for six years and died in 1656. (See *LCB*, fol. 93a-b.) In contrast to the complicated and troubled succession to the throne of the head of state (the incarnations or representatives of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal) there was strong continuity in the office of the *sde-srid*, their theoretical nominees. Fifty-six incumbents are counted between the first, *sDe-srid dbU-mdzad*, and the foundation of hereditary monarchy in the early twentieth century. These *sde-srid* are the 'Deb Rajas' of the British, a title formed from the common Bhutanese contraction of two syllables (*sde-pa*) into one ('Deb'). The incarnations or representatives of Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal (usually known as the *Zhabs-drung Rin-po-che* were known to the British as the 'Dharma Rajas', a title which in its translated form of *Chos-kyi rGyal-po* is more often applied to the *sde-srid* by the Bhutanese themselves, as we can see in this passage.

- 24 and look to the welfare of the public below. Even though you are champions it is very important that you should keep in mind that if you are ignorant of your proper behaviour, then for whatever actions you commit which contravene your duties, being heedless here and now of your annual services which do not extend beyond two days, fierce penalties will be imposed on you, starting with the officers of your own host. Also now in this place after the exalted members of the Sangha, sons of the Buddha, have completed firstly the propitiation of Arya Cakrasamvara lasting one week together with the additional rites of the 'practical application' and the burnt offerings, and having brought to conclusion the Great Excellent Rite of Mahākāla's
- 25 Initiation together with its 'earth *sadhana*',<sup>82</sup> the coloured powders of the *maṇḍala* are dedicated as a wish-fulfilling gem and delivered up to the Rulers of the Nāgas; for the sake of securing happiness in the world and ensuring rain in its due season a profound accumulation of merit is produced by means of an inconceivable variety of offerings which are conducted along by a ceremonial procession.<sup>83</sup> In conjunction with this, have you, the champions of the Eight Great Hosts, also got well prepared your accoutrement for display to the enemy, including robes, boots, upper garments, chain
- 26 mail helmets, pikes of the War God, swords, daggers, muskets, bows, *do-cha*,<sup>84</sup> thumb rings, and the other articles of your kit? If not, penalties will come to each in turn. Furthermore, when departing from the fortress you should, by means of the courage of Viṣṇu, the general of the virtuous gods, combined together with the intelligence of Vajrakīla, leap like tigers, roar like leopards, and rage in fury as if with the bearing of full confidence. With unsightly and fearsome gestures you should let loose unmelodious
- 27 yells at the ulterior enemy. Raging with minds devoid of mercy you should act as if setting forth to devour the triple world. Decorated with a variety of armour and weapons so that your ordinary suits are not visible you must go forth with minds bent on destroying as if into minute particles of

<sup>82</sup> The *sa-chog* ('earth *sadhana*') referred to here takes the form of a dance of the 'Black Hat' (*zhwa-nag*) performed by 21 monks inside the main monastic assembly hall in order to obtain a loan from the local spirits of the ground upon which the *maṇḍala* is to be constructed for the Mahākāla ritual. Apart from this one occasion, three further adaptations of this well-known dance take place during the 'Puna Dromchö' festival. (See CGS, [3, 5].)

<sup>83</sup> See introduction.

<sup>84</sup> My translation of this list of weapons and armour is tentative. The 'thumb ring' (*mtse-kor*, erroneous for *mtse-'khor*) is made of ivory and worn on the right hand. Its use is now purely ceremonial but it is thought to have been used once by archers to help draw their bow strings. It can be seen worn in the dance of the monastic guards called *sGra-snyan Chos-gzhas* (CGS, [23]) when it is worn with a string of ivory beads on the other hand. Perhaps the *do-cha* is this latter object. In Lhasa use of the *mtse-'khor* is a special privilege of the treasurers (*phyag-mdzod*) of noble houses. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (p. 412) has *mtse-'khor* or *dkras-'khor* meaning a silver amulet ring worn on the thumb of the right hand by certain oracle-priests. He notes, 'This ring has nowadays a purely ornamental value, but formerly a ring with a hook was worn instead, which was used to span the sinew of a bow' (?).

dust all enemies who impede the Teachings. In this regard, at the time also of issuing forth outside the fortress you must, without undisciplined chatter, neither rushing nor lingering, and with uninterrupted cries, proceed energetically as if filling up the sky with sounds of good fortune and prosperity<sup>85</sup> that please the War God. If you are ignorant of proper  
 28 behaviour and instead of keeping them raised up you throw down your chattels and weapons and leave them on the ground<sup>86</sup> and commit other such acts that cause injury to the War God then you are heinous men indeed. Also at the time of re-entering the fortress, as if raising aloft at the top of the world the white banner of the gods who have triumphed over the army of demons and letting forth continuous cries like the whinnying of horses<sup>87</sup> you should enter the courtyard after circulating the level plain outside the fortress like, for example, four great rivers that flow into the outer ocean while swirling to the right. There in the courtyard, having honoured with

<sup>85</sup> The phrase *phywa dang hug* requires a little explanation. *hug* would appear to be the local pronunciation of *khug* (past tense of 'gug(s)-pa' 'to call, conjure up, bring forth'). *g.Yang-khug* is the name of a special ritual of non-Buddhist origin performed to bring prosperity on a household or community. *phywa* (or *phya*) is a word originally derived from the Ch'iang language meaning 'sky' or 'sky god' but which later came to mean 'fate' or 'portent' and eventually 'prosperity'. Jäschke (*Tibetan-English dictionary*, 347) has 'to call forth good luck and blessing, to secure it by enchantment' for *phywa dang g.yang 'gug pa*; *phywa dang hug* must be an abbreviation of this phrase. On p. [12] of *CGS* we find in the same context as here *phywa dang khug gi sgra* and *phywa dang khug gi dbyangs*; hence 'sounds of good fortune and prosperity'. The phrase is pronounced 'pshadahük' in the vernacular; the *ya-blags* in Western Bhutanese is commonly turned into a 'sh' or 'zh' sound when subjoined to the letters *pa* (or *pha*) and *ba* respectively, the initial value of these consonants being retained. The actual sound of the 'pshadahük' is the same 'ki hi hi hi hi' referred to in n. 87, below.

<sup>86</sup> Even in village archery it is considered most inauspicious to lay one's bow flat on the ground even for a few seconds. Perhaps this taboo has its origins in the fact that it is easier to snatch up one's weapon in a surprise attack if it is already supported vertically. Magic, however, now plays a part in this attitude to weapons and armour as can readily be seen during the Punakha festival when spectators try to obtain blessings by having their heads touched by the chain mail helmets of the 'pozaps'. When they were worn by the ancestors of the present 'pozaps' these old helmets are said to have become imbued with the powers of the guardian deities who were assisting Ngag-dbang rNam-rygal and his forces against the invasions of the *gTsang sde-srid* and the *dGe-lugs-pa* school. Among the Tu-jen (Tib. rGya-hor) of the Koko Nor area, the sword of the oracle-priest (who is known locally as the *gurtum*, perhaps from *sku-rtan-pa*) is regarded as the seat of the deity who takes possession of him. (See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, 443). In this text the War God (*dgra-lha*) who resides in the paraphernalia of battle and also in the bodies of the champions seems to be regarded as an aspect of Mahākāla (see fols. 5-6 above). In other circumstances the *dgra-lha* is one of the 'gods born together (with man)' (*lhan-cig skyes-pa'i lha*) and as such he is the centre of the entire New Year festival at Poo on the western border of Tibet but it is not clear whether this celebrates the 'Agricultural' or the 'King's New Year'. See Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan folksongs from Gyantse and western Tibet*, Ascona, 1966, 61-70, and also A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914-26, I, 22.

<sup>87</sup> The 'whinnying of horses' (*rita-dbyangs*) is said to be an old battle cry of the Tibetan cavalry. While horses have never been used seriously in warfare in Bhutan for obvious reasons of geography, the same cry ('Ki hi hi hi hi' shouted rapidly on descending notes) is used during archery and public rituals connected with the guardian deities.

an ocean of medicinal draughts<sup>88</sup> the assembly of lamas, tutelary deities, 29 *dākinīs*, 'Guardians of Religion', and 'Protectors' as a form of thanksgiving for having properly fulfilled their previous commissions, it is declared that, filling the celebration with sounds of good fortune and prosperity<sup>89</sup> in a manner calculated to please them, an enjoyable diversion will be held.

Now, may the Glorious Protector of Wisdom, Mahākāla Brother and Sister together with the proud army that manifests itself in the visible world; also the Great General, the Red Performer of Simultaneous Work;<sup>90</sup> the Great Viṣṇu with his poisoned razor that destroys the planet demon;<sup>91</sup> the Great Oath-Bound Door Demon bearing an iron sword;<sup>92</sup> in particular those from the holy place of bDe-chen-phu<sup>93</sup> in the Thim(-phu) valley, 30 namely the Wild Spirit, King of War Gods;<sup>94</sup> the Red Killer Assistant;<sup>95</sup> the War God of All Important Beings;<sup>96</sup> the General of the White Gods;<sup>97</sup> the Bon Defenders of Zhang-zhung;<sup>98</sup> those under the orders of the *vidyādhara* lamas; the Red Killer<sup>99</sup> together with his attendant concourse of one hundred thousand who takes away like fire the life and breath of oath-breakers and harassing enemies; in brief, may all 'Guardians of Religion' and 'Protectors' who have gained miraculous powers and who have agreed to defend the Teachings and remove its enemies, lest you should forsake your former oaths, come at this instant to this place with 31 the speed of the wind and with sounds that shake the sky and the earth and reside in the bodies of all the soldiers of the Eight Great Hosts, the heroes who guard the Teachings. Dress yourselves in the *vajra* armour. Having dressed go forth and destroy into particles of dust all the harassing

<sup>88</sup> The 'ocean of medicinal draughts' (*smān-phud rgya-mtsho*) is a circumlocution for the beer offered in the libation ceremony of *mar-chang* (see introduction and CGS, [12]).

<sup>89</sup> See p. 633, n. 85.

<sup>90</sup> For a full account of this deity see *Dam-can chos-skyong las-gshan cig-car dmar-po'i rtogs-brjod* (LCB, fols. 135b-6a).

<sup>91</sup> See *Lha-chen khyab-'jug ra-hu-la drang-srong gza'i rtogs-brjod* (LCB, fols. 136b-8b).

<sup>92</sup> See *Dam-can ego-bdud chen-po leags-ral-can gyi rtogs-brjod* (LCB, fols. 144b-8b).

<sup>93</sup> The temple of bDe-chen-phug was founded by Kun-dga' Seng-ge (1314-47), seventh abbot of Rwa-lung, in a side valley at the northern end of the Thimphu valley. It is still considered to be the most important place in Bhutan devoted to the guardian deities.

<sup>94</sup> See *bTsan-chen dgra-lha'i rgyal-po jag-pa me-len gyi rtogs-brjod* (LCB, fols. 141b-4b). This 'Brigand who fetched the Fire' is an aspect of the better-known dGe-bshen.

<sup>95</sup> This deity may be the same as Las-mkhan Cig-car dMar-po (see n. 90, above).

<sup>96</sup> I have not been able to identify this deity and am not sure of my translation of *sKyes-pa Pho-thog*.

<sup>97</sup> It need not surprise us to find this reference to the Bon religion here. Just as the Bon text of the *kLu-'bum* was widely accepted by Buddhists for its efficacy in dealing with the *nāga* spirits, so also are its deities respected and placated for their reputed power. One must presume, however, that the 'Bon Defenders of Zhang-zhung' are regarded as converts to Buddhism.

<sup>98</sup> This may be an epithet of Pe-har, in which case see *Chos-skyong rgyal-po pa'i-ha-ra'i rtogs-brjod* (LCB, fols. 140a-1b).

<sup>99</sup> See n. 92, above.

enemies. Having gone forth, it is declared that again inside the fortress a thanksgiving for the proper completion of the celebrations and concluding prayers of good auspice will be held.

These words are to be kept in the hands of the Government *srung-khor-pa*.<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> The *Srung-khor-pa* is the monastic official whose duty is to pray for the personal safety and welfare of the ruler in Bhutan by interceding on his behalf with the guardian deities. His special responsibility of reciting this text, important as it is in the cult of these deities, to the assembled 'pazap' militia is therefore an extension of his more general duties. I am indebted to the present incumbent of this post for giving me permission to photograph the text of the *bKa'-bkyon rdo-rje tho-lum*.

#### APPENDIX

A recent visit to India from May to July 1976 (made possible by a grant from the Scholarships Committee of the School) has afforded me the opportunity of collecting some additional information on the Bhutanese New Year. My friend Mr. Rigdzin Dorje of the Royal Bhutan Mission in New Delhi, himself a native of the Chapcha district referred to in the *Note* on p. 619 above, confirms that the curious New Year custom described in *rJe Yon-tan mTha'-yas'* biography does in fact allude to an obsolete rite of the *so-nam lo-gsar* apparently local to Chapcha. For this reason he prefers the reading *lo-gsar rnying-gi skabs* 'at the time of the older New Year' to the ambiguity of *lo-gsar-rnying-gi skabs* 'the junction of the old and new years' in the passage cited. While the New Year retreat practised by selected elders of each family in Chapcha is no longer observed, the three-day celebration of the *so-nam lo-gsar* is still essential to the traditional life of the area. As far south as Buxa, which the 1885 annexation of the Bhutan Duars caused to be incorporated within India but which retains a small Bhutanese population of mixed descent, the 'Agricultural New Year' is celebrated under the name of 'Nyinlog', a word derived from (*dgun*) *nyin-ldog* 'the Winter Solstice'. The timing and form of 'Nyinlog' correspond closely to that of 'Paro Lomba', discussed in some detail above, with the important exception that the *dpa'-bo* medium plays no role whatsoever in the former festival. This seems all the more strange in view of the great number of *dpa'-bo* in that area of southern Bhutan, the continuity and stability of their office being ensured by the need to pass it on to a new incumbent, usually within the same family, before death. Although lacking an overtly religious form, 'Nyinlog' is for Chapcha and the adjacent districts the culmination of the intense religious activity which is apparent during winter throughout those areas of the Himalaya where Tibetan forms persist. It is in the winter that each household has a major rite dedicated to its tutelary deity called the *lo-chog* performed. It is also the season when the *dpa'-bo* hold most of their seances and when many households expel ransom or scapegoat effigies (*glud*) with the assistance of men officiating as 'pazaps' in a most interesting version of this rite which still awaits proper documentation. 'Nyinlog' itself is a time of feasting ('dzachum') and of archery contests ('choda pshewa' = *phyogs-mda' phrad-pa*?) arranged between rival villages. During the night the village youths make a round of each house singing a refrain known as 'Lolé' (*lo-legs* 'The good year'): 'May the ground floor be filled with cattle—good year, good year! May the middle floor be filled with grain—good year, good year! May the top floor be filled with people—good year, good year! May the butter box be filled with butter, good year, good year!—and so on. The youths are given presents of food and drink with which they hold a feast. Not only they but the whole community too consider it very important to eat well during the 'Nyinlog' festival as this is said to presage how much food they will obtain in the coming year. Again the carolling of the 'pazap' militia during the later 'King's New Year' (see pp. 616-17) is clearly an imitation of the Chapcha 'Lolé'—another striking instance of how some of the features of that festival must have been modelled on those of the 'Agricultural New Year'. The assimilation of ancient forms into the pattern of new institutions, giving them a degree of authority and respectability, is a process still easily discernible in Bhutanese society today.



# GLOSSARY

This glossary contains items drawn from texts I to III presented in Part 2 of this work. It includes only the following: (1) unusual administrative terms, (2) certain kinship terms, (3) rare words and rare meanings, (4) some standard terms whose every occurrence I wished to note, and (5) Bhutanese usages. For many of these I have relied closely on my informants in Bhutan, among whom LN, LP and TR (see below) are specifically mentioned. The order of entry follows that of the Tibetan alphabet.

## Abbreviations

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| I   | <u>rGyal-rigs 'byung-khungs gsal-ba'i sgron-me</u> |
| II  | <u>Lo-rgyus gsal-ba'i me-long</u>                  |
| III | <u>Khrims-yig</u>                                  |
| BU  | Bhutanese Usage                                    |
| J   | Jäschke's <u>Tibetan-English Dictionary</u>        |
| LN  | <u>Slob-dpon Nag-mdog</u>                          |
| LP  | <u>Slob-dpon Padma-lags</u>                        |
| S   | Stein (1974)                                       |
| TR  | sTobs-dga' Rin-po-che                              |

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kar-rdzi, perhaps an official who had charge of herds belonging to a clan ruler in eastern Bhutan, I: 51a, 53b.

klad-'gems (emended from kled-'gems = J: klad-pa 'gems-pa) = 'to surprise', lit. 'to destroy the brain', III: 109a.

dkar-dro = lit. 'white meal', i.e. a bloodless, vegetarian meal, III: 112b, 113a.

bka'-blon = 'minister', II: 18b, 22a.

bka'-blon nang-ma (= nang-blon) = 'household official', II: 7a.

bka'-khrims / bka'i khrims-yig = 'legal decree', 'the decree of a legal code', III: 100b (x 2), 101a (x 2).

rkang / khral-rkang = 'tax estate', III: 112a, 112b (x 3).

rkang-can = 'the possessor of a tax estate', III: 113a.

skam-khral = lit. 'dry tax' levied in cash, as opposed to rlon-khral ('wet tax') levied in kind. (LN: skam-po dngul dang rlon-pa rgyu-dngos), III: 112b (x 2).

skam-rlon = 'dry (cash) or wet (food)', III: 113a.

sku-drung (= J: dge-brkos) = 'monastic prefect', II: 19b, 21b, 22b (x 2).

sku-tshab = 'government representative', particularly the drung-pa ('drūm' in the vernacular) an official appointed to the control of groups of villages, III: 107a, 107b, 109b, 110b (x 5), 111a (x 3), 111b (x 5), 112a (x 3), 113b.

sku-tshab tsho gnyis-ma = 'second-class government representatives', III: 110b.

Kha-khra = lit. 'Striped-Mouths', unidentified people of Arunachal Pradesh, I: 49b.

Kha-dkar = lit. 'White-Mouths', unidentified people of Arunachal Pradesh, I: 28a.

kha-mchu = 'law-suit, litigation'; the broader sense of 'quarrel, strife, dispute' (J: kha-mchu 3 and J: zhal-mchu 3, sub mchu) is not known in Bhutan; (cf. kha-mchu'i gcod-sdom / -- bslab-don = 'judgements passed on litigation'), III: 106a, 107b, 108a, 109b, 111b.

Kha-nag = lit. 'Black-Mouths', the Aka people of Arunachal Pradesh, I: 28a.

kha-lo sgyur(-ba) = 'to rule, govern, lead' (see J2), I: 27a, 41b, 43b; III: 109a.

kha-lo bsgyur-mi = 'ruler', II: 12a.

khungs ma-chod-pa = 'unfounded, groundless, unproven', I: 11a, 45a (x 2).

khungs-bcad = 'have been substantiated', I: 46b.

khungs -- dpyad = 'have examined ... the grounds' (of oral traditions), I: 47b.

khol-jo = 'slave-master' (cf. chug-khol q.v.), III: 112b.

khol-tshab = 'substitute slave' delivered to a slave owner by a community which failed to capture and return to him his runaway slave when the latter stopped in their territory (cf. khral-tshab q.v.), III: 112b.

khyug-bde-ba = 'agile', I: 34a.

khra = 'terms' (of a treaty, chings-dan-gyl — ); from khra-ma = 'judicial decree' (J2), III: 106a.

khral-rgyug = 'taxation', 'administration of taxes', III: 111b.

khral-pa = 'taxpayer', III: 112b.

khral-tshab = 'substitute taxpayer' settled in a district by the authorities in order to provide a replacement for a previous taxpayer who had died without issue but whose obligation to render taxes is still borne by the community (cf. khol-tshab q.v.), III: 113b.

khral-zhing khral-khyim = 'taxable fields, taxable houses' forming part of a single tax estate, III: 112b.

khriims-ra = 'court of justice' (J), II: 17a.

dkhyil-sgar = 'central camp', II: 8b, 20a.

'khus-lan btab-pa = 'to return an insult', II: 4a (x 2).

[Continued on next page.]

'khor-gsum = 'armour, weapons and helmet' (lit. 'three wheels'), TR III:  
109a.

Gangs-ri'i rDor-'dzin, the official deputed to control the Bhutanese  
enclave in the Kailash area of Western Tibet; also known as the  
Gangs-ri Bla-ma, III: 109b.

Gu-se Lang-ling, name of deity from whom the gDung(q.v.) families claim  
descent, I: 32a, 36a.

go-mtshon(-pa) = 'armourer', III: 109a.

gri-chad = 'knife penalty', a fine for unsheathing a knife or sword (gri  
is pronounced 'gi' in the vernacular; cf. 'thab-chad, byi-chad q.v.),  
III: 113b.

grong-bshul (= J: shul 3) = 'the personal property left by a dead person',  
III: 113a.

gros-mi = '(village) counsellors', III: 104a, 107a, 112a.

dgon-lag = 'branch monasteries', II: 5a (x 2).

mgron-gnyer (abbreviated to mgron) = 'chamberlain', III: 106a, 107a, 108a,  
109a, 109b.

mgron-'thud (LN: gzhung-gi mgron-po khag-la sprod-rgyu'i lto-mthud)  
= 'entertainment allowance' due to government guests and officials  
on tour and realised in kind from selected households (cf. lto-'thud q.v.),  
III: 110a, 111b.

mgron-babs (LN: mgron-por sprod-rgyu'i babs-sgo) = 'board and lodging' for  
government officials on tour (cf. lto-'bab and zhag-babs q.v.), III: 111b.

'go-pa do-dam = 'superintendent official' of the border marts, III: 114a.

rgad-po = 'village or district headman' (pronounced 'gāp' in the vernacular),  
III: 111b.

rgan-'go = 'an elder', II: 21a (x 3).

rgya-drung, government officials appointed to control the frontier districts bordering on India; the 'subha', 'soubah' etc. of British records, III: 107a, 109b.

rgyab-bkab = 'mantle', III: 109a, 110b, 113b.

rgyal-mkhar = 'royal castle', I: 10b, 13a, 14a, 13b, 15b, 15b-16a (x 2), 17a, 17b (x 2), 18b (x 2), 19a, 21a, 23a (x 3), 23b, 24b, 25b (x 2), 26b, 27a, 27b, 28b, 31b.

yul-mkhar = 'district castle', I: 31b, 42a (x 2), 42b; II: 17a.

mkhar = 'castle', I: 39a; II: 14a (x 2).

rgyal-mkhar bzung-mkhan / 'dzin-mkhan = (royal) 'castellan', I: 23a, 31b, 43a.

mkhar-mthon (emended from mkhar-'thon) = 'watchtower, turret' (T), II: 16b (x 3).

rgyal-rabs [1] (= rgyal-brgyud-kyi rabs, III: 102a) = 'dynasty', 'royal lineage', 'generations of kings', I: 6a, 3a; III: 100b, 102a (x 3), 102b.

rgyal-rabs [2] = 'royal genealogy, history', I: 10a-b, 47b; III: 100b.

rgyal-rigs = 'royal family' (cf. rje-rigs = 'noble family', I: 48a), I: 3a, 10a, 10b, 17a (x 2), 17b (x 2), 18a, 18b (x 3), 19a, 20a (x 2), 20b, 20b-21a, 25b, 26b (x 2), 28b, 31b, 32a, 40a, 43b, 46a, 47a (x 2), 47a-b.

rgyal-sa = 'royal site, seat, throne', I: 3b, 15a, 16b (x 2), 18a, 20b, 25b, 27a, 28b, 29b.

rgyal-srid = 'government' in its secular aspects (cf. chos-gyi rgyal-srid q.v.), III: 108a, 109a, 109b.

rgyas-btab (-'debs-pa) = 'to seal (a matter with prayers)', I: 16a.

rgyugs len-pa = 'to hold an examination', III: 105b (x 2).

rgyud-tshig = 'traditional words', I: 48b.

brgyud-khung = 'ancestral origins', I: 2b, 28b, 40b.

brgyud(-pa) = 'line of descendants, lineage', 'lineal descendants',  
I: 3a (x 3), 13b, 17b, 19a, 19b (x 3), 20a (x 2), 24b, 26a, 28a,  
28b, 31a, 31b, 35b, 36a, 43a (x 2), 43b, 44b.  
nye-bar brgyud-pa = 'close lineal descendants', I: 28b.  
mi-brgyud = 'descendants', I: 41b; II: 24a (x 2).

sgar / sgar-pa = 'bodyguard', II: 15a; III: 105b, 107a, 108b.

sgar-gnyer = 'quartermaster', III: 109a.

sgor-ba = ? 'plot, patch' (of grass), I: 34b.

sgrig(s) rnam-gzhag = 'regulation of (public) order', 'fundamentals of  
administration'; the term sgrig seems to have been used first in  
regard to monastic administration and the customary discipline of  
monks in the state monasteries. It was later used in reference to  
public administration in general, II: 18a; III: 103b, 104a, 109b,  
110b.

ngag-rgyun = 'oral traditions', I: 2b, 36a.

nges-rtags = 'sure evidence, certain proof', I: 10b, 11a.

ngo-can = 'important (person)', lit. 'having face', III: 104a.

ngo-ma (= ngo-bo) = 'actual, real', 'face to face, in person' (BU), III:  
108a.

mngon-spyod = 'destructive magic', lit. 'manifest action', III: 106b (x 2).

bcad-rgya = 'retreat', 'state of seclusion', III: 113b.

chad-khungs = 'genesis, origin' (of families, lineages etc.), I: 2b, 28a,  
32a, 36a, 40a, 43b, 46b.

(dam-bca'-ba'i tshig) chad-rdo (byed-pa) = 'promise'.

(chad-rdo is related to brjed-rdo, an inventory, an aid to memory (mi-brjed-pa'i dran-rten). In both cases rdo ('stone') acts as a tshig-grogs, an auxiliary or qualifying element suggesting the indissoluble nature of the promise or inventory (LP).

chad-rdo seems unconnected with the meanings given by J (1): 'the stone which is broken in the ceremony of rdo gcog-pa' or J (2):

'monument, memorial of a covenant'), II: 12b, 14b.

mna'-tho(-'i) chad = 'promises made in an oath-list', III: 105b.

chings-dan = 'treaty' (LP), III: 106a.

chibs-bzhon, government officials entitled to ride horses, III: 108b.

che-dgu = ? 'all one's most precious possessions', I: 24a.

chug-khol / khol = 'slave' ('zap' in the vernacular), III: 110b, 112a.

chur-mo = 'husked paddy', 'rice' BU, ('chūm' in the vernacular), III: 110b, 112a.

chos-kyi rgyal-srid / chos-srid = 'theocratic rule', III: 105a, 108a, 110a, 114a.

chos-mdzad (honorific for chos-pa ?), title of a semi-ordained religious practitioner from a noble family, I: 47b, 48a; II: 6b (x 2), 12a, 17b, 18b, 21a, 21b.

mchod-gzhis (= chos-gzhis) = 'religious or monastic estate', III: 110b.

rje-rgyal(-po) = 'lord-king' (especially used of gNya'-khri bTsan-po), I: 2a, 3a, 10a, 14b.

rje-dpon = 'lord-chief' (i.e. petty ruler), I: 5b, 6a (x 2), 14a, 14b, 15b (x 2), 17a, 18b, 21a, 23a (x 2), 23b, 24b, 26a (x 2), 28a, 29a (x 2), 29b (x 4), 31a (x 2), 31b (x 2), 32a (x 4), 32b (x 2), 33a, 33b, 34b, 36a-b, 40a.

rjes-'jug = 'successor', I: 46b.

'jigs-ra (= 'thab-ra q.v. = 'dzing-ra q.v.) = 'battle-fence, stockade',  
II: 14a.

nya-khral = 'fish-tax', I: 23a.

nye-ba drung-po = 'close mentor', II: 11a, 12a.

gnyen-du sdebs-pa = 'to intermarry', I: 14b.

gnyen-zla = J: 'fit for matrimonial alliance' (as to birth etc.), I: 14b.

gnyer-pa = 'steward', II: 7b, 8a, 20a, 21b.

snyad-btags / — -btegs = 'false pretext' (cf. S: snyad brko-ba = 'prétexter'),  
III: 110b.

ṭam-ka / ma-ṭam / phyed-ṭam, various Bhutanese coins, III: 111a, 111b, 112b.

gtam-rgyun (= gtam-rgyud = ngag-rgyun q.v.) = 'oral traditions' (cf.  
gtam-rgyus = 'news', II: 7b); I: 10b, 22a, 25b, 29a, 40a, 45b (x 2),  
46a, 46b, 47b.

ltag-rdzong = 'upper citadel', built in positions overlooking some of the  
principal rdzongs situated on hill sides (as in sPa-gro, Krong-sar  
and bKra-shis-sgang), they serve as a final point of defence from  
which a last-ditch stand could be made, II: 22a.

[Continued on next page.]



lto-'thud = 'food allowance' = (cf. mgron-'thud q.v.), III: 112a.

lto-'bab = 'meal visits', paid on households by government officials  
(cf. mgron-babs and zhag-babs q.v.), III: 111b-112a.

lto-gzan / gzan = 'menial' 'orderly', lit. 'eater of (the master's) food'  
BU (cf. nang-gzan q.v.), III: 107a, 118b, 110a (x 2), 111a (x 2), 113a.

stung (= gzeb(-ma)), a box or pannier made of split cane, LP (Tsangla  
dialect) I: 21b, 22b.

sTung-sde, name of clan, I: 22b et seq.

stong [1] = unidentified Bhutanese fruit (mon-gyi shing-'bras), I: 33a (x 2),  
33b, 34a (x 2).

stong [2] / dge-stong = 'manslaughter fine', III: 103b, 113b.

tha-ma-kha = 'tobacco', III: 107a (x 2).

thug-gsher = 'trial' (LN: lab-gzhi dang rtsod-gzhi rigs kha-mchu rtsis-gzhi'i  
rigs-la zer-ba-yin), III: 111b.

thun-kha (= J: thun) = '(work) shift', III: 108b.

tho-chems = 'testamentary record', I: 48b.

mtha'-khob = 'barbarian border region' (cf. J: yang-khob = '... a still  
more distant and barbarous country'. Also cf. mtha'-'dul, yang-'dul  
etc.), II: 6a.

mtiong-bkur = 'privilege and honour', I: 32b.

mtiong-srol = 'customary privileges', III: 109b.

'thab-chad = 'fight penalty' (cf. gri-chad, byi-chad q.v.), III: 113b.

'thab-ra (= 'dzing-ra q.v. = 'jigs-ra q.v.) = 'battle-fence', 'stockade',  
II: 10a, 15b, 16a (x 2).

'thud = 'allowances' supplied in kind by the public to officials on tour  
(cf. mgron-'thud q.v.), III: 112a (x 2).

dong-pa (= J: dong-po, ldong-po) = 'tube' (of bamboo), I: 37b.  
smyug-dong, I: 37b (x 2).

gdung [1] = 'clan', lit. 'bone' (honorific for rus q.v.); I: 14a, 15b,  
23a, 35b; III: 103a.

gdung-rus = 'clan' (pleonastic compound), I: 28a.

gdung [2], hereditary title and family name of the ancient ruling nobility  
in Bum-thang and Kheng (bum-thang sde-bzhi'i gdung; gdung rin-po-che;  
rje-dpon gdung; gdung grags-pa dbang-phyug etc.), I: 32a, 32b,  
33a (x 3), 33b, 35b (x 5), 36a, 40a (x 2); II: 6b, 13a (x 2), 13b,  
14a (x 2), 24a.

gdung-brgyud = 'line of descendants, lineage' (honorific for brgyud-pa q.v.),  
I: 6a, 6b, 3a, 10b, 32a, 46a; III: 103a.

gdung-rabs = 'generations' of a royal or noble family (honorific for  
mi-rabs q.v.; cf. rgyal-rabs q.v.), I: 1a, 2b, 3b (x 2), 10a, 10b,  
11a, 32b, 48a.

mda'-dpon = 'arrow-captain', III: 109a.

mdo-drug (= mdo-'phrug ?) = 'horse' (epic term, frequent in Ge-sar and  
Tun-huang literature), III: 109a.

rdo-phong (= J: pha-bong) = 'boulder', I: 24a.

[Continued on next page.]

lding-dpon = 'captain', II: 4a (x 3), 4b; III: 109a.

'dus-che(-ba) = 'rich, prosperous' (in reference to a locality), I: 13b;  
II: 9b, 12b, 17a.

'dra-brdzus 'bru-log = 'counterfeiting (written orders or altering their meaning by) reshaping their letters', III: 114a.

sde-thang = 'local price', III: 110b.

sde-pa [1] (= sde-srid 1 q.v.), title by which the secular rulers of Bhutan were known; pronounced 'deb' in the vernacular; hence the 'Deb Rājas' of the British, II: 4b; III: 100b (x 2).  
sde-pa [2] = the provincial rulers or district governors of Tibet, I: 36a.

sde-srid [1] / sde-srid phyag-mdzod / phyag-mdzod, the 'Deb Rājas' of Bhutan, III: 101a, 105a, 107b.

sde-srid [2], the 'Kings' of gTsang and, later, the 'regents' of the dGe-lugs-pa, II: 2a (x 2), 2b; III: 104b, 114a.

sdeb [1] = 'team', i.e. of craftsmen etc., III: 110a.

sdeb [2] = 'measure' i.e. of grain that has been saved up, III: 110b.

bsdu-khral = ? 'harvest tax', levied on grain after the harvest (lo-thog bsdu(-ba), III: 111b), III: 111b.

bsdu-thun = 'common or general tax collection', III: 110b.

na-rim = 'successive (generations)', I: 28b.

nag-gcod / nag-chad = 'severe punishment', perhaps 'execution'; lit. 'black severance', 'black punishment', II: 4b, 22a; III: 111a, 112a, 113b.

nang-gzan = 'household servitors' in government employ (cf. gto-gzan q.v.), III: 105b.

gnam-lha / gnam-gyi lha = 'The God of Heaven' (the deity 'O-de Gung-rgyal), I: 12a, 32a, 33b, 36a.

gnas-po = 'landlord' (used as a title as in lCags-mkhar gNas-po; 'nep' in the vernacular), II: 7a.

gnas-mo chen-chung = 'senior and junior wives', I: 16b.

dpa'-dar = 'hero sash', awarded to soldiers as a mark of bravery in battle, III: 109a.

dpa'-gzas = 'military service' (cf. dmag-tsho q.v.), III: 112a.

dpung-rgyab-kyi dmag = 'the forces of a supporting (or auxiliary) army', II: 19a.

dpon-mo = '(hereditary) chieftainness', I: 35b.

dpon-slob [1] (= spyi-bla q.v.), lit. 'chief-teacher'; probably slob-dpon reversed; title of the three regional governors of sPa-gro, Krong-sar and Dar-dkar, II: 4b (x 2), 6b (x 2), 7a (x 2), 7b (x 3), 8a, 14b (x 2).  
dpon-slob [2] = 'the lord and his disciple(s)', II: 5b.

dpya (= khral) = 'tax', III: 111b.

spus-dag = 'pure quality', in reference to merchandise, III: 114a.

spus-btsug = 'share-in-kind' in a trading venture, III: 110b.

spo-bzhag / spo-'jog = 'transfer', on government duty, III: 108a, 110b.

spyi-dpon = lit. 'general officer', the lowest grade functionary on the village level whose main duty is to carry government messages between the rdzong and the village; hence, 'village messenger' ('pshipön' in the vernacular), III: 104a, 107a, 111b, 112a.

spyi-bla (rnam-gsum) (= dpon-slob [1] q.v.) = the three 'regional governors', lit. head bla-ma'. (Use of this term is confined to literary works whereas dpon-slob is used in common parlance), III: 106a, 108a, 109b, 111a.

sprin-gyi dbyangs = 'the melody of clouds', i.e. the thunder which is said to be the sound of dragons ('brug); an allegorical expression used in reference to the 'Brug-pa school. (cf. dbyar-rnga q.v.), III: 101b.

pha-mes (= yab-mes q.v.) = 'ancestors', lit. 'fathers and grandfathers', I: 45b.

pha-spad = 'father and son(s)', I: 28a; II: 12a, 16b.

pha-spun = 'paternal siblings', I: 13b, 31b.

pha-tshan = 'family' (lit. 'paternal relatives'), I: 45a; II: 7a.

phul, the smallest measure of grain (=  $\frac{1}{6}$  bre ?), III: 113a.

pho-ngar (= J: ngar-po) = 'strong', I: 43b.

pho-mnyam = ? 'men of standing equal' (as in ya-rabs pho-mnyam = 'nobles of equal standing' and pho-mnyam gzhon-pa = 'young men of equal standing'), I: 4b, 47a.

pho-rengs (= J: pho-yan, pho-rang, pho-hrang) = 'bachelor' (cf. yug-sa-ma rengs-mo / mo-rengs-mo q.v.), I: 38a, 38b (x 3), 42b.

pho-res (= LP: re-res) = 'individually', I: 42b.

(gser-dngul-gyi) phya-thag = '(gold and silver) phya-cord' (cf. rmu-thag q.v.), I: 45b.

phyag-mjal = 'gifts' offered to a superior, II: 21a; III: 112a (x 2).

phyag-rjes = lit. 'hand-print', used figuratively with the sense of 'a token to someone's achievements', II: 22b.

phyi-mgdon = 'commissioner', lit. 'external chamberlain', a government representative on temporary (?) deputation, III: 109b.

'phrul-thabs = 'magical (or mechanical) devices (or means)' (probably in reference to skill in warfare), I: 26a, 47b (x 2);

'phrul-'khor = 'sorcerous device', 'mechanism', II: 20b; III: 106a.

'phros-gtam = 'legend', I: 11b.

ba-spu = 'Babu', a title used in reference to those Eastern Bhutanese who settled in or near the Assam Duars and gained a measure of control over the local Indian populations, I: 24b, 28a (x 3).

bu-chen = lit. 'big son', the eldest son delivered as hostage to guarantee the good behaviour of his relatives, II: 14b, 19b (x 2), 21b.

bu-gte = 'sons (kept as) hostages', II: 24a.

bu-brgyud = 'issue, progeny, descendants, scions' (cf. sras-brgyud q.v.),

I: 11b, 17a, 17b (x 2), 18a (x 2), 18b (x 3), 19a (x 2), 20a (x 3),

20b (x 4), 24b (x 2), 25a (x 4), 25b (x 2), 26a (x 2), 26b (x 2),

27a, 31b (x 3), 42a (x 3), 42b, 43a (x 3), 43b (x 2), 45b.

bu-rabs rim-pa = 'successive generations of sons', II: 13b.

bod = 'attendant' BU (? from J2: 'bod-pa = 'to call [summon] a person'), III: 109b, 110b.

Bon Thang-la 'Od-dkar = name of an unidentified bon-po deity or saint, I: 36a.

bya-bzhag = 'employment', 'business', III: 108a, 109a.

byi-chad = 'penalty for adultery or rape' (J); (cf. gri-chad, 'thab-chad q.v.), III: 103b.

bran(-pa) (= shes-pa or go-ba) = 'to know, understand' a dialect word from E. Bhutan; pronounced as written, not 'dren'), I: 22a.

bla-gnyer sbrel-ma (LN: blam dang gnyer-pa gnyis-sbrags-kyi go-sa-can-gyi dpon-khag) = 'those holding the joint office of bla-ma and gnyer-pa', i.e. those monastic officials who bear secular responsibilities of government, III: 110b.

dbang-yon = lit. 'initiation fee', here signifying an additional tax imposed on the public, ostensibly for blessings bestowed on it by the state monks (BU), III: 110a.

dbang-tshong (byed-pa) = 'to force someone to sell at extortionate rates'; in the vernacular 'bangchen tshongwa' means simply 'to extort', 'to force someone to do something against his will', III: 110b.

dbu-mched (= mched-grogs = chos-spun) = 'clerical brother', II: 17b.

dbu-rtse, the central square tower of every rdzong comprising a tier of temples } several stories in height, II: 22a.

dbon-sras (= sras-dbon ?) = 'descendants' (lit. 'grandsons (and their ?) sons'), I: 45b.

dbyar-rnga = 'the drums of summer', an allegorical expression used in reference to the 'Brug-pa school, the dragon ('brug) being associated with the thunder of summer (cf. sprin-gyi dbyangs q.v.), III: 114b.

'bab-g.yu skya-dkar, a particular kind of pale-coloured turquoise (the function of 'bab is unclear), II: 18b.

'bab-zhus = 'acts of submission' (cf. zhabs-'dzul = 'acquiescence' II: 10b), II: 9a, 10a, 10b, 11b (x 4), 12a, 13a, 17b, 19a, 19b, 20b, 21a.

'bab-sha 'bab-nor = 'tribute meat, tribute wealth', offered on making submission to the 'Brug-pa authorities, II: 21a.

'bab-shus-kyi nor, II: 12b.

'bul-ba [1] = lit. 'offering', used in a special sense when referring to tributes delivered to the authorities on behalf of districts or groups of villages; (pronounced 'biu' in the vernacular), II: 21a.

'bul-ba [2] = 'due', 'fee', III: 111a.

'bul-thus = 'dues collected', III: 111b.

ma-'gyur = a 'pledge' which is retained by the authorities if a promise remains 'unfulfilled' (ma-'gyur) TR, II: 19b (x 2).

ma-ri-ba = 'bard' ('manip' in the vernacular), III: 113b (x 2).

ma-yin ma-'thus-pa'i nag-can = 'evil criminal', III: 107b.

mar-khral = 'butter-tax', III: 111b.

mi-khyim = 'habitation, household', I: 4a, 13b, 14a.

mi-'go = 'leader', II: 20b, 21a, 21b.

mi-sde = (secular) 'community' (under the control of a local ruler or civil official; as opposed to lha-sde, a community under the authority of a monastery), I: 10b, 19a, 21a, 24a, 24b, 25b, 32b (x 2), 39a, 41b, 42b, 43a (x 2), 43b; II: 7b, 10a, 13a, 14b, 15a, 17a, 17b, 22b:

mi-nag = 'peasant' (BU), lit. 'black man' (pronounced 'minap' in the vernacular; cf. J = 'layman'), III: 107a.

mi-sna = 'envoy', II: 2b (x 3), 3a (x 2), 4a, 15a, 17a.

mi-sna bang-chen = 'envoy courier', II: 10b, = pho-nya-ba bang-chen, II: 20b.

mi-dpang = 'human witness' to an oath (cf. lha-dpang q.v.), II: 21a, 21b; III: 114a.

mi-dpon = 'overlord' or 'headman' of a village or district, I: 32b; II: 7a.

mi-rabs = 'generations' of a family (cf. gdung-rabs q.v.), I: 1a, 2b, 13b, 31b, 43b, 46b.

mi-rigs = 'human race', I: 2a, 10a. }

mi-brgyud = 'human race', I: 43b, 44b.

mi'i skad-gtam = 'human speech', I: 38a.

mes-po (emended from mes-pho) = 'ancestor', lit. 'grandfather', I: 36a, 42b.

mes-dbon = 'grandfathers and grandsons', 'ancestors' (cf. dbon-sras q.v.), I: 48a; III: 100b, 101a, 105b.

yab-mes (emended from yab-med) = 'ancestors', lit. 'fathers and grandfathers' (honorific for pha-mes q.v.), I: 40a.



mo-ma = 'diviner', possibly 'female diviner', I: 4b.

dmag-gral = 'battle-line', III: 109a (x 2).

dmag-dpon / dmag-dpon chen-mo = 'commander', 'commander-in-chief', II: 7b;  
III: 109a.

dmag-dum zhig = 'a detachment of the army', II: 17b, 19b-20a, 20a.

dmag-dpung kha-'thor shig = idem, II: 10b.

dmag-dmangs (= dmangs-kyi dmag ?) = 'popular forces' (TR), II: 21a.

dmag-tsho = 'militia' composed of ordinary taxpayers (khral-pa), one of whose common obligations is to take up arms during times of war (cf. dpa'-gzas q.v.), III: 112b.

dmag-rgyan = 'meat sacrifice', lit. 'red ornament' offered to Mahākāla; here used euphemistically for 'execution' (cf. next item), III: 114a.

dmag-gsod = 'execution', lit. 'red killing', III: 113b.

rmad-'jal (= smad-'jal ?), a fine for fornication, III: 103b.

(lha'i) rmu-skas (emended from rmu-skad) = '(divine) rmu-ladder', I: 45b.

(lha'i) rmu-thag = 'the (divine) rmu-cord' (cf. phyathag q.v.), I: 32a.

rMu-btsan lHa-gnyan Chen-po, the name by which the deity, Gu-se Lang-ling (q.v.) was known in the land of rMu, I: 36b.

smam(-rtse) = a yellow silk cloth with a printed floral pattern ('damask' ?), III: 111b.

tsha-ra = retribution, reprisal (TR says this is a Khams-pa term; LN suggests, unaccountably, = rtsad-dpyod / zhig-dpyod, 'detailed enquiry, investigation'), III: 107b, 111a.

gtso-rgan = '(village or district) headman', used only in Eastern Bhutan (cf. rgad-po q.v.), I: 21b, 27b, 28a; II: 12a.

gtso-las = 'chief councillors', II: 10a, 12b, 17a, 21a, 21b.

btsan-chas / btsan-cha = 'defences, embattlements', II: 15b, 18a, 22a.

btsan-sa = (sa btsan-po, II: 14a) = 'stronghold, fastness', I: 17b;  
II: 20a, 20b.

btsun-khral (emended from btsun-khras) = 'monk levy', the obligation incurred by families having three or more sons to send one of them to join the state monastery located in the rdzong, II: 21b.

rtsa-lhongs (byed-pa) = 'to transfer' a tax estate, 'to settle it upon someone else', III: 112b.

rtswa-khral = 'grass tax', the obligation to provide fodder for government horses, III: 106a (x 2), 111b.

rtsis-rta = 'a horse handed over to the charge (rtsis-sprod) of a government official for his use' (cf. gso-rta q.v.), III: 111a.

rtsis-bdag = 'charge, responsibility, control', III: 106a, 107b.

tshwa-chu sman-chu (abbreviated to tshwa-sman) = 'saline and mineral springs', III: 111a (x 3).

'tshang-kha rgyab-pa = 'to make an assault, to storm', II: 7b, 16a, 18a (x 2).

'dzin-tho = 'list of receipts', 'account', III: 111a.

rdzong-kha = 'district under the administration of a rdzong' (the modern spelling is rdzong-khag; the term rdzong-kha has today the meaning of 'fort-language', i.e. the official language of Bhutan), III: 106a, 110a (x 2), 110b, 111a (x 2), 113b.

mdzad-mkhyon rlabs-che-ba (-chen) = 'extensive sphere of action', 'far-ranging endeavours' (S: rlabs-chen = 'de grande force, très vaste'), I: 23b, 38b.

bya-spyod-kyi rlabs = ? 'extensive activity', I: 42b.

mdzad-mkhyon = 'sphere (of action)', II: 22b.

rlabs-chen spyod-pa'i bgyi-ba = 'acts undertaken on a broad scale', III: 108b.

rdzong-dpon / — -bdag / — -sdod (abbreviated to rdzong) 'district governor', lit. 'fort-chief', 'fort-owner', 'fort-resident' (the term rdzong-bdag is the one in current use to-day in Bhutanese government and administration), II: 8a, 9a, 22b; III: 106a, 107a, 107b, 108a, 109a, 109b (x 3).

'dzing-ra (= 'jigs-ra q.v. = 'thab-ra q.v.) = 'battle-fence, stockade', II: 11a.

'dzum-mu-le-ba = 'smiling', I: 34b.

wang (= sa-dong) = 'earth pit' (Tsangla dialect), I: 22a, 22b.

Wang-ma, name of clan, I: 22b et seq. and Addendum.

za-ba = 'to inherit', lit. 'to eat', III: 112b.

zas-bsngos = 'blessed food' offered to a dead person as part of the funerary ritual, III: 112b-113a.

zur-chod = 'split up, sub-divided' (of land etc.); also 'cragged' (TR), I: 27b; II: 22b.

zlo(-ba) (LP = 'gran-pa) = 'to contend, vie' (BU ?), I: 21a.

gzims-'gag = 'household guard', III: 109b.

gzims-dpon (abbreviated to gzims; = J: gzim-dpon) = 'steward-in-chief', III: 109b.

zhag-babs = 'overnight stay' on a journey (cf. mgon-babs and lto-'bab q.v.), III: 111a, 111b.

gzhi-len, a special feast admissible to a government guest or to a government official on taking up office. Cf. gzhi-tshugs, an issue of standard rations (LN / TR), III: 109b.

gzhis = 'family', III: 113b.

'ul (= 'u-lag; S = 'u-la) = 'corvée', 'conscripted labour', III: 106a, 107b, 111a, 112b (x 2).

'og-khang = 'dungeon', lit. 'lower house', III: 104a.

yan-po = 'bastard' (cf. I: 11b: yan-pa = 'unclaimed, unowned'), I: 11b.

yig-cha = 'records', I: 29a, 45a, 47b; III: 100b.

phyag-gi deb-ther yig-cha = 'personal documentary records', I: 28b.

yig-gter (= gter-yig) = 'treasure-writing' (hidden and rediscovered),  
I: 36a, 45b.

yig-tshang = '(? collected) records' (in modern usage = 'office'), I: 15a.

yug-sa-ma rengs-mo / mo-rengs-mo (= J: yug(s)-sa-mo) = 'widow' (cf. pho-rengs q.v.), II: 8b.

(g.)yas (= zo-ba) = 'trough, pail' (Tsangla dialect), I: 21b, 22b.  
Yas-sde, name of clan, I: 22b et seq.

ras-su 'bor-ba (LN = yal-bar 'dor-ba = 'to annihilate, annul' J2) = 'to repudiate' (ras is probably cognate to dral-ba / hral-ba, 'to tear to pieces', and to ral, 'torn'), III: 104a, 105a.

ri-rgya lhungs-rgya sdom-pa = 'to prohibit hunting and fishing'; lit. 'to seal up the hills and streams' (cf. J2: ri-rgya lung-rga 'dzug-pa), III: 106a.

rigs [1] = 'family', I: 24b, 25a, 28b, 31b, 43a, 43b (x 2), 46b.

'brog-rigs = 'pastoral family', I: 42b.

rigs [2] = 'tribe', II: 18a.

rigs-brgyud = 'family lineage, genealogy', I: 14a, 40a.

rigs-rus (? abbreviation for rigs dang rus) = 'family and lineage (or clan)'; used loosely it seems to signify either 'clan' or 'family',  
I: 2b, 3a, 6a, 13b (x 2), 14b, 32a, 33b, 35a, 41b (x 2), 44a,  
44b (x 3), 45a, 45b, 46a, 46b.

ru-nga(-bo) (LN: = gang-drag sha-tsha che-tog-to [BU: = shin-tu che-ba]  
= 'meticulous', 'assiduous', 'lovingly careful', TR (cf. S: ru-nga-mo  
= 'femme habile'), III: 108b.

rus (= gdung [1]) = 'clan, lineage', lit. 'bone', I: 11b, 14a, 14b (x 2), 15a, 22b (x 4), 43b, 44a, 44b (x 2), 45a (x 3).

rus-chen = 'great clan', I: 32a, 44a, 44b (x 2).

rus-rigs = 'clan-stock' (viz. Se, rMu, lDong sTong and some of their sub-divisions), I: 44a (x 2).

lan-rtsa = 'reprisal' (TR) (perhaps cognate to tsa-ra q.v.), III: 106a.

lab-rtsa (= J: lab-tse), the top of a pass where cairns are usually found, I: 12a, 52a.

lam-khral = 'road-tax, toll', I: 23a, 25b.

las-ngo / rgya-gar-gyi las-ngo = '(the Indian) trade-marts' (i.e. the Assam Duars), I: 18b, 19a, 24b (x 2), 28a, 28b, 37a, 42a (Tibetan las-ngo), 48a; II: 2b, 11b, 23a (in general); III: 107a, 111b, 113b, 114a.

(gnyen) sha-khrag[-gis] 'brel-ba = 'related by flesh and blood', (i.e., on the mother's side as opposed to the father's which is by 'bone', rus q.v.), II: 7a.  
sha rus gang nye'i mi-phros = 'kin nearest related by flesh and bone', III: 112b.

sha-khral = 'meat-tax', ? levied in kind on animals slaughtered by the public, I: 23a, 111b.

shar-re-ba = 'in a flash', I: 38a.

shing-khral = 'wood-tax', the obligation to supply the rdzong with fire-wood, III: 106a, 111b.

she-ma = 'dairyman' (TR), III: 112a.

bshams-ra, sham-ra (= J(1): shom-ra) = 'plan, preparation', I: 23b; II: 8a, 10a, 10b.

bshal(-ba) = ? 'to rove, roam', I: 33b, 41b.

sa-rgyus dang ri-rgyus = 'the lie of the valleys and mountains', II: 11a.

lam-rgyus ri-rgyus = 'knowledge of the paths and mountains', II: 13a.

sa-brtsi ri-brtsi (= sa-mtshams ri-mtshams, LP) = lit. 'land-reckoning, hill-reckoning', i.e. the delineation of agricultural land and pastoral land belonging to people with adjoining estates, I: 25b.

sras-brgyud = 'issue, progeny, descendants' (honorific for bu-brgyud q.v.), I: 10b (x 2), 11a, 14a, 16a, 27b, 28b, 31a (x 2), 35a, 35b (x 2).

yab-sras-brgyud = 'father-son lineage', I: 48a.

srog-nor = 'ransom', lit. 'life-wealth, life-price', I: 53a; II: 18b.

gso-rta = 'a horse maintained by the government for the use of an official'. (cf. rtsis-rta q.v.), III: 111a.

gsol-ba dkar-mo = 'white rations', the finer quality white rice known as sbo-'bras, the issue of which to senior government officials was regarded as their customary privilege (the term may also include certain dairy products), III: 109b (x 2).

gsol-dpon (abbreviated to gsol) = 'Butler-in-Chief', II: 22b; III: 109b.

hab-thob (emended from has-thob) = 'to scramble for something'.

(S: hab-thob (byed)-pa = 'se précipiter sur quelque chose, se disputer pour quelque chose'), I: 5b; II: 10a.

har-yangs = 'open, broad' (pleonastic compound), I: 12b.

hur-rgol = ? 'sudden raid', I: 35a.

hol-spyod = 'unexamined' (LP), I: 10b.

hrig-ge-ba = 'sharp-sighted' (cf. S: rang-sems kyi ngo-bor hrig-ge-ba etc.), I: 34a.

lha-dpang = 'divine witness' to an oath (cf. mi-dpang q.v.), II: 21a; III: 114a.

lha-btsun, title of royal descendants who pursue a religious life, I: 9b,  
27b (x 4), 47a.

A-lce = 'Lady' (title of a female member of the nobility), I: 35b.

A-ya = 'a beauty', I: 36b.

Ar-po = 'a menial', I: 27b.

APPENDIX

Chronological lists of the rulers, head abbots and important  
incarnations of Bhutan

With the exception of the offices of 'Brug sDe-srid and 'Brug rGyal-po, all these lists are based on information provided in LCB II, ff. 123a - 168a. For the 'Brug sDe-srid I am dependent on notes kindly provided by Slob-dpon Padma-lags who has taken great pains to correct the faulty chronology of LCB I. The dates of the 'Brug sDe-srid, rJe mKhan-po and 'Brug rGyal-po are all regnal.

(A) The Zhabs-drung Thugs-sprul, 'mental incarnations' of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal 1594 - ? 1651 (the Dharma Rājas of the British records).

- |                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1) 'Jigs-med Grags-pa I  | 1724 - 1761 |
| 2) Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan | 1762 - 1788 |
| 3) 'Jigs-med Grags-pa II | 1791 - 1830 |
| 4) 'Jigs-med Nor-bu      | 1831 - 1861 |
| 5) 'Jigs-med Chos-rgyal  | 1862 - 1904 |
| 6) 'Jigs-med rDo-rje     | 1905 - 1931 |

(B) The Zhabs-drung gSung-sprul (Phyogs-las sPrul-sku), 'verbal incarnations' of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.

- |                          |             |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| 1) Phyogs-las rNam-rgyal | 1708 - 1736 |
| 2) Shākya bsTan-'dzin    | 1736 - 1780 |
| 3) Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan  | 1781 - 1830 |
| 4) 'Jigs-med rDo-rje     | 1831 - 1850 |
| 5) Ye-shes dNgos-grub    | 1851 - 1917 |
| 6) 'Jigs-med bsTan-'dzin | ? - ?       |



(C) The rGyal-sras sPrul-sku, incarnations of 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje (1631 - ? 1681), son of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal.

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1) Kun-dga' rGyal-mtshan<br>(alias Cha-na-pa-ti) | 1689 - 1713 |
| 2) 'Jigs-med Nor-bu                              | 1717 - 1735 |
| 3) 'Brug-sgra rNam-rgyal                         | 1735 - 1762 |
| 4) 'Jigs-med rNam-rgyal                          | 1763 - 1795 |
| 5) 'Jam-dpal rDo-rje                             | 1798 - 1829 |

(D) The Bla-ma Khri-pa (Khri-sprul), incarnations of bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas 1638 - 1696.

- |   |             |
|---|-------------|
| 1) Mi-pham dBang-po   | 1709 - 1738 |
| 2) 'Jigs-med Seng-ge  | 1742 - 1789 |
| 3) Ngag-dbang 'Jam-dpal rGya-mtsho<br>(alias Tshul-khrims Grags-pa) | 1790 - 1820 |
| 4) 'Phrin-las rGya-mtsho  | 1835 - ?    |
| 5) Mi-pham rNam-rgyal   | ? - ?       |
| 6) ?  | ? - ?       |

(E) The Byams-sprul, incarnations of Byams-mgon Ngag-dbang rGyal-mtshan 1647 - 1732.

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1) Ye-shes rDo-rje   | 1757 - 1805 |
| 2) 'Jam-dbyangs bsTan-'dzin<br>(alias bDud-'joms rGyal-mtshan) | 1831 - 1855 |
| 3) rGyal-mtshan  | ? - ?       |
| 4) rGya-mtsho  | ? -         |

(F) The 'Brug sDe-srid (the 'Deb Rājas' of the British Records).

- |                            |             |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1) bsTan-dzin 'Brug-rgyas  | 1651 - 1656 |
| 2) bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-grags | 1656 - 1667 |
| 3) Mi-'gyur brTan-pa       | 1667 - 1680 |
| 4) bsTan-'dzin Rab-rgyas   | 1680 - 1695 |

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 5) dGe-'dun Chos-'phel   | 1695 - 1701 |
| 6) Ngag-dbang Tshe-ring  | 1701 - 1704 |
| 7) <u>dBon</u> dPal-'byor  | 1704 - 1707 |
| 8) 'Brug Rab-rgyas   | 1707 - 1719 |
| 9) Ngag-dbang rGya-mtsho   | 1719 - 1729 |
| 10) Mi-pham dBang-po   | 1729 - 1736 |
| 11) <u>Khu-bo</u> dPal-'byor   | 1736 - 1739 |
| 12) Ngag-dbang rGyal-mtshan  | 1739 - 1744 |
| 13) Shes-rab dBang-phyug   | 1744 - 1763 |
| 14) 'Brug Phun-tshogs  | 1763 - 1765 |
| 15) 'Brug bsTan-'dzin  | 1765 - 1768 |
| 16) bZhi-dar   | 1768 - 1773 |
| 17) Kun-dga' Rin-chen  | 1773 - 1776 |
| 18) 'Jigs-med Seng-ge  | 1776 - 1788 |
| 19) 'Brug bsTan-'dzin  | 1788 - 1792 |
| 20) bKra-shis rNam-rgyal<br>(alias bSod-nams rGyal-mtshan)<br>+ <u>dBu-mdzad sKyab-khra-pa</u> | 1792 - 1799 |
| 21) 'Brug rNam-rgyal   | 1799 - 1803 |
| 22) bKra-shis rNam-rgyal (again)   | 1803 - 1805 |
| 23) Sangs-rgyas bsTan-'dzin  | 1805 - 1806 |
| 24) <u>dBu-mdzad sPa-gro-ba</u><br>+ No. 25  | 1806 - 1808 |
| 25) <u>Bla-ma</u> Chos-grags   | 1808 - 1809 |
| 26) <u>Khri-sprul</u> Tshul-khrims Grags-pa  | 1809 - 1810 |
| 27) <u>Thugs-sprul</u> 'Jigs-med Grags-pa II   | 1810 - 1811 |
| 28) <u>Phyogs-sprul</u> Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan   | 1811 - 1815 |
| 29) <u>Tsha-phug-pa</u> rDo-rje  | 1815        |
| 30) bSod-nams 'Brug-rgyas  | 1815 - 1819 |
| 31) bsTan-'dzin 'Brug-sgra   | 1819 - 1823 |
| 32) Phur-rgyal<br>(alias Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan)  | 1823 - 1831 |

- 33) rDo-rje rNam-rgyal 1831 1832
- 34) 'Phrin-las 1832 - 1835
- 35) Chos-kyi rGyal-mtshan (again) 1835 - 1838
- 36) rDo-rje Nor-bu 1838 - 1847  
+ No. 37
- 37) bKra-shis rDo-rje 1847 - 1850
- 38) dBang-chen rGyal-po 1850
- 39) Thugs-sprul 'Jigs-med Nor-bu 1850 - ? 1852  
(ruled from Thim-phu)
- 40) lCags-pa Sangs-rgyas 1851 - ? 1852  
(ruled from sPu-na-kha)
- 41) Dam-chos lHun-grub 1852 - ? 1856  
(alias Bar-cung-pa)  
+ 'Jam-dbyangs bsTan-'szin
- 42) Kun-dga' dPal-ldan 1856 - 1861  
(alias bSod-nams sTobs-rgyas)  
(ruled from sPu-na-kha)  
+ U-ma-de-ba  
(alias Shes-rab mThar-phyin)  
(ruled from Thim-phu)
- 43) Don-grub 1861 - 1864  
(alias gNag-rdzi Pa-sangs,  
alias Phun-tshogs rNam-rgyal)
- 44) Tshe-dbang Sri-thub 1864
- 45) Tshul-khrims Yon-tan 1864
- 46) dKar-brgyud dBang-phyug 1864
- 47) Tshe-dbang Sri-thub (again) 1864 - 1866
- 48) bTson-'grus Pad-dkar 1866 - ? 1870
- 49) 'Jigs-med rNam-rgyal 1870 - 1873
- 50) sKyid-tshal-pa rDo-rje rNam-rgyal 1873 - 1879
- 51) Chos-rgyal bZang-po 1879 - 1882
- 52) Bla-ma Tshe-dbang 1882 - 1884
- 53) dGa'-ba bZang-po 1884 - 1886
- 54) dByans-slob Sangs-rgyas rDo-rje 1886 - 1903
- 55) Phyogs-sprul Ye-shes dNgos-grüb 1903 - 1905

(G) The rJe mKhan-po, head abbots of Bhutan

- |  |             |
|--|-------------|
| 1) Pad-dkar 'Byung-gnas                      | ? - 1672    |
| 2) bSod-nams 'Od-zer                         | 1672 - 1689 |
| 3) Pad-dkar lHun-grub                        | 1689 - 1697 |
| 4) Dam-chos Pad-dkar                         | 1697 - 1707 |
| 5) bZod-pa 'Phrin-las                        | 1707 - 1724 |
| 6) Ngag-dbang lHun-grub                      | 1724 - 1730 |
| 7) Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las                     | 1730 - 1738 |
| 8) bsTan-'dzin Nor-bu                        | 1738 - 1744 |
| 9) Shākya Rin-chen                           | 1744 - 1755 |
| 10) bsTan-'dzin Chos-rgyal                   | 1755 - 1762 |
| 11) Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las                    | 1762 - 1769 |
| 12) Kun-dga' rGya-mtsho                      | 1769 - 1771 |
| 13) Yon-tan mTha'-yas                        | 1771 - 1775 |
| 14) bsTan-'dzin rNam-rgyal                   | 1775 - 1781 |
| 15) Kun-bzang rGyal-mtshan                   | 1781 - 1784 |
| 16) Shes-rab Seng-ge                         | 1784 - 1791 |
| 17) <u>Byams-sprul</u> Ye-shes rDo-rje       | 1791 - 1797 |
| 18) 'Jam-dbyangs rGyal-mtshan                | 1797 - 1803 |
| 19) Ngag-dbang Chos-rgyal                    | 1803 - 1807 |
| 20) <u>Phyogs-sprul</u> Ye-shes rGyal-mtshan | 1807 - 1811 |
| 21) 'Jam-dpal Grags-pa                       | 1811 - 1816 |
| 22) 'Jigs-med rGyal-mtshan                   | 1816 - 1826 |
| 23) 'Jam-dpal Grags-pa                       | 1826 - 1831 |
| 24) <u>Chos-rje</u> Shākya rGyal-mtshan      | 1831 - 1836 |
| 25) Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan                    | 1836 - 1839 |
| 26) Yon-tan rGya-mtsho                       | 1839 - 1840 |
| 27) Padma bZang-po                           | 1840 - 1847 |
| 28) Rin-chen bZang-po                        | 1847 - 1848 |
| 29) Padma bZang-po (again)                   | 1848 - 1850 |

|     |   |             |
|-----|---|-------------|
| 30) | 'Jam-dpal rGya-mtsho                            | 1850 - 1851 |
| 31) | Yon-tan rGyal-mtshan                            | 1851 - 1858 |
| 32) | Tshul-khrims rGyal-mtshan                       | 1858 - 1860 |
| 33) | Kun-dga' dPal-'byor                             | 1860 - 1861 |
| 34) | bShad-sgrub 'Od-zer                             | 1861 - 1865 |
| 35) | Shākya rGyal-mtshan                             | 1865 - 1869 |
| 36) | Yon-tan dPal-bzang                              | 1869 - 1873 |
| 37) | Kun-dga' Seng-ge                                | 1873 - 1875 |
| 38) | Shākya rGyal-mtshan (again)                     | 1875        |
| 39) | Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan                           | 1875 - 1878 |
| 40) | Pad-dkar 'Od-zer                                | 1878 - 1881 |
| 41) | Ngag-dbang Don-ldan                             | 1881 - 1886 |
| 42) | <u>Chos-rje</u> 'Phrin-las rGyal-mtshan         | 1886 - 1888 |
| 43) | bsTan-'dzin lHun-grub                           | 1888 - 1889 |
| 44) | <u>Chos-rje</u> 'Phrin-las rGyal-mtshan (again) | 1889 - 1891 |
| 45) | 'Phrin-las rGya-mtsho                           | 1891 - 1894 |
| 46) | Dam-chos rGyal-mtshan                           | 1894 - 1899 |
| 47) | Shes-rab lHun-grub                              | 1899 - 1901 |
| 48) | 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen                           | 1901 - 1903 |
| 49) | Rig-'dzin sNying-po                             | 1903 - 1907 |
| 50) | 'Jam-dpal bShes-gnyen                           | 1907 - 1909 |
| 51) | Byams-pa'i sTobs-bzang                          | 1909 - 1912 |
| 52) | dPal-ldan Seng-ge                               | 1912 - 1915 |
| 53) | <u>Phyogs-sprul</u> Ye-shes dNgos-grub          | 1915 - 1917 |
| 54) | Ye-shes'Zla-ba                                  | 1917 - 1918 |
| 55) | dPal-ldan Seng-ge (again)                       | 1918        |
| 56) | Mi-pham dBang-po                                | 1919 - 1922 |
| 57) | Ngag-dbang rGyal-mtshan                         | 1922 - 1927 |
| 58) | Srid-zhi rNam-rgyal                             | 1927 - 1931 |
| 59) | Chos-kyi dBang-phyug                            | 1931 - 1940 |

|     |   |             |
|-----|---|-------------|
| 60) | Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las   | 1940 - 1946 |
| 61) | bSam-gtan rGya-mtsho  | 1946 - 1955 |
| 62) | Yon-tan brTson-'grus  | 1955 - 1956 |
| 63) | 'Phrin-las lHun-grub  | 1956 - 1961 |
| 64) | bSan-gtan dPal-bzang  | 1961 - 1965 |
| 65) | Ye-shes Seng-ge   | 1965 - 1968 |
| 66) | Kun-dga'  | 1968 - 1971 |
| 67) | Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las lHun-grub<br>( <u>Nyi-zer sPrul-sku</u> ) | 1971 -      |

(H) The 'Brug rGyal-po, hereditary kings of Bhutan.

|    |                               |             |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 1) | O-rgyan dBang-phyug           | 1907 - 1926 |
| 2) | 'Jigs-med dBang-phyug         | 1926 - 1952 |
| 3) | 'Jigs-med rDo-rje dBang-phyug | 1952 - 1972 |
| 4) | 'Jigs-med Seng-ge dBang-phyug | 1972 -      |

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### Note

The literature on the later period of Bhutanese history is voluminous but much of it falls outside the scope of this study and only those works cited or referred to are included here. Many of those I did use were reprinted in facsimile editions in India while this study was in progress but since my research has been mainly based on the original texts I copied in Bhutan, for the sake of consistency I do not supply references to the Indian editions. Under A), therefore, I give the authors and titles of all the primary Bhutanese sources used, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the many friends in Bhutan who helped me to make copies. Under B) I include unedited Tibetan blockprints and Indian reprints of Tibetan works. Texts edited or translated by Western and other scholars, and modern works of scholarship, are given in C). The entries in A) and B) appear in Tibetan alphabetical order while those under C) follow the Harvard System.

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(1670-1730)

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Padma Gling-pa (I450-I52I) : Rig-'dzin padma gling-pa-yi / zab-gter chos-mdzod rin-po-che; (the complete gter-ma discoveries of Padma Gling-pa) 20 volumes, reprinted at the behest of A-zhes Phun-tshogs Chos-sgron.

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Padma Gling-pa ? : rGyal-po sindha ra-dza'i rnam-thar; 30 ff. in a modern reprint, no date.

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Byang-chub bZang-po (19th cent.) : Untitled guide (gnas-yig) to the complex of temples at rDzong-brag-kha in sPa-gro; dbu-can ms. in the form of a scroll, no date, preserved at rDzong-brag-kha. Partly reproduced with variants in the gNas-rnying chos-'byung, ff. 50b-51b (see below).

'Brug-sgra rDo-rje (early 18th cent.) : gTer-ston 'brug-sgra rdo-rje'i nyams-snang-du byung-ba'i chu-mo-phug-gi gnas-yig; (guide to the shrine of Chu-mo-phug in sPa-gro) dbu-can ms. in 6 ff., dated 1722. No. 320 in the Collection David-Neel, Musée Guimet, Paris.

Mi-pham Ngag-gi dBang-phyug : dPal-ldan bla-ma dam-pa grub-pa'i dbang-phyug rdo-rje-'chang chen-po ye-shes dngos-grub zhabs-kyi rtogs-brjod beedūrya'i mchod-sdong ngo-tshar 'od-brgya'i byung-gnas; (biography of the Kom-'phrang Chos-rje Ye-shes dNgos-grub, 17th - 18th cents.) dbu-can ms. in 392 ff. dated 1732.

gTsang mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan rGya-mtsho : bsTan-pa 'dzin-pa'i skyes-bu thams-cad-kyi rnam-par thar-pa-la gus-shing rjes-su 'jug-pa'i rtogs-brjod pha-rol-tu phyin-pa dang gzungs dang ting-nge-'dzin-gyi sgo mang-po rim-par phye-ba'i gtam; (autobiography of gTsang mKhan-chen, 1610-84) dbu-can ms. in 2 vols., no date, completed by a certain Ha-ya.

gTsang mKhan-chen : dPal 'brug-pa rin-po-che ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin rnam-rgyal-gyi rnam-par thar-pa rgyas-pa chos-kyi sprin chen-po'i dbyangs; (extended biography of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, 1594-?1651) blockprint in 6 vols., no date. The last vol. (Cha) is a biography of Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin, alias rTa-mgrin rGyal-mtshan 1574-1643.

Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin (alias rTa-mgrin rGyal-mtshan, 1574-1643) ? and others : 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po chos-rje kun-dga' legs-pa'i rnam-thar rgya-mtsho'i snying-po mthong-ba don-ldan; (the Bhutanese biography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, 1455-1529) 82 ff., ed. dGe-'dun Rin-chen and others. Kalimpong, 1970.

Tshe-dbang bsTan-'dzin ? and others : 'Gro-ba'i mgon-po kun-dga' legs-pa'i rnam-thar mon spa-gro sogs-kyi mdzad-spyod-rnams; (another version of the Bhutanese biography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs) 65 ff. Indian edition, no date.

gZhan-phan Rol-pa'i rDo-rje : 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan-gyi ngang-tshul rnams-par (sic) gleng-ba sgyu-ma chen-po'i rtogs-brjod; (biography of the 2nd Pad-tshal-gling sPrul-sku of Bum-thang, 1788-1850) dbu-can ms. in 20 folios, no date.

Yon-tan mTha'-yas (1724-84) : Chos-rgyal chen-po shes-rab dbang-phyug-gi dge-ba'i cho-ga rab-tu gsal-ba'i gtam mu-tig do-shal; (account of the virtuous deeds of the 13th 'Brug sDe-srid, Shes-rab dBang-phyug, 1<sup>st</sup> regn. 1744-63) blockprint in 95 ff., no date.

Shākya Rin-chen (1710-59) : Byang-chub sems-dpa' chen-po kun-tu dga'-ba'i rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po'i rtogs-pa brjod-pa dpag-bsam yongs-'du'i snye-ma; (biography of the 1st rGyal-sras sPrul-sku Kun-dga')

rGyal-mtshan, I689-I713) dbu-can ms. in I26 ff., no date.

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Shākya Rin-chen : dKar-rgyud-kyi rnam-thar gser-gyi 'phreng-ba lta-bu-las dpal-ldan bla-ma mthu-chen chos-kyi rgyal-po ngag-dbang rnam-par rgyal-ba'i skabs; (biography of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rNam-rgyal, I594-?I65I) dbu-can ms. in 45 ff, no date, forming part of the author's Collected Works, Vol. Ka.

Shākya Rin-chen : Byang-chub sems-dpa' grags-pa rgya-mtsho'i rnam-thar rgyal-sras kun-tu dga'-ba'i zlos-gar (biography of Grags-pa rGya-mtsho, I7th cent.) dbu-can ms. in 56 ff., no date, in Vol. Ka of the author's Collected Works.

Shākya Rin-chen : sPrul-pa'i sku-mchog ngag-dbang phyogs-las rnam-rgyal-gyi rnam-par thar-pa skal-bzang 'jug-ngo; (biography of the 1st Zhabs-drung gSung-sprul, I708-36) dbu-can ms. in 23 ff., dated I757, in Vol. Kha of the author's Collected Works.

Shākya Rin-chen : rGyal-kun rtse-ba'i spyi-gzugs sems-dpa' chen-po gsung-dbang sprin-dbyangs-kyi rtogs-pa brjod-pa rig-'dzin kun-tu dga'-ba'i zlos-gar; (biography of Ngag-dbang 'Brug-pa, I7th cent.) dbu-can ms. in 50 ff., no date, in Vol. Kha of the author's Collected Works.

Shākya Rin-chen : rDo-rje-'chang chen-po rje-btsun ngag-dbang  
'phrin-las-kyi rnam-par thar-pa rgyal-sras rtse-dga'i 'khri-shing;  
 (biography of the 7th Head Abbot, Ngag-dbang 'Phrin-las, regn. 1730-  
 38) dbu-can ms. in 147 ff., no date.

Shākya bsTan-'dzin (1736-80) : Byang-chub sems-dpa' ngag-dbang  
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gzhan-phan bdud-rtsi'i rlabs-'phreng; (biography of the 1Cang  
sGang-kha Chos-rje Ngag-dbang Pad-dkar) dbu-can ms. in 70 ff.,  
 no date.

Shes-rab rGyal-mtshan (1772-1848) : rJe bla-ma rin-po-che'i rnam-par  
thar-pa zhal-gsung-ma bden-gnyis 'grub-pa'i shing-rta; (autobiography  
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ngo-mtshar 'phrul-gyi sgo brgya-pa; (guide to the holy shrine  
 of sTag-tshang in the sPa-gro valley) dbu-can ms. in the form of  
 a scroll, preserved at sTag-tshang.

Anon. : rJe grub-pa'i dbang-phyug rnam-rgyal lhun-grub-kyi  
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 18th century) dbu-can ms. in 18 ff., no date.

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